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R N Dwivedi 24/1/47

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TWELFTH SESSION

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

1943-44

VOLUME II

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.
1946

[Price Rs. 10/-

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VOLUME II

Edited and published for the Conference

by

Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR M.A. LL.B., D Litt.
THE LOCAL SECRETARY.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.
1946

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PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

I very much regret that owing to abnormal circumstances created by the last World War and its aftermath, it has not yet been possible to publish the entire volume of the Proceedings of the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. It took nearly nine months to procure the necessary paper from the Supply Authorities. The work of printing could proceed only slowly. Proofs were being sent in the beginning to the various authors scattered all over India, and it often took long time to receive them back. Some scholars were so busy that they could not find time to return the proofs for weeks. From p. 360 onwards it was therefore decided with reluctance not to send any proofs to their authors with a view to expedite the printing. This hope however could not materialise owing to labour troubles that started soon after the end of the World War. Efforts to expedite printing by dividing the work among several presses proved unsuccessful. Papers of the Iranian Section were sent to a well known press in Bombay, which had the necessary Pahalvi types. This press along with the papers was however burnt down by accident and the papers had to be written afresh. Papers in Urdu script were sent to Lahore in the hope that they would be speedily printed there. This hope also did not materialise. Formal part of the Proceedings was entrusted to a fourth press, which promised to finish the work in three months. This undertaking also could not be translated into action.

I have therefore decided to issue this Interim Volume before the Nagpur Session of the Conference. It consists of the Welcome Address, the Inaugural Address, the Address of the General President, all the Addresses of the Sectional Presidents, and all the papers in the Vedic, Classical Sanskrit, Religion and Philosophy, Pali and Buddhism, Prakrit and Jainism, and History, Geography, Ethnology and Folk-Lore Sections. The Volume covers 586 pages and I trust that the members of the Conference will take it as an earnest of what we intend to do in the near future.

Half of the formal part of the Proceedings have been printed and the remaining half will be soon in type. Papers in Urdu script in the Islamic Culture and Arabic and Persian Sections are only awaiting the print order. All other papers have been composed on the mono machine and remain to be cast in type. It is hoped that the remaining part of the Proceedings, which will cover about 400 pages, will be out before April 1947.

Benares Hindu University.
1-10-1946

A. S. ALTEKAR
Local Secretary

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1943-44

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TWELFTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

PART II : PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES

WELCOME ADDRESS

By

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN, D. LITT., LL. D., F.B.A.,

Chairman of the Reception Committee

MAY I, on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Twelfth Oriental Conference, and the Benares Hindu University, extend to you all a most cordial welcome. When, last June, Professor Altekar sounded me about inviting the Conference to Benares, I did not encourage the idea as we were not then quite certain about our own affairs. When, in the Puja vacation, Professors Rangaswami Iyengar and Nilkantha Sastri explained to me the position, I felt inclined to invite the Conference though I was not unaware of the difficulties ahead of us mainly due to short notice. I was able to invite the Conference to Benares as I could count on the goodwill and co-operation not only of the members of the University but also of such tried friends as His Highness the Chancellor and the Pro. Chancellor, Mahārājādhirāja of Darbhanga who is here with us today to open the Conference, the Mahārājkumāra of Vizianagram, whose palace is converted, on such occasions as this, into the unofficial guest-house of the University, whose skill, influence and possessions are at our service, Raja Baldeo Das Birla and his sons, who know not only how to earn but what is more important, how to spend.

These are war times and we are not wealthy and so the Conference will be what it should be. It will take its business more seriously and its luxuries less expensively. At any rate, a Conference meeting in this sacred city will, I hope, feel inclined to be a little austere in its outlook and behaviour.

While I extend a cordial welcome to every one of the delegates for the Conference, I should like to make special mention of the representative of the Chinese Government. We send, through him, our fraternal greetings to the Chinese Government. We have watched with affectionate interest and admiration the courageous efforts made by the Chinese

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Government to maintain education and culture in the midst of a long and calamitous war in which many Universities and centres of learning have been destroyed or damaged. If the world is to be established once more in the ways of peace, it can only be by the maintenance of high spiritual standards. In this task, China and India have been close and friendly partners for centuries. China received the religion of the Buddha from India. Even in other disciplines like science and philosophy, music and literature, art and architecture, the influence of Indian culture is manifest. Indian scholars went to China, spread the Ārya Dharma and translated Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit into Chinese. Many classical works of India are to be found in Chinese translations. Chinese monks and scholars came to India in successive waves in different periods for learning the Dharma. Recently, the Chinese, who have never been too proud to learn from any country, have been going to Europe and America, and contacts between China and India have been somewhat dimmed. But the exchanges of students and scholars, inaugurated this year, may prepare for a closer understanding between these two great countries and bring about a spiritual awakening in the whole East. In the post-war years India will again attract pilgrims and scholars from the whole East and what place is there in India more sacred than Kāśī.

To a Conference which includes so many historians, I need not talk at length on the antiquity and glory of Benares. Kāśī is among the well known cities which help us to attain spiritual freedom.[1] It is said that when Brahmā weighed the sky with its gods and Kāśī with its saints, Kāśī being the heavier sank down to earth, by the force of gravity while the sky being the lighter soared upward.[2] Benares has been the focus of an unbroken and impressive spiritual tradition which is universal and individual, embracing in thought the whole universe but worshipping the Eternal whose throne is the inmost shrine of the human soul. In these days of darkness and travail of spirit, I need not say how very vital it is for us to remember the values for which this city has stood. Perfection is the goal and the way to it is through self-conquest, through courage and austerity, through unity and brotherhood in life.

---

[1] अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

[2] स्वर्लोकस्तुलितः सहैव विबुधैः काश्या समं ब्रह्मणा ।
काशी क्षोणितले स्थिता गुरुतरा स्वर्गो लघुत्वे स्थितः ॥ *Maṇikarṇikā-stotra.*

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Perfection, *mokṣa* is won through *jñāna* or wisdom, *bodhi* or enlightenment. Jesus says "Ye shall know the truth and the truth will make you free." *Jñāna* of the Hindus, *bodhi* of the Buddhists, and truth of the Christians do not mean dialectical fireworks, logical ingenuity. It is not playing "intellectual ping pong", but it is growth in insight, increase of awareness, extension of consciousness, evolution of soul. It is attained, not by sharpening our wits but by steadying our mind. The function of true philosophy is to see the truth and we cannot see unless it be by unfettered contemplation, where eager wishes and yearning anxieties are stilled, where the mind becomes a transparent medium which mirrors the object without distorting it. We then become what we behold. India has always emphasised the need for spiritual illumination. Unless we are illumined from the heights above, earth born intellect cannot take us far.

In the West on the other hand, there has been a steady insistence on the power of the human intellect to discover the truth of things. When Socrates urged the need for concepts and definitions, when Plato argued that nobody need enter the Academy who had not studied geometry, when Aristotle defined man, not as a spiritual but as a rational animal, when the whole of Christian scholasticism was one continuous deductive development of dogma, when Descartes, the father of modern European philosophy, laid down as a maxim that no idea is true which is not clear and distinct, when Spinoza set forth his Ethics in the geometrical pattern, with postulates, axioms and corollaries, when Leibniz outlined a plan which later became the foundation of symbolic logic, when Kant effected a revolution by making metaphysics take the safe road of science, when Hegel said that the real was the rational and when his successors phenomenalised the self and the world, we find in this whole development from Socrates to Bertrand Russell impressive variations on the one common theme of the primacy of the logical.

Not that in India we neglected the logical. We also insist on the intellectual approach to the central problems of life. *Athāto Brahmajijñasā ; athāto Dharmajijñāsā.* The Upaniṣads speak of *manana,* the *Gītā* of *paripraśna.* The *Gītā* says "Of those who debate, I am the dialectic", *vādah pravadatām aham.* At a time like this, when teachers are setting themselves up in all parts of the country and requiring of their disciples complete surrender of the intellect, it is well to be reminded of the Indian tradition that intellect is to be satisfied and not surrendered. Freedom

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and not slavery of the mind is the prerequisite of spiritual life. But intellectual fruition is in intuition, *vidyā* ends in *anubhava*.

In the West, there have been mystics and seers, the Orphics and Eleusinian, Plato and Plotinus, St. John and St. Paul, the mediaeval mystics of Christendom and Islam. But this permeation of the western rationalism by mystic tendencies has been, to no small extent, due to the influence of India, the ideas of the Upaniṣads, the missions of Aśoka and their followers of later times.

Today again, the world is in the grip of dry intellect. It is very conscious of its good sense, of the inestimable blessings which science has conferred on humanity. It is proud that we have left behind the stupidities of the dark ages, that it has escaped from the misery and the degradation in which we were steeped for centuries. Scientific intellect expected, not only to unravel all secrets but even to transform human society. We admit that the triumphs of reason are great, but its failures are no less great. Something has escaped the meshes of intellect, the magic of far horizons, the secret of spirit, the pulse in the history of man, the beat in the heart of the world. The fanatical personalities who rule the world today, the rationalist prophets, the intellectual celibates who are the victims of the fictional abstractions of race and class, tribe and nation, with their unbridled and endless covetousness have built a world which is bereft of pity and loveliness and is strident and murderous. The world is on the rack and is bleeding to death. This feverish age where life is lived at the highest pressure teaches us, that while it is necessary to perfect the intellect, it is even more necessary to refine the spirit. If the present world-convulsion is to emerge in a new and better world order, we must acquire a living faith in love and wisdom. Here again the Oriental with its distinctive message of wisdom in education, of the need for quiet, the quiet not of inaction but of harmony of faith in the ultimates which shine through the vast uncertainties hanging over the march of life can offer a corrective to the miscarriage of the world. The world is one family and its brotherhood of the future should be based on heart and mind, and not chains and fear.

In our country today, the Oriental Conference can be of immense value. By a scholarly appreciation of India's historical culture, by a proper estimate of the interaction of the different races and religions, we can bring about a Renaissance based on the integrity of Indian culture.

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It is a pleasure to know that we have the Paṇḍita Pariṣad. These representatives of India's classical learning should be brought into close contact with those who have received the shock and stimulus of western knowledge and criticism. They should be reminded that the great Paṇḍits and Achāryas of old were the ambassadors of India's culture in distant lands. The Brahmanical and the Buddhist monuments in Java, Bali, the temple of Angkor, that symphony in stone, which is perhaps the largest of its kind in the world, owe their inspiration to Indian culture. Those great ancestors of our Paṇḍits, Vaśistha and Viśvamitra, Kāśyapa and Kumārajīva, Nāgārjuna and Saṁkara and countless others worked not for political power or economic possessions but for the spread of the spiritual message of India, *Kṛṇvantu viśvam āryam.* The evils from which we suffer today are, to no small extent, due to our intellectual inertia, moral cowardice and spiritual lassitude. Nature is no friend of stagnation. For all our entreaties, the world will not cease to revolve. Today we have to reckon with the stresses, conflicts and confusions and build fresh schemes with originality and freedom, and in the strength of the legacy of ancient wisdom. In this world of *saṁsāra*, there is nothing permanent but change. Life is not life unless it is thrusting continually into new forms. In the spirit of our tradition, which is one of comprehension and not withdrawal, let us move forward into the broader realm of responsibility for the whole human community.

We have today with us a worthy Maithili Brahmin, a direct descendant of the great Mahāmahopādhyāya who founded the Darbhanga Raj, a great lover of Indian culture and a generous patron of this University. It is our good fortune that such a friend of the studies, which the Oriental Conference represents, is here to inaugurate the Twelfth Oriental Conference. I now request him to open the Conference.

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INAUGURAL SPEECH

By

The Hon'ble Mahārājādhirāja Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga

In the absence of His Highness the Chancellor, who to his great regret could not be present here today it is my proud privilege to welcome this gathering of distinguished orientalists to this ancient seat of learning, culture and religion. I need not say that he is deeply interested in the success of this Conference and we all have his good wishes.

We may recount very many such gatherings held here in the past at different ages and under different conditions. We may feast our vision with the panorama of thousands of years during which sages, saints, philosophers, poets, preachers and patriots have come here on pilgrimage and surcharged the atmosphere of this holy place with thought-currents that stirred and elevated the soul of mankind throughout the length and breadth of Aryāvarta. But they do not to any degree detract the importance and appropriateness of this Conference.

We are passing through a time when materialism has run riot. Civilisation based on it is letting loose the spirit of barbarism. Devastation and ruin have shaken the present-day world to its very foundation. It is tottering. It is bound to crumble to dust. Cry has been raised for the reconstruction of the world—for the new world-order. We too have heard the cry. Should we then sit still for we have been in political bondage for such a long time, or should we come forward and lend our hand in shaping its destiny by transmitting to it the message left to us by our forefathers which is good for all times and every country and under every condition—the message which is based on spiritualistic ideals and is the outcome of ripe and varied experience—the message which still lies hidden in our daily life and contact? If we adopt the first alternative we will be embarking on a dangerous voyage in which there will be immense possibility of shipwreck. Such a course of action will be unworthy of our heritage and tradition and indicate that we have lost faith in them. It is only by adopting the second alternative that we can discharge our duties and obligation to the human race. I firmly believe that Hinduism—I use this word in a wide sense—has still enough vitality to reassert itself. But how can we discover the message except by

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such methods as scholars assembled here have employed, *viz.*, by finding and joining together the missing links between the past and the present. It is by the fruits of your labours that we will know our strength and weakness, the causes and periods of our glory and downfall, and the results of experiments carried during so many thousand of years. I earnestly hope that nothing will deter you from this noble work and succeeding generation of scholars will continue the search after truth with zeal and sincerity.

I feel that we still have a distinctive place in the world, not by reason of material possessions but by reason of retaining our cultural heritage and philosophy of life. It is true that the impact of the West has hideously distorted the superstructure of our life to a great extent and it has been exposed to a good deal of ridicule. But till now the foundation on which it was built remains undisturbed. That place of distinction can be ours only if we realise that many things today have lost their original meaning for us and we have been enslaved by forms and slogans. We have to build afresh on the old foundation which stood the test of time, *viz.*, the domination of spirit over matter, subordination of earthly possessions to the desire for immortality. I should not, however, be understood to mean that there is no place for earthly things in our scheme of life. As a firm believer in 'Varnāśrama Dharma' I do not minimise the importance of 'Kāma' (desire) or 'Artha' (wealth). In fact, as Sir Radhakrishnan has put it, man is a bundle of desires and the economic need of the community should be satisfied if creative impulses of men are to be liberated for higher cultural life. But 'Dharma' (duty) should always control 'Kāma' (desire) and the ultimate object, *viz.*,' Mokṣa' (liberation), which constitutes immortality, should never be lost sight of. Human nature varies and our forefathers taking that into account, have laid down how each man can attain full self-expression. We have indeed been taught to co-operate with the forces of nature and not flout them.

Your studies and researches are bringing to light not only the accounts of events but also the developments of the cardinal principles governing our life and philosophy and all of us profit by them. But there seems to be some misconception with regard to the ability of scholars trained to carry on their researches according to the traditional method prevalent in this country in the minds of scholars following Western methods and *vice versa*. This question has been authoritatively dealt with in the address of the late lamented Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha who presided over the

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Third session of this Conference held in Madras. I trust I shall not be accused of partiality to one who was a member of my family when I also express my opinion that it is wrong to suppose that Pandits or Maulvis trained in traditional methods are wanting in what has been called 'critical faculty'. I do not, however, deny that researches according to the Western methods have a value. But the gap between these two sections has to be filled up and misconceptions have to be removed. In my opinion the labours of both of these types of scholars should supplement and complement each other and the one should take advantage of the other without prejudice of any kind. After all, you are seekers of truth. You cannot with impunity either prejudice or misjudge things; for then, you will vitiate the very purpose of your labours.

Rich and varied are the fields you have to traverse. The progress of your activities must continue because there is still much to be done. I have already told you what I consider to be the peculiar significance of your labours. It now remains for us to invoke the blessings of Sri Viśwanātha and pray that like the stream of Holy Gangā that flows below, the flow of the stream of our thoughts may not lose its continuity and by fertilising this country it may mingle itself in the vast ocean of the thoughts of humanity.

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ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL PRESIDENT.

By

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

मूकं करोति वाचालं पङ्गुं लङ्घयते गिरिम् ।
यत्कृपा तमहं वन्दे परमानन्दमीश्वरम् ॥

The Hon'ble Mahārājādhirāja Sir Kameshwara Singh, the Pro-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Soul and Presiding Deity of this august Seat of Learning; Mahārājakumāra Sir Vijayaji; Professor Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee; Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen! —I am fully aware that the honour you have done me in electing me the General President of the All-India Oriental Conference for this its Twelfth Session, which formally begins to-day in this sacred City of Shree Viśvanātha, is one of the highest that the fraternity of scholars can confer upon a brother worker in the field; and yet, just for that very reason, knowing my own limitations, I had expressed my reluctance to accept this honour as emphatically and unmistakably as it was possible for me to do. But having lost the opportunity of showing the "first mark of wisdom" (*prathamam buddhilakṣaṇam*) by firmly refusing to be overpersuaded by the importunities of a friend and a colleague, I had at least to show the "second mark of wisdom" by seeing to the end, as best as I could, what had fallen to my lot, as doing otherwise would have been showing scant courtesy to the memory of the person who had proposed my name and, overruling all my objections, had practically compelled me to accept this office: I mean, the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.

2. "The late Dr. Sukthankar!"—The words sound so strange and almost unbelievable. Dr. Sukthankar was several years my junior, and it was a legitimate expectation that he would be blessed with life long enough to complete the critica edition of the Mahābhārata. But our fond hopes in this matter have been ruthlessly dashed to pieces, and it has now fallen to the lot of his surviving colleagues to gather together into their hands the scattered and tangled threads of the work where it has been left, and advance further along the path laid out by him, as long as light and energy would be vouchsafed to them. Dr. Sukthankar's soul—I somehow seem to feel its

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presence here about us—would be pleased by nothing better than the completion of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata to which he dedicated every single moment of the last 17 years of his life. It is a great national undertaking of Indian scholarship which has received unanimous and unstinted approbation from scholars in and outside India. The honour and prestige of Indian scholarship, as well as of the munificent Patrons of Learning of which this land of Bhāratavarṣa has always had a notable supply, is involved in seeing this great undertaking completed according to the original plan.

3. But it is not Dr. Sukthankar alone whom we have to mourn. Since we met last at Hyderabad two years ago, the hand of Death has been particularly heavy in summoning from amongst us an unusually large number of eminent Orientalists, in India and abroad. In due course there will be passed resolutions of condolence: there is a record number of over twenty of them; and yet they may not represent the totality of our loss, as we have no adequate information about the Orientalists in the belligerent countries of Europe. With your leave, I shall refer to some of these losses, not only because they are irreparably great, but because the lives that have been snatched away from us during these two years have a great and heartening lesson for us to teach.

4. And first let me refer to Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, who, after the death of her husband, the Founder of the "Pali Text Society", in a spirit of almost religious devotion, dedicated all her energy to the completing of the task left incomplete by her husband: and she nearly did so, with just six or eight volumes with which to complete the first editions of the entire Pali Canon. But the War has brought on a great disaster. Just four months before her death she wrote:

> "A misaimed bomb burnt out all our stocks, and the Pali Text Society is now left more or less ruined, insolvent." "It is not likely", she continues, "I shall be here to write *Finis* to our work. Will India help and make the safe and fit issue of at least some of these remaining six volumes its primary care? Will it send us, wounded and strangled, a message of help?"

I wish we could send to those into whose hands the affairs of the Society have now passed such a message of appreciation, of sympathy, and of assurance.

5. While the Rhys Davids, husband and wife, specialised in Pali or Hīnayāna Buddhism, the Russian scholar Th.

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Stcherbatsky specialised in Sanskrit or Mahāyāna Buddhism, editing and translating several original Buddhist texts from the Tibetan and the Chinese. In his work entitled "The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa" to which he has appended an English translation of the principal parts of those works of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti, which are the foundation stone of Mahāyāna, we read as under:

> "In the reading of proof I have been assisted by my aged mother, and we both are alone responsible for all the imperfections of English style that may be found in this book."

This was written in 1927 by an author whose mother must have then been about 50 or 60. What an amiable picture of devoted labour in a common cause by the mother and the son does it summon up before us! It may not be given to all of us to complete our undertakings; for, has not the Poet said?—

न हि प्रतीक्षते मृत्युः कृतमस्य न वा कृतम् ।

> [Death tarries not to find out whether the man's work is completed, or remains still incomplete.]

But the earnestness of the endeavour it is that should count.

6. I had not the privilege of knowing Mrs. Rhys Davids or Dr. Stcherbatsky except through correspondence and books; but I came into much personal contact with Dr. Lüders, who, with Frau Lüders, came to Poona in December 1927, and whom I had the honour to take to the Buddhist caves at Karla and Bhājā. Dr. Lüders, as some of you might know, could see only with one eye, and we know the familiar gibe between the one-eyed and the two-eyed:

> "With your one eye you can see only half as much as myself."
>
> "No, surely. With my one eye I am able to see two eyes in your forehead; while with your two eyes you can see only one in mine. So your eye sees only a fourth as much as mine!"

Lüders' epigraphic work has certainly justified the one-eyed man! The wonderful way in which, with the help of the few broken fragments discovered in the Turfan expedition, Lüders was able to recover parts of a Buddhistic Play and some fragments of the Buddhist Canon in Sanskrit, will remain for ages as a monument of patience and of imaginative insight. Though Lüders' main work was in the domain of Archæology he has also opened out new vistas by his searching studies on the Epic

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and the Purāṇas,[1] and he was one of the Board of Referees for our Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.

7. After Lüders I ought to mention the name of Sir Aurel Stein who, in patiently following up the caravan routes through the deserts of central Asia right up to the great Wall of China, exhibited a love and zeal for the search of Truth no less sincere and painstaking than that of the great Buddhist Pilgrims, whom he also resembles in having left behind—in the shape of those more than a dozen fat tomes—Records of Travel and Discovery for generations of students to study and ponder over.—And just as the Address was ready comes the sad news that the great Italian savant, Professor Formichi and the great Dutch savant, Dr. Vogel, have passed away!

8. I turn now to mention an Indian scholar whose name few beyond his own City and Province probably know, but who was an embodiment of the best qualities of the old-world Pandit that it was my good fortune to come across: I mean Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar of Poona. Ever since the age of 8 or 10 when he joined a Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā, he started doing just the one thing that he kept on doing all his life: perfecting his knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar. This he did by training pupils and writing books: particularly lucid commentaries on difficult and technical works without that display of learning, which is almost the besetting sin of modern works in that line. The Shastri's published works cover 5,500 pages in Sanskrit and 2,500 pages in Marathi. His one great ambition in life was to bring out an annotated translation (in Marathi) of the Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya; and, fortunately, at the ripe age of 80, he was able to hand over a complete press-copy of it, which is now in course of publication.

9. This makes me speak of another great Mahāmahopādhyāya from Madras, whom we lost only three or four months ago: I mean Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Shastri. I met him first in 1919, in Poona, on the occasion of the first Oriental Conference, and I remember still a conversation that we—Ganganath Jha, Kuppuswami Shastri and myself—then had as to the means and methods for the advance of Oriental research in India.—We passed a resolution of condolence for Ganganath Jha in our last session at Hyderābad, and we will be passing one for Kuppuswami here at Benares. But the work of both these eminent savants deserves to be carried on and perpetuated. I was accordingly particularly gratified to know that at Allahabad

[1] Compare his two papers on *Die Saga von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga*, his *Grantharecension des Mahābhārata* and *Das Würfelspiel.*

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a Research Institute bearing the name of Sir Ganganath Jha has been just ushered into existence, to which the splendid private library of Sir Dr. Ganganath has been bequeathed, and which has already started with a research journal of its own. In his younger days, when collaborating with Dr. Thibaut in bringing out "The Indian Thought", Dr. Jha had made the pious resolution to translate into English all the leading works of the six Darśanas : and he has more than fulfilled that pledge. Professor Kuppuswami Shastri had latterly taken up the work of revising the Catalogus Catalogorum, which is a great undertaking that is yet to be accomplished. I am sure that South India will not lag behind the North, but will, in due course, devise ways and means for continuing and perpetuating the work of Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Shastri, by establishing another Research Institute before very long.

10. In throwing out this suggestion I do not by any manner of means wish to imply that we have not already got a sufficient number of research organs and research organisations throughout India. The last twentyfive years have witnessed a splendid awakening in that respect. In proof I may be allowed to mention that about a year ago the B. O. R. Institute brought out a bibliographical compilation to record the progress of Indic Studies during the last quarter of a century ; and there, in practically all the branches of studies, the work done by Indian authors is seen to figure at least just as prominently as the work of non-Indians. When 25 years ago a Commemorative Volume was presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on his completing the 80th year, there were hardly three or four Volumes of that kind meant to honour Indian scholars of eminence. Now, these Volumes are so many in number that no library is likely to own them all. Similarly, when the first session of the Oriental Conference met at Poona in 1919, the only bodies of an All-India status that were then in existence, so far as I know, were, The Indian Mathematics Conference founded in 1907, The Numismatic Society of India, founded in 1910, The Indian Science Congress Association founded in 1913, The Indian Economic Association and Conference founded in 1916,—not to mention The Indian Historical Records Commission, which was a purely Government organisation working since 1899 and reorganised in 1919 so as to secure more non-official cooperation. Now we have quite a large number of such associations : The Indian Philosophical Congress (1924), The Linguistic Society of India (1928), The Indian History Congress (1935), The Indian Political Conference (1938), Bhāratīya Itihāsa Pariṣad (1939), and, may be, one or two others that I have

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failed to notice, besides the Sāhitya Pariṣads of the Modern Indian Languages like Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, etc. which, although functioning much earlier and doing very valuable work in their own way, we may here pass over as being rather of a Provincial nature. Most of these Societies meet annually or biennially, and publish reports embodying considerable valuable material for research. Except perhaps the Science Congress, none of the Bodies mentioned above has a wider topical range than the All-India Oriental Conference. Suggestions have often been made that the Oriental Conference should prune off some of its "Sections", which are already being looked after by special organisations. I do not believe that we would be well-advised in doing so. We do want a Body that would view the entire field of Orientalia as a unity, and devise ways and means for an all-round progress. Hence, from the very first, we have given to the Iranian and Semitic Languages and Culture a status equal to that of the Sanskritic Languages and Culture, and I would myself be prepared to go further and start a new Section of Dravidian Languages and Culture as a permanent feature of the Oriental Conference, provided a number of enthusiasts in that subject undertake to see that the Section will not die of inanition. We seem to have such enthusiasts for the Iranian Section, which, whatever the venu of the Conference, is always well represented in papers and members.

11. Research material of the most valuable kind lies scattered in all these Journals, Annals and Quarterlies; Conference and Congress Reports; Commemoration and other Special Volumes; University Publications and Memoirs; and special Series organised by Societies and Institutions. There is thus no dearth of research workers; and almost all the Universities of India are, in their higher courses, fostering research by granting research degrees. To confess the truth, there is quite a plethora of men and material; so that latterly it has become very difficult to keep pace with them all; and schemes for collating and consolidating their results, have been occupying our thoughts all along. In fact, the General President of the Hyderabad Session of our Conference, as you might remember, gave a definite lead in the matter and inaugurated a scheme, which is expected to produce results in the fulness of time.

12. My complaint, however, still is that what has been achieved so far, and is likely to be achieved at the present rate of progress and the present methods of work is small as compared with what we have still to accomplish in almost every branch of study. Thus, to take Sanskrit Language and Litera-

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ture, the three-quarters-of-a-century old Petersburg Lexicon of Böhtlingk-Roth is still our only unfailing guide in tracing up the historical use of any word in Literature, Vedic and Post-Vedic. The best drama of our own "Shakespeare"—the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala of Kālidāsa—despite the labours of Pischel, Foulkes, Patankar and Cappeller—still remains to be "critically" edited. The Upaniṣads, the lavish praise of which by Schopenhauer we are so fond of repeating, we are still content to read and study in editions which are full of misprints and mistakes. The Bhagavad-gītā, which the Hindus like to call their "Bible", still lacks a really scientific Word-Index, despite the two or three inadequte works that claim to be so; and while the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata—the two national Epics of India—are on the way of being properly and critically edited, what shall we say about our Purāṇas? Then for our Histories of Sanskrit Literature we have still to look up to our Webers and Max Müllers, our Macdonells and Keiths, and the translations and adaptations of these, with the German treatise of Winternitz for our *ultima ratio*—our supreme court of appeal: surely, not a very satisfactory state of things. Lastly, as to the Ṛgveda—the source and fountainhead of Sanskrit scholarship—our Professors are still complacently engaged in the task of dishing out to their pupils half-digested crumbs from some German workshop, and are eagerly looking forward to the day when Geldner's German Translation for the Harvard Oriental Series, which is lying completely printed in a press at Göttingen, will be made available after the present War.

13. Things are not much different if we turn to the sacred and secular literatures of Buddhism and Jainism. The Pāli Text Society and the Bibliotheca Buddhica have no doubt done pioneering work for Buddhism; but they were only first editions, now no longer available. For the needs of Indian scholarship there has to be a complete edition of the Canon in Devanāgarī characters, including a comprehensive dictionary. For the Jain Canon the case is still more unsatisfactory.

14. In the Department of History, it is no doubt a sign of the times that Indian scholars are now waking up to their responsibility. Two or three comprehensive schemes for the exhaustive treatment of the material in several volumes are afoot, including the latest from Aligarh, although I myself do not yet see the need of having several schemes simultaneously set afoot. A proper understanding of the past currents in History must always serve as the basis for the task of shaping and moulding the thoughts and movements that are to constitute the History of to-day and to-morrow. But the word of

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caution has to be uttered that we must always try to understand and interpret men and events of the earlier age in the light of their own environment and outlook, and not attempt a réchauffé in the light of the ideas and ideals of to-day. The danger of such a thing happening is, let me add, not quite imaginary.

15. In the Department of Philosophy, while, thanks to the life-long labours of Sir Ganganath Jha, the more important of our authorities on the different Systems of Philosophy are available in translations, they have not yet been fully digested and assimilated in the historical presentations of thought-movements in India. We have, of course, a brilliant survey of the whole field from the facile and effective pen of Professor Radhakrishnan; but the outlines have to be filled in and supplemented in the light of latest discovery and research. The other day, speaking in Karnatak, Sir R. P. Paranjpye put up a powerful plea for the cultivation of a historical outlook in the study of Science. If we want a historical outlook in Science, how much more urgent must be the need for it in the study of History proper and of Philosophy? In the present state of studies our historian of philosophy has to combine the functions of both the philologue and the philosopher in one, as Zeller did in his History of the Greek Philosophy; and this is not easy. But only so can we avoid some of the avoidable defects. For instance, in accepting Deussen's ready-made classification of the Upaniṣads into Early Prose, Early Metrical, etc., as though they were chronological, I have had an occasion ere this to point out that we are likely to be in danger of failing to grasp the real course of thought-movement in the so-called Upaniṣadic period, which actually covers several centuries of intellectual activity. And there is no chance of our presentation of the Bhagavadgītā being accurate and reliable if we fail to understand what the Bhagavadgītā precisely means when it is alluding to certain "Sāmkhya" doctrines, or if we were to hold two different views about the chronological placing of the Bhagavadgītā in the different parts of one and the same treatise. It is thus noticeable that even in some of the latest and most informed presentations of the Bhagavadgītā teaching there are indirect accusations of doctrinal inconsistency, when the heart of the trouble very often lies in the writers importing their own pre-conceived notions of "Sāmkhya" and "Yoga" and the other technical terms in their interpretation of specific passages in the Poem. So too, the divergent chronological placings of the Poem, even after the arguments upon which they were grounded are admitted to be untenable, somehow seem to continue to haunt the writers, if one were to judge them by

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their anxiety to placate the critics who wanted to place the Bhagavadgītā nearer the beginning of the Christian era, as well as those that are arguing for a Pre-Buddhistic placing of it.

16. It is unnecessary for me to refer to the other Departments of Indology and other branches of Orientalia, where my knowledge can only be secondhand; but the same tale of quantities of work lying undone, or ill done, along with, not any lack of men, but lack of properly trained and qualified workers to do it, stares us in the face everywhere. In this connection I do not of course wish to ignore the very valuable work that is being done by the Viśveśvarānanda Research Institute at Lahore in Lexicography, by the Svādhyāyamaṇḍala at Aundh (Satara District) in publishing works helpful for the critical study of the Vedas, or by the Vaidic Saṁśodhanamaṇḍala in Poona, whose edition of the Ṛgveda with the Bhāṣya of Sāyana bids very fair to supplant Max Müller's *Editio Princeps*. The work of the Greater India Society is most distinctive in its own way. I have already referred to the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the B. O. R. Institute. Amongst the other publications of the B. O. R. Institute I must not fail to mention such monuments of painstaking scholarship as Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra, which has already covered some 2,200 pages, and is expected to run into about 1,500 pages more.

17. There are also other well-known Series of Publications such as the Ānandāśrama Series of Poona, the Gaekwad's Series of Baroda, the Mysore Government's Oriental Series, and the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, which already have more than a hundred volumes each to their credit. Then there are the important series of publications of the premiére University of India—the University of Calcutta—whose Post-Graduate Department, organised by that far-seeing statesman and educationist, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, is still the model which the other older Universities of India like those of Madras, Allahabad and the Punjab, as well as the younger ones like those of Annamalai and Trivandrum, are trying to imitate and emulate. There are also other scattered publications—State-aided (like those of Kashmir and Hyderabad) and privately endowed,—which I shall not try to name as I do not claim to possess exhaustive information, and would like to avoid the faults of both omission and commission. This magnificent and many-sided activity is evidence positive that there has come an awakening over us in every nerve and corner; but it is just at such a juncture that one has to guard against the growth of contusive and contumacious tumours which are the conse-

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quences of mal-nutrition. The Bhagavadgītā (xviii. 20) tells us that the aim of true knowledge ought to be the ability to discern the Unity in the midst of Plurality; and the mark of such knowledge, we read, is humility rather than arrogance, candour in lieu of hypocrisy, peace and purity instead of restlessness and passion, and earnest self-control taking the place of egotistic attachment to things of the moment. Are we sure that the spirit of research with which our students, and the educational institutions which cater for them, are inspired, will pass the above test?

18. The fact is, that not having a sufficiently broad foundation upon which to erect their superstructure of "research", our students have no proper perspective in their subject. There are of course "problems" scattered all along the line in every subject. Just to choose one of them and to spin it out with the all too familiar paraphernalia of argument and methodology is not likely to give the student any insight into the subject as a whole. My College teacher in History, Professor F. W. Bain, used to tell us the story of an Englishman going to inspect the Ford Factory upon the express invitation of a distant American relation of his, who was an employee in the Factory.

> "That's where we take our tiffin; that's where we play at Baseball; these are the shops where we buy our provisions; these the schools for our kids; and that the Church where we go on Sundays."
>
> "Indeed! That's splendid! — But I should like to see where you produce your world-famous car. For example, where is your own workshop and what kind of work do you do there?"
>
> "Why, I showed you the desk at which I work."
>
> "Oh! That? But I did not see any tools there?"
>
> "Ah! That's the beauty of it. I don't need no tools except one, which I carries in my pocket. The fact is, from this left window comes in on automatic rollers a part to which I fit in screw No. 137. And that done, it disappears through the window on the right. That's all I have to do, and I make 25 dollars per week by it. Not bad, eh?"
>
> "And that's all you will be doing for the manufacture of your blessed car all your days?"
>
> "No, indeed! I began with screw No. 733, which earned me just 10 dollars. I expect before long to be put on to screw No. 73, which will mean for me 30 dollars the week."

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That is our research for you in a nutshell, which has earned Doctorates by the dozen. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that specialisation must come on the top of wider foundation, and not as a substitute for it. The "particular" has a value only in so far as it can be subsumed under some "universal": *avibhaktam vibhakteṣu*, as the Gītā words it.

19. In the University where I took my Doctorate they have what is called a Pre-Seminar Course without successfully going through which nobody was permitted to go in for research. They drilled us in the outlines of Classical Scholarship; made us draw up Bibliographies; prepare Indexes; discuss constituted texts on the basis of Mss. collations: familiarised us, in short, with the tools of our profession. Here in India, so far as I have seen things, or was able to judge from the Doctorate Theses from the several Universities which came up to me for being examined, students are permitted to take a theme for research much too early and at the dictation of the Professor in charge; whereas the theme of research ought to come to the student as a suggestion arising naturally from the subject or subjects in which he might be engaged for the time being. The students—and may-be some of their teachers—have some queer notions about "research". They are often misled into thinking that research is the aim of all knowledge, is a kind of a higher knowledge, so to say; whereas the facts are just the other way round. The remedy indicated for this unsatisfactory state of things is, the dissemination of correct knowledge about research and research methods by the establishment of special preparatory courses, which ought to be made compulsory on all students intending to go in for research either for its own sake, or for any University degree. And while I am on the subject let me also say that research is not to be judged by the number and the intensity of the shocks that the conclusions thereby arrived are likely to administer to the established or orthodox opinion on the given subject. That kind of "originality" does not bespeak a healthy mind. Research is a constructive force, which admits destruction only in so far as it helps re-construction. And as I said, fortunately, in almost every field of study, there is such a virgin and unexplored or only partially explored soil awaiting the patient plough of the tillers and toilers, that there is no possibility of our students wanting "problems."

It was my intention originally to take up a few such "problems", and show how important constructive work is waiting there for the earnest student who would apply his mind to it, by first taking stock of the work that others have already

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done on the subject, and, after a critical examination of the same, making his own contribution to it. But as the present session at Benares was fixed up rather late, there was not sufficient time left for introducing all those things in the Address, which had to be printed in great hurry. I must however make room for just one such problem.

It is well-known that some Western scholars have tried to prove that the present form of our Mahābhārata is later than the Purāṇas, which they classify into an earlier group, including the Matsya and the Vāyu, and a later group. This is done on the basis of a comparative study of topics common to the Mahābhārata on one side, and the earlier and the later groups of the Purāṇas on the other. Taking for instance the geographical and the cosmographical chapters from the Epic and the Purāṇas, Hopkins and Kirfel have endeavoured to prove that the Mahābhārata is borrowing not only from the earlier group of Purāṇas, but also from the later group including the Liṅga and the Garuḍa Purāṇas; while a pupil of Kirfel—Dr. L. Hilgenberg—essayed to demonstrate that in the Cosmographical chapters of the Bhīṣmaparvan, the Mahābhārata was a careless imitation of the Padmapurāṇa. The untenability of the latter claim I have demonstrated in a paper already published elsewhere;[1] and I have subsequently gathered enough evidence—which owing to its technical and textual character is unsuitable for presentation in an address of this type—which will go to prove that, even the earlier Purāṇas betray an unmistakable acquaintance with the treatment of the topic in the Great Epic. Such a comparative study of topics common to the Epics and the Purāṇas constitutes a very fruitful field, which may profitably engage the attention of our research workers.

20. But, should we keep on talking of learning and research with aeroplanes flying in the skies overhead, with submarines plying their nefarious trade under waters, and with the tanks rattling all around us on the earth, endangering civil life and civil occupations? If the reports are correct, in some of the belligerent countries Science has prostituted itself and contracted an unholy alliance with the forces of destruction. But this cannot go on for ever. Sanity will return, and mankind will have to sit down and seriously tackle the problem of post-war reconstruction. Homer's Epos, we are told, does not conclude: it merely ceases. So it may be with the present

[1] See "Cosmographical Episode from the Mahābhārata and the Padmapurāṇa", F. W. Thomas Commemoration Volume, 1939.

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War. But whether the period following the end of the War is to be of shorter or longer duration, it will be a period of peace, when the war-fever will have cooled down, so that the war-time psychology which is now dominating us in all directions will have to be clean forgotten. There is a sense of war-weariness slowly creeping upon us all, however reluctant we might be to confess it; and that, after the Armistice, ought to teach our statesmen wisdom and moderation. If the peace talks are going to be merely a matter of restitutions and indemnities, a matter of political and economic adjustments, there is not much chance of such a peace bringing enduring solace to our exacerbated hearts or joy to our devastated hearths.

21. I began my Address by mentioning the names of some of the great scholars whose loss from amongst us it has fallen to our lot to chronicle. They were, some of them, names of persons hailing from countries whom the War has taught us to regard as the enemy countries. But they were all allies banded together in the cause of Truth: that Truth which, someone has caustically said, is the first casuality of the War. It may not be easy; but we will have to live down the rancour created by the War, and think of our sworn enemies as our born allies. War is never known to have made permanent conquests or built enduring empires. The conquests of Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon or Taimur hardly lasted a generation. Those of Christ or Aśoka have endured through centuries.

> The East is East: the West, West;
> And never the twain shall meet:

someone has said, forgetting all the while the fact that the East and the West coalesce at each Meridian, should we but have the proper view-point. Cultural contacts dissolve enmities and racial jealousies; for, have not the Phœnicians, the Portuguese, and even the Arabs in a way helped the spread of Eastern or Indian culture in Europe and led to the canonisation of our own Buddha as a Christian saint? There is sufficient *Lebensraum* in the world for all of us should we but agree to live together as one fraternity. But on any other relationship no corner and no castle would be safe for any length of time either for the master or for the ministrant.

22. In the domain of Oriental Scholarship, which of course and not politics has been all along the theme of my address, there is one thing in particular that still needs to be stressed. There was a time when, on any point at issue, to cite some German authority in support was regarded as the winning stroke. We do not seem to have quite got over that—shall I

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call it ?—inferiority-complex. I know a case where one of our Professors prepared an original paper on one of our Vedānta teachers and arranged for the publication of it over the signature of a German scholar. In another case, another Professor, wishing to prove that he was capable of original research, if at all he cared for it, took it into his head to re-suscitate an exploded view of a well-known German scholar about the date of a poet, and sought to support it by a rather commonplace array of arguments newly compiled by him for the purpose. In scholarship, as in everything else, nobody is likely to concede to you an equality of status by merely asking for it by such methods as these. Trust in your own power. Do what you think as the best, and give no thought to the consequences. That is what the Bhagavadgītā has been dinning into our ears all these days. And if to-day, which is the last day of the dying year, we decide to live down the older mentality and resolve to stand together, brothers in the common pursuit of Truth, and devise courageously our own methods and establish our own traditions of research, we will assuredly come by our own before the New Year, which we will be ringing in in a few hours, becomes ripe for ringing in its successor.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : VEDIC SECTION

By

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, MADRAS.

THE FUTURE OF VEDIC RESEARCHES

My first duty is to express, my very sincere feelings of gratitude to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for the great honour done to me by selecting me to preside over the Vedic Section of this session of the Conference. I had a similar honour only four years ago when I was selected to preside over the Classical Sanskrit Section of the session of the Conference held at Tirupati in March 1940. I know that my claims for such continued honour are weak. I have been regularly attending the sessions of the Conference from its fifth session held at Lahore in 1928; and from that time onwards, I have been continuously a member of the Conference and have been contributing some papers at the various sessions. I have also tried to edit some Vedic texts and I have done some work in the field of Classical Sanskrit. Grammar and Indian philosophy are subjects which I have not failed to touch. This honour I consider as a recognition of the sincerety with which I have attempted to be of some service in the field of Sanskrit literature, and also as an encouragement for my future work. All that I can assure you in response to this honour is that if I have not done anything very appreciable and if I am not able to contribute much in future, it will not be due to any want of sincerety on my part. It must be the consequence of some inherent weakness and short-comings in me, for which there is no remedy.

2. It is the usual practice in the presidential addresses in Conferences to make a survey of the progress of the particular subject during the term preceding the session and following the previous session, and it will be only appropriate to keep on to such a practice. In the address of the General President there will be such a survey of the entire field of Orientalogy and it is neither appropriate nor fruitful for any one of lesser capacities, to attempt to make a further survey of any particular portion of that wide field. This is one of the reasons for my slightly deviating from the usual practice on this occasion. There is another factor which persuades me not to attempt such a survey. In the Special Jubilee Volume of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, published less than a year ago, there is a masterly survey of the progress of Vedic research

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along with a survey of similar work in the other fields connected with Indological studies. There is practically nothing that I can add to this survey, if I started a fresh investigation in the field.

3. My attempt is more to consider what lies ahead of us, and if I take any retrospective view, it is only to get the right direction and bearing in my looking ahead. Although it is not the Vedic literature among Sanskrit works, that first reached the notice of European scholars, and although Vedic studies started among the European scholars only long time after they had investigated other types of literature, still when the Vedic literature was brought to their notice, the enthusiasm created by this new wealth of the Indo-Germanic family far exceeded the enthusiasm created by the appearance of Sanskrit. Epics and dramas, law books and mythological works were the first specimens of Sanskrit literature that reached the notice of the Europeans. It was really Burnouf who started the study of the Vedas in Europe, and he started the comparative study of the Vedas with the Avesta. His disciples distinguished themselves in the field of Vedic research. Vedic texts were published. Philological and historical investigation of the Vedic literature made great headway.

4. In the European Universities, the study of the Vedic literature and of Comparative Philology went side by side, and the other strata of Sanskrit literature occupied only a subordinate position in the Sanskritic field in the European Universities. It is true that many of the texts of the Sanskrit literature in the field of drama and epics were printed in Europe. The grammar of Pāṇini too had attracted the attention of the European scholars. In the systems of Philosophy, it was the Advaita that attracted the attention of scholars and Sāṅkhya and Yoga stood behind. Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā found little enthusiastic reception in European Universities. The Purāṇas and the historical and ethical poems also commanded some attention. But if we look back on the contribution of Europe to Sanskritic studies during the nineteenth century, it would be found that it was in the Vedic literature that they made the greatest progress. I have no intention of evaluating the contribution of the European scholars in the field of Vedic research at present. But I had to refer to this point only to show how India stood in relation to European scholars in Vedic studies.

5. It cannot be said that in the modern methods of Vedic studies India had made much of a contribution in the nineteenth century. It is true that many of the Vedic texts had been printed in the series of the Royal Asiatic Society of

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Bengal, known as the Bibliotheca Indica Series. The Ānandāśrama and the Mysore Series also have published many original works in the Vedic field, not known before. But studies like chronology, mythology, grammar and rituals had not received the same attention in India as they had in the European centres during the last century.

6. But during the recent years, there has been a great enterprise shown by Indian scholars in Indian Universities in making scientific researches in the Vedic field. Many works not known to the European scholars in the last century came to light and were published from the different centres of research in India. The commentaries of Bhaṭṭabhāskara on the Yajur-Veda were published from Mysore. The commentary on the Nirukta by Maheśvara has been published by Dr. Lakshman Sarup from Lahore, and this publication must be regarded as a real land-mark in our progress along the path of Vedic research. Many commentaries on the Vedas, whose real nature was not known to the Vedic scholars of the last century, like the commentaries by Skandasvāmin and Mādhava, were discovered, though only in fragments, and the available portions have been published.

The Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has published the commentaries on the Ṛg-veda by Skandasvāmin and Mādhava for the first three Adhyāyas of the first Aṣṭaka, and the Madras University has published the entire first Aṣṭaka of Skandasvāmin's Ṛgveda Commentary, with a really variant version for the first two Adhyāyas, differing considerably from the recension published from Trivandrum. Some Kārikās on Ṛgveda interpretation collected from the Ṛgveda Commentary of Mādhava, were also published by the Madras University. To this latter publication was added as an appendix two Anukramaṇīs written on the Ṛgveda by another Mādhava. The commentary on the Ṛgveda by this second Mādhava has been discovered in the Adyar Library for the first Aṣṭaka, and the portion for the first four Adhyāyas of this Aṣṭaka has already been published by the Adyar Library and the remaining portion is now being issued. Still another Mādhava has commented on the Sāmaveda, and this commentary along with the commentary by Bharatasvāmin has been published by the Adyar Library. Another work of importance on the Vedas is a book called Vārarucaniruktasamuccaya, also discovered in the Adyar Library, and published from the Madras University. Besides these, the Adyar Library has one more commentary on the Ṛgveda in a very fragmentary form, and there is also a fragment of a commentary on the Sāmaveda.

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7. Three commentaries on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa have been found out, by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, by Govindasvāmin and by Bhaṭṭabhāskara. I had surmised in a paper that I contributed to the fifth session of this Conference held at Lahore that Bhaṭṭabhāskara must have written commentaries for all the four Vedas, and the existence of a commentary by him for the Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇa lends support to this surmise. The commentary on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa by Ṣaḍguru has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series for the first fourteen Adhyāyas, and the remaining part will soon appear. The other two commentaries remain yet in manuscript form. There is a commentary for the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa by one Udaya and this too is a very lucid and scholarly exposition of the text.

8. There are commentaries available for stray Mantras, like the commentary by Haradatta on the Mantras of the Aśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtras. This has been published from Trivandrum. The earlier part of this publication is by one Cakrapāni, not noticed in that publication. The entire commentary of Haradatta is available in manuscript form at Mysore, though there are breaks here and there.

9. I wanted only to indicate what progress has been made in India during recent times in the matter of text publications in the Vedic field. There are still many texts awaiting the enterprise of publishers and also of research workers.

10. In the field of Kalpa Sūtras there are various commentaries now available in manuscript form, and they are all very important in understanding the text of the Vedas. In the field of the Kalpa Sūtras, names like Bhavadāsa, Bhavatrāta and Devatrāta are not very familiar to the ordinary Sanskritist, since their works have not yet been published, and since, consequently, their names are known only to a few specialists in the Vedic Literature and to those who deal with bibliography.

11. The literature in Vedāṅga is also equally rich. I have already mentioned the commentary on the Nirukta by Maheśvara, published from Lahore. Many commentaries on the Sarvānukramaṇī are known and their manuscripts are available. Recently a metrical exposition of the Sarvānukramaṇī has come to light, and a full description will be found in the issue of the Bulletin of the Adyar Library for December 1943. Another very important work in the field of Vedāṅga for which searches were being made, is the Niruktavārtika. References to this relatively ancient work are seen in very early books, and it has been shown in the Annals of Oriental

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Research of the Madras University, Vol. II, Part 2, that Durga in his commentary on the Nirukta might have been referring to this work when he quoted from a Vārtika. The work has been discovered, though I have not yet seen the work. I am hoping to receive it soon and then a full description of it will appear in a suitable Oriental Journal at an early date.

12. It is not my intention here to make a survey of the Vedic literature or the work already done in the field. My real object is to indicate what amount of work yet remains to be done. Even the publication of the available manuscript material will engage scholars for many years. Then there are many works which are known only in fragments. To this category must be assigned the commentaries on the Ṛgveda by Skandasvāmin, of which only the portion relating to the first Aṣṭaka and a small part of the fifth Aṣṭaka have come to light. The commentary of Mādhava, of which the first four Adhyāyas of the first Aṣṭaka have been issued from the Adyar Library, is available only for the first Aṣṭaka and the rest has yet to be located. Here I may definitely say that this commentary is quite different from the commentary of Mādhava so beautifully brought out from Lahore under the able editorship of Dr. Sarup. His Anukramaṇīs are known only from references in his work, except for the two Anukramaṇīs published as an Appendix to the Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 2. The whole of the metrical commentary on the Ṛgveda of which only a very stray fragment has been discovered in the Adyar Library must be searched for. Bhaṭṭabhāskara's commentary on the Aitareya Brāhmana is available only for early portion, and a complete copy still remains undiscovered.

13. Apart from the discovery and publication of rare works in the field of Vedic literature, there is the question of settling the authorship and dates of many of these works. The relation of Skandasvāmin to the Nirukta commentary published from Lahore requires closer investigation. The possibility of a commentary on the Nirukta by Skandasvāmin and another commentary on this original commentary by Maheśvara having become mixed up into a single commentary, is something that has to be examined. The problem has been discussed before; yet it remains a problem, though each party may consider his position as beyond a shadow of doubt. Regarding the date of Skandasvāmin, there is a difference of opinion, the difference being by a century, and this difference is due to a difference in interpreting a verse where the date is given. Whether we have to take a text as it is or whether we

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have to alter a text to make it conform to certain hypothesis, is also a question that needs careful consideration. Then there is the question of more than one Mādhava who has commented on the Ṛgveda, besides the Mādhava who has commented on the Sāmaveda. There is the Sāyaṇa Mādhava and also two other Mādhavas whose commentaries on the Ṛgveda are available. One has been taken up for publication from the Adyar Library and has appeared in print for the first half of the first Aṣṭaka. The other is being published from Lahore. Sāyaṇa quotes from a Mādhava as a previous commentator. The question regarding the Mādhava whom Sāyaṇa quotes, has yet to be decided. It is assumed that it is the Mādhava whose commentary is being published from Lahore. I have reasons to conclude that Sāyaṇa quotes from the Mādhava whose commentary has partly appeared from the Adyar Library. It is this Mādhava who is quoted from by all later commentators in the Vedic Literature. Even the quotations found in Devarāja's commentary on the Nighaṇṭu are from this Mādhava and not from Mādhava son of Venkaṭārya whose commentary it is that is now appearing from Lahore, though Devarāja mentions only this latter Mādhava by name. Devarāja has confused between many Mādhavas.

14. I can multiply cases where there is enough scope for many years' labour for students of Vedic literature even on this one problem of the authors of the Vedic commentaries and their dates and inter-relations. Many of these problems have to wait till more texts are published. I have no hesitation in saying that the publication of works available only in manuscripts at present is one of the most important pieces of works that stands in need of our immediate attention. I have already mentioned the work done in this field by certain institutions. If I have not mentioned all, it is not due to any desire on my part to ignore any institution or to bring certain other institutions into greater prominence. I was only making a casual survey of the publications of Vedic literature and not cataloguing the institutions that are engaged in this enterprise.

15. No one who knows anything of Vedic literature can ignore the wonderful work done by the International Academy of Indian Culture at Lahore. Many rare Vedic works have been published by this Academy under the distinguished leadership of Dr. Raghu Vir. The paper used, the printing and get up and every detail of publication is an object of envy and must be a source of pride to Indians, and are worthy of the valuable literature that is being ushered into the world through these publications and also of the scholarship revealed in these

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publications. The Research Department of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, is taking up a stupendous work in bringing out the index of the Vedic Literature and some parts are already out. In Poona, there is the Tilak Vaidic Samshodhan Mandal, which is bringing out a very scholarly edition of the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa; they have promised various indices as a final volume.

16. Recently I had occasion to see the Vedic publications of another institution in the Bombay Presidency, of which I must make a special mention in this address. The Svadhyaya Mandal of Aundh in the Satara District of Bombay Presidency has already issued the Saṁhitās of the Ṛgveda, of the Śuklayajurveda both in the Mādhyandina and Kāṇva Śākhās, of the Maitrayaṇī and Kāṭhaka Saṁhitas and of the Sāma and the Atharvavedas. There is also another volume being the first Part of what is termed the Daivata Saṁhitā, in which are brought together all the mantras pertaining to a particular Deity. The first Part contains the collection in respect of Agni, Indra, Soma and Maruts. Other parts of this work and the publication of other Vedic works are undertaken by this institution. I may say without any hesitation or without any exaggeration that I have not seen another set of publications where the purchaser can get so much of valuable material for such a small price. Apart from the accuracy of the texts presented and the neatness of the printing and get up, the indices and other supplementary material contained in these publications should give credit to any research scholar. I may cite one instance. In the Daivata Saṁhitā, there are certain valuable indices. There is at the end of a section dealing with a Deity, a collection of the similes found in the Vedas about that Deity and also all the epithets that are used in describing that Deity. The patient labour that has been devoted for such a stupendous collection of material is something that should rouse any one's admiration. And all this work is being done in the most modest way; there is no advertisement and publicity attached to this venture. The great work is being done in a silent corner of the world. Not material reward, not personal honour and fame, is the inspiring factor that urges such a great work; it is nothing but selfless devotion to a great undertaking, gratitude to the past and consideration for the future generations, that have given the founder of this institution the courage and power of endurance needed in carrying out such a stupendous undertaking. While the undertakings of other institutions are being made known in the world through various channels, I find that this great institution

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does not receive the same publicity which it deserves and I make a special appeal to those who are interested in Vedic researches to recognise the great service that this institution is doing to the world.

17. Ever since I started on the road of Vedic research, I had to face one question from many people who are prominent in the public eye and I cannot avoid a temptation to refer to this question. I had to tell various persons that I am interested especially in discovering manuscripts relating to Vedic literature and the uniform question that was put to me was, "Do these new commentaries on the Vedic literature throw any new light on the meaning of the Vedas ?" Certainly it was the commentary of Sāyaṇa that I read for the first time in my attempt to understand the text of the Vedas. Then I studied the various annotation of modern scholars. During the last many years I had been discovering manuscripts of commentaries of the Veda older than Sāyaṇa, and I have done some work by way of publishing some of them. But the new commentaries do not give any really new interpretation of the Vedas.

18. The fact is that the Vedas can mean only one thing on the main, and that one meaning alone can be given by any interpreter. In details there are various new facts that are contained in the newly discovered earlier commentaries. But such details are of interest only to the specialist. The fact is the same in the case of other works also. Raghuvaṁśa has many commentaries. But is there much of a difference in the matter of the interpretations ? Certainly not. There are various editions of Shakespeare with different annotations. But the main thing is the same in all such annotations. The great interest in the discovery of the earlier commentaries lies in the fact that from this, we are able to conclude that there was a continuous tradition of Vedic studies in India. Just as the number of editions and annotations and studies in respect of a work show the relative importance that was attached to that work, similarly the number of commentaries on the Vedas shows that in ancient India, the study of the Vedas was considered a very important factor in the intellectual activities of the nation.

19. In the Śāstraic literature, different commentaries present different and independent interpretations. This is the case with the interpretations of the Upaniṣhads, the Brahma-sūtras, the Gītā, the Mīmāmsā Bhāṣya and other Śāstraic works. In these cases, the basic text is only an occasion for the exposi-

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tion of new doctrines, and are not themselves interpreted. The case is different for the ordinary literature, where the text is interpreted, without the interpreter attempting expositions of new doctrines.

20. If this is so and if the new commentaries do not throw any really new light on the text of the Vedas, why should one trouble oneself so much about the newly discovered commentaries? I had no difficulty in meeting this serious question. The value of a man is that he is alive and cannot be dispensed with. In a State no one makes an investigation about the actual utility of every individual and decide to ignore or dispense with the unwanted element in the society. The State, on the contrary, lays down the axiom that in a State every individual has a right to live and also a duty to live. In a civilised country, no individual has a right to extinguish himself. He must live, whether he wills or not, whether he can or not, whether others want him or not.

21. Further we have various factories for the production of the same material. There are different agencies for the transaction of the same sort of business in a corporate society. Why should there be so many Banks, so many Insurance Firms, so many export and import agencies and so many duplications and multiplications of so many things in this world? Why can we not be satisfied with a single institution for every single factor under State monopoly? Just as this variety and multiplicity is a factor in our day to day life, similarly this variety and multiplicity in the literary world is also a fact that we must recognise. It is a sign of progress and prosperity.

22. The immense activity in the realm of Vedic interpretation in ancient India shows that Vedic literature was a living force in the life of the Indian community through those many centuries. It is a sad state of affairs that at present the efforts in the field of the Vedic literature is the hobby of a few, and the Vedic literature, along with the other strata of Sanskrit literature, has ceased to be a moving force in our national life. In every field of research there are two phases. It is so in science, it is so in literature. There is an abstract side; there is also a practical side. There is the pure abstract science, where the attempt of the research worker is to find out certain truths in this Universe. Then the discoveries resulting from such investigations are made to serve the day to day needs of man.

23. Corresponding to the pure side and the applied side of the sciences, we do not now have an applied side to literary

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studies in respect of our ancient Indian civilization. What our ancients thought and said, what they did, how they lived, what problems they had and how they found out solutions for such problems, what their hopes and aspirations were, these are matters a knowledge of which can and must be of some help for us in guiding ourselves in our journey along the path of modern life. But literary studies in India have been keeping themselves absolutely on the abstract side for many decades. Grammar, text emendations, constructing of these texts, determining authors and dates and such like matters have completely taken up the whole field.

24. But we must not ignore the fact that when these literary specimens were actually produced, they were not meant as prospective literary curiosities for a future generation of research workers. And if now we are looking on this rich literary region with merely the curiosity of a research worker, we are not looking at them from the correct position and we get a picture of the literature quite different from what it really is. I am not sure if even in very ancient times, the Vedic literature had not begun to be looked upon as something which it really was not in its original nature. The Vedas must originally have been pure literature of a high order. The inspiration of the poets began to be interpreted as the doctrine of the non-human origin of the Vedas, its *apauruṣeyatva.* It became an adjunct to ritualism and began to be interpreted as a ritualistic text. Now it has become a mere antiquarian curiosity. One of the many directions which future research work can take its course is to examine the Vedas as good literature and to attempt to evaluate its artistic side. This is a method of approach which has not been attempted, either in ancient times or in modern times.

25. In modern times, the philological method of interpreting the Vedas has assumed a great prominence. No one belittles the service which philology can render and has rendered in interpreting an ancient text. Our ancients were not blind to the efficacy of philology, in its aspects of historical grammar, in determining the meanings of words. Yāska says that in the majority of cases, there is a possibility of analysing words into their parts and of settling their derivations, correctly explaining the accent, and that in those cases, the interpretation should follow this straight path. But there are cases, where interpretation is not so easy on account of the changes that language has undergone and in these cases, special methods have to be employed. The standpoint is the same in modern times also.

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26. The progress made in modern times in the matter of analysing the verbal content of the Vedas is something stupendous. But there is a very important question that has to be answered at some stage or other. If we are able to analyse all the words, determine the root from which the word has been formed, and fix the method of the formation of the word, and if in this way we are able to decide the original meaning or what we are constrained to accept as the original meaning of the word, have we been able to reach the end of our journey? Do the original meanings of the words show us the real meaning of the Vedic passages where those words occur?

27. By analysing the Vedic vocabulary and by determining the origin and formation of the words, we have only fixed the origin and formation of the words; that is all. From this, to say that we have also arrived at the real meaning of the Vedic texts, is not quite correct. Such a statement presumes so many unproved and so many disproved hypotheses. The identity of the original meaning of a word and the meaning of the word as it is found in the Vedas presumes that the Vedas represent the original strata in the development of the language. That again has as its basis the further assumption that the Vedas represent a very early stage in the civilization of the Indians, and that, that stage is not much beyond the starting point in the advancement of that civilization. Certainly we cannot understand Kālidāsa's poetry by a scheme of etymologies. Why should it be different in the case of the Vedas? The original point at which the development of language started is not any nearer to the Vedic poets relatively to the poets of a later age, than a man on the top of the mountain is nearer to the sun in relation to another man on the plains. Technically there is a difference in the distance between the man on the top of the mountain and the sun on one side and the man on the plain and the sun on the other side. But in actual affairs there is no perceptible difference. Similarly, though technically the Vedic poets lived at a time nearer to the time when Sanskrit language started its development, in relation to the poets of a later age, say the age of Kālidāsa, yet in actual facts of experiences, there is no noticable difference. Neither in the Vedas nor in Kālidāsa do we see the words used in their absolutely original sense.

28. When we take up philology and etymologies as aids to Vedic interpretations, we must realise that Vedic interpretation is an interpretation of thoughts and not a system of etymologies. There are shortcomings even in philology.

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29. There is also no guarantee that the Vedic literature represents the language of any particular strata in the development of the language. Perhaps there is a longer interval between the earliest date of the Vedic poems and the latest dates than there is between such latest times and the date of Kālidāsa. What is called the Vedic age is a long period of many centuries and perhaps even of milleniums. As in the so-called biological evolution, the evolution of language is not continuous, uniform and proceeding at a regular pace. Facts continue unchanged for a long time, and then we find a sudden change. This is true also of language. Thus the difference in linguistic strata is not any sure criterion for determining dates. When there is no certainty that there was no change in the language of the Vedas in its different stages, how can a system of uniform etymologies be a help in determining the meanings of Vedic passages? The etymologies are more likely to misguide the investigator than to lead him to accurate conclusions. I am not belittling the value of philology. I am only giving a caution. Philology too has its shortcomings and weaknesses. Much work has been done in attempting to arrive at the original meanings of Vedic words. More work remains to be done in our attempts at arriving at the original thoughts preserved in the Vedic passages.

30. When we interpret the Vedas, we are not merely interpreting texts having no sort of connection with man's thoughts and man's life. So we must always keep in mind the fact that in trying to understand the Vedas, our attempt is really to understand a system of life, a civilization. Unless the future investigator keeps these two facts in mind, his investigation is not likely to take him much farther than where we are at present. The two fundamental facts are that Vedas are poetry of a very high order and that the original meaning of the words is not identical with the thoughts of the poets. In this address it is not my intention to prepare a programme for the future research work in the Vedic literature. My idea is a more modest one, and that is to make a representation that there is a possibility of a new method of approach. At a time when India was threatened with the danger of complete extinction, so far as her civilised life was concerned, it was the Vedic civilization and its record in the Vedic literature that gave it the source for the right inspiration in an attempt to restore their ancient civilization to its proper place and in giving it a relatively strong measure of continuity and permanence. What gave inspiration and strength to our ancients need not be a mere object of intellectual curiosity to us. My

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object in entering on this topic is to make an appeal to students to see that our studies may have a more expanded scope than to investigate mere antiquarian problems and may comprehend certain fundamental questions of importance in our actual life. For this the preliminary step is to regard our past records as records of a civilization and not merely as relics of the starting point in man's civilization, or of the antecedent stages in the history of man's civilization. The Ṛṣis of old played a prominent part in shaping and controlling man's civilized life in India, and I see no reason why we, their descendants, however humble in our relative position, should allow ourselves to be kept behind in the rear rank in man's march through the modern ages. Let us start on a new direction in our future research in Vedic literature.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : IRANIAN SECTION

By

Dr. J. M. UNVALA, Ph.D. (Heidelberg, Germany)

WIDE SCOPE OF IRANIAN STUDIES

Delegates, Members and Colleagues,

It is a great honour that has devolved on me to address you as President of the Iranian Section of the XII Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. I am sure that an indefatigable student of the Iranian languages, particularly of the Zoroastrian sacred literature, like Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria, Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, Dr. Maneckji Davar or Mr. Bomanji Dhabhar, would have done greater honour to this post than I myself, who am sporadically in contact with our sacred literature since 1927, when I had taken up archaeology and numismatics, as my favourite subjects. Still, as unforeseen circumstances have now forced me to take up again the contact with that literature, and as the work on an Iranian bibliography, which I have compiled for the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat Funds and Properties, has revealed to me a bigger vista of the rich field of Iranistics than has been generally envisaged, I have chosen as the subject of my address Wide scope of Iranian Studies. We Parsis are greatly indebted to the organisers of the First Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Poona in 1919, to include in its different sections the Iranian one in accordance with the wishes of the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, who represented along with other Parsi scholars the small community of the Parsis, although the Conference might have, by the very attributive *All-India*, dealt exclusively with sections of Indian languages and literatures, philology, history, archaeology, numismatics and religion.

Now, as the problems concerning all these different branches of the purely Indian civilisation and culture are discussed in separate sections of the All-India Oriental Conference, its Iranian section has *par force* to discuss similar problems of the Iranian, particularly Zoroastrian civilisation and culture, and, therefore, I shall speak about these problems and about the efforts made by the western, *i.e.* European and American, and Indian, particularly Parsi savants. We are prone to overestimate the work done by western savants and belittle that done by their Indian colleagues, as the latter lack that

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advertisement and backing which usually helps their western confrères. If I were to speak of the Parsi savants, some of whom I have just mentioned, they are so unassuming and their work in the vast field of Iranistics, especially in the field of Avesta, Pahlavi and allied literatures, is so sound as to be justly appreciated by their western confrères, but which often remains unknown to their Indian colleagues, that a serious *malentendu* took place on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the XI Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Hyderabad in December 1941, which was expressed in plain terms in the Presidential Address of Mr. Yazdani and which was painful to listen for the delegates and members of the Iranian Section. The *malentendu* was worded as follows: "As regards the study of Iranian subjects it may be pointed out for the information of the institutions concerned that according to competent authorities the works published in recent years betray a narrowness of vision and lack of scientific methods, particularly on philological grounds. It should however be observed that the work done by Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala shows sound methods of research, and his guidance and advice should be taken advantage of by institutions publishing works on this important branch of Oriental studies." In the true spirit of justice towards his Parsi colleagues, Mr. Yazdani expressed his sincerest regrets for this *malentendu* the very same evening before a meeting of the members of the Iranian Section, which were accepted in the same spirit by Sardar Dastur Noshirwan Kaikobad, president of the section on behalf of himself and his colleagues. But as that *malentendu* has been already printed in the Presidential Address of Mr. Yazdani and circulated among the delegates and members of the XI Session of the All-India Oriental Conference without its correction[1], I feel it my humble duty to clear it once and for all.

Several Dasturs or high priests and priests of the Parsi community have kept up the torch of religious learning ever burning since the ancestors of the Parsis landed at Sanjan in the latter half of the eighth century of the Christian era. This can be amply proved from the rich collection of manuscripts pertaining to the Zoroastrian religion preserved in the big libraries of Berlin, Copenhagen, Florence, London, Munich,

[1] On this point being referred to Mr. Yazdani, he wrote to say, 'I never promised to delete the remarks which I made in this connection at the 11th session of the A.I.O.C. What I of course said to them was, "I shall make the necessary alterations" and that I have done.' A. S. Altekar, Local Secretary.

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Oxford and Paris, in the Mulla Firoz and the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Libraries of Bombay, in the Meherji Rana Library of Navsari, and many other private libraries belonging to several Parsi families residing in Gujarat. Some authors and copyists of these manuscripts were well conversant with the Avesta, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Modern Persian languages, besides being authorities on matters of the Zoroastrian liturgy and ritual. They had opened schools in which these subjects were taught to priestly novitiates, sometimes even to laymen. The well-known scholars like Dastur Kumana Daddaru, Dastur Edaldaru Sanjana, Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotan Sanjana, Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Hoshangji Jamasp-Asana, Ervad Aspandiarji Faramji Rabadi, Dastur Mulla Firuz, and Dastur Erachji Meherji-Rana, to name only a few, have distinguished themselves especially in the Pahlavi literature. They have not only brought fame and lustre to these priestly schools, but they were the pioneers of the Pahlavi studies. European savants like Anquetil Duperron, Spiegel, Haug, West and Darmesteter have greatly profited themselves by their works. It must be emphasized that without their preparatory work, done according to the sound traditional method and with the deepest understanding of the religious spirit underlying the Pahlavi literature, the critical and philological interpretations of the Avesta and Pahlavi texts by these European savants would have been absolutely impossible.

To the ill-advised and ignorant attacks on the religious scriptures of the Parsis and on their religion by that Christian missionary Dr. John Wilson in 1840, we owe a new orientation in the study of these scriptures, and especially in the study of the Avesta and Pahlavi languages. It may be briefly mentioned that a well-studied rejoinder, based on quotations from the Zoroastrian sacred scriptures, given to Dr. Wilson by Mr. Dosabhai Munshi in 1843 silenced for ever Dr. Wilson and proselytizing missionaries of his type. Two decades later, the late Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama studied French, German, Avesta, and Pahlavi languages and allied literatures in Germany and France under renowned orientalists, like Mohl, Oppert and Spiegel. On his return to Bombay, he inaugurated in 1861 the study of these languages on the system of comparative philology among a small group of ardent students of the priestly class. Ervad Kavasji Edulji Kanga, the translator of the whole of the Avesta literature and the author of an *Avesta-Gujarati-English Dictionary*, Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, the editor of the *Collected Sanskrit Writtings of the Parsis* and the translator of a few Pahlavi treatises, and Ervad Tahmuras

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Dinshah Anklesaria, an eminent Pahlavist, were among others his first disciples. Thanks to the efforts of Mr. Cama, Avesta, Ancient Persian and Pahlavi languages and literatures were introduced into the entire curriculum of the Bombay University in 1894. They were taught and are being taught even at present in the Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy and Mulla Firoz Madressas, as the colleges of Bombay have no chair for these studies. The late Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Darab Sanjana, M. A., Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria, M.A., Mr. B. N. Dhabhar, M.A., Mr. S. J. Bulsara, M.A., and other ex-students of these Madressas have already earned for themselves a name in the galaxy of brilliant Avesta and Pahlavi scholars. Dr. M. B. Davar, one of the above batch of scholars, Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, Dr. J. M. Unvala, Dr. J. C. Tavadia, and Dr. Hormazdiar Mirza have studied under well known German and French orientalists, like Pischel, Geldner, Geiger, Kuhn, Bartholomae, Meillet, Junker, Hertel, and Henning; Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Maneckji Dhalla and Dr. Jal Pavry are pupils of Jackson of the Columbia University of New York. They have already produced sound works on philological bases in the field of Iranian, especially Avesta and Pahlavi languages and literatures, which have acquired recognition of western savants.

It seems that the western savants have worked and are working in the field of Iranistics under the influence of two different currents, one may be styled synthetical, the other analytical. Under the influence of the former, monumental works, like the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, I and II, edited by W. Geiger and E. Kuhn with the collaboration of Bartholomae, Geldner, Geiger, Nöldeke, West, Horn, and others, and the complete translation of the Avesta scriptures in German with an elaborate commentary and a masterly introduction by Friedrich Spiegel, the same in French by James Darmesteter, the translation of the Pahlavi texts by E. W. West, W. Haug and Hoshangji have been produced. These works are pioneer efforts of German and French savants, in which they are greatly helped by the earlier works on the same subjects by Parsi Dasturs of the traditional school. Christian Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, is the result of the analysis of each and every Avesta and Ancient Persian word with its reference to the context, based on strictly philological lines. Therein he differs from Darmesteter who relies mainly on traditional interpretations of the Dasturs,

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particularly in case of obscure Avesta words. Fritz Wolff has compiled a German translation of the later Avesta on the authority of *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Bartholomae has utilised in *Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch, Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten*, Strassburg 1906, among other sources, the new comparative materials offered by the Pahlavi dialect of the Turfan documents.

As regards the problems which still await solutions on the part of the Iranists, we may mention among others those concerning (1) the Indo-Iranian migration, (2) the date of Zarathushtra, (3) the Avesta alphabet, (4) the interpretation of the Avesta, (5) the difference between the Pahlavi and Parsik languages, (6) the transcription of the Pahlavi texts, and (7) consanguinous marriages among the ancient Iranians.

(1) It has been argued on the authority of the Boghaz-Keüi cuneiform tablets, written in the Akkadian language, which mention among others a treaty of peace between Shubbiluliumma, king of the Hittites and Mattiwaza, king of the Mitannis, signed in about the first quarter of the XIVth century B.C., and in which the contracting parties take as witnesses several national deities, among whom Mitrasil, Arunasil, Indar and Nasattyanna are mentioned, that the Aryans, *i.e.* the forefathers of the Indians and Iranians, had not yet migrated to India and Iran, but were living together as an ethnic group in Asia Minor. These four deities are undoubtedly Aryan, as they are frequently invoked in the Vedas and mentioned in the later Avesta, where only Mithra (Mitra) is invoked as a Yazata, whereas the last two are considered as *daevas* or evil beings after the religious schism between the Indians and Iranians had taken place. Again, the names of some princes of the Mitannis like Mattiwaza, Tushratta, etc. (Ind. *Mati-vaja* "victorious by thought, by prayers"; *Dus-raddha* "difficult to overcome"; cf. B. Hrozny, *Archiv Orientalni*, III, 1931, p. 289) suggest that at least the ruling aristocracy was rather of Aryan origin. These considerations have led Hertel and some other savants to place the composition of the Vedas and of the Gathas of Zarathushtra much later than the second half of the XIVth century B.C. This can be considered as an *argumentum ex silentio*, as it might be presumed that we have in the Boghaz-Keüi tablets the last historical mention of an Aryan tribe domiciled in Asia Minor. At any rate, much useful information on this point can be obtained from a careful study of the astronomical data which might be gathered from the Ṛg-Veda and the Avesta. It is certain that the Kossaeans

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or the Kassites who are supposed to be autochthon Iranians, residing in the region of the Zagros Mountains, invaded and overwhelmed the first Babylonian empire of Hammurabi and founded the Kassite dynasty which ruled in Babylon from the XVIIIth to the XIIth century B.C. Their language contains traces of the Indo-Germanic (Aryan?) language. (Cf. G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, tome I, Paris 1927, pp. 166-167).

(2) As to the date of Zarathushtra, Chr. Bartholomae in *Zarathushtras Leben und Lehre*, Heidelberg 1919, p. 10, would not admit a date later than 900 B.C., whereas A. V. W. Jackson in *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, New York 1899, pronounces the traditional date, 600 B.C., to be the correct one. A. Meillet in *Trois Conférences sur les Gathas de l'Avesta, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation*, 44, Paris 1925, pp. 22 and 32, considers the traditional date probable, if we take into consideration linguistic, economic and political data. E. Herzfeld and Lehmann-Haupt are also in favour of the traditional date, but they give it as 570 and 550 B.C. respectively, see *Pavry Oriental Studies*, London 1933, pp. 137 and 255. Dastur Dr. Dhalla pronounces on the date of Zarathushtra in *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York 1914, p. 11, as follows: "Zarathushtra planted his new faith in Iran at a date approximating 1000 B.C., though some learned scholars, basing their arguments on traditional sources, are inclined to assign a date as late as the seventh century B.C., or, to be more exact, 600-583 B.C." Dr. J. J. Modi has supported the traditional date given by the authors of the Pahlavi treatises *Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak*, *Mēnūk i Xrat*, *Dātistān i Dēnīk* and *Dēnkart* in a lecture delivered in Bombay on the 5th of August 1932. Prof. A. Berriedale Keith seems also to support the traditional date in an article, entitled "The Achaemenids and Zoroaster," published in *Dinshah Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1943, pp. 20-26. But, it is certain that the author of the Pahlavi *Xvatāi Nāmak* which was composed in the Sassanian epoch and Firdusi who draws the materials for his *Shāh Nāma* from this long lost Pahlavi work through the intermediary of the *Bāstān Nāma* of Daqiqi, as well as the chronicler of the *Bundahishn* have very little or nearly nothing to relate about the Achaemenian and Parthian dynasties who ruled in Iran from 578 to 323 B.C. and from 246 B.C. to 226 A.D.,[1] as they considered these dynasties not staunch Zoroastrian from their intransigent attitude towards other religions, the attitude which was quite in conformity with that

[1]During the interval between 323 B.C. and 246 B.C. the Seleucids ruled over Iran.

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followed by the Sassanian sovereigns. The argument advanced by certain savants, like Dr. Modi (cf. his above mentioned lecture) that Zarathushtra was not mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions, because his religion which was preached in eastern Iran had not penetrated to the west, cannot be maintained as even such staunch Zoroastrians as were the Sassanian sovereigns have not mentioned even once the name of the prophet Zarathushtra in their rock-inscriptions. This name does not occur even once on Sassanian seals. It is highly probable that the Sassanians held this name in such high respect that they did not like to use it unnecessarily and thereby defile it. Similar is also the opinion of Dastur Kaikhusru Kutar who says: "Can it be that the honoured name of the Prophet of Ancient Iran was considered too sacred to be commented on by Pahlavi writers in a bizarre and haphazard way, as we find various scholars to have done?" (cf. *Dinshah Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1943, p. 177). Similar seems also to be the attitude of staunch Moslems to the use of the name of the Prophet Muhammad.

If we consider this question of the date of Zarathushtra from the standpoint of archaeology, we should place it in the iron age, as clear references to bronze or copper are not found in the Avesta literature, although *bərəjya* in *parō-bərəjya-* (*Vidēvdāt*, 8, 96) is explained by Modern Persian *bereng* "copper; bronze." We have on the contrary many references to iron in the later Avesta, and one even in the Gathas, *Yasn*, 51. 9, where the universal judgment at the final dispensation by molten iron (*ayaṅhā xshustā-*), metal *par excellence* is mentioned. The later Avesta, especially the Yasht literature (*Yashts*, 10, 13, 14, 17), describes offensive and defensive weapons and armour of the Yazat Mithra and of the Fravashis, which are made of iron. (Avesta *ayaṅh-* is Vedic *ayas-*; the latter means "metal; iron"; cf. Hermann Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig 1873, p. 98). Now, we know from the excavations at Kashan, at Nehavend, and in Luristan that iron weapons, like poniards, lance-heads and arrow-heads, were found in graves which could be dated as early as the XIVth-XIIIth century B.C., whereas at Susa in Elam iron made its appearance still later in about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Thus we can place the Gathas of Zarathushtra tentatively as early as the XIVth century B.C. and the later Avesta perhaps not later than the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

(3) Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara has tried to prove the high antiquity of the Avesta alphabet in a paper entitled "The Origin of the Alphabet", published in *Dr. Modi Memorial*

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Volume, Bombay 1930, pp. 378-404. He has appended to it three plates, showing the developments of the letters of all known ancient alphabets from the letters of the Avesta alphabet in their primitive forms, as derived from their supposed original pictographs. According to him, even the Egyptian hieratic, both predynastic and postdynastic, and demotic scripts had been derived from this original Avesta script. The same theme had formed the subject of his paper read before the XI All-India Oriental Conference, held at Hyderabad in December 1941. He traces the origin of the Persian (rather Arabic) alphabet also to the Avestan alphabet through the intermediary of the Hira script in another article, published in *Dinshah Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1943, pp. 42-56, and plates I-III. This bold thesis contradicts the theory of Friedrich Carl Andreas who maintained that the Avesta scriptures were written in Aramaic characters when they were compiled by the Dasturs in the time of Valkash the Ashkanian, Vologeses I of the Parthian dynasty who ruled over Iran from 51 to 77/78 A.D. (cf. *Dēnkart*, Sanjana's edition, Vol. IX, p. 456, § 16), that the existing Avesta characters have been later on developed from the Aramaic ones, and that they had a different phonetic value from that attributed to them traditionally (cf. "Der Ursprung des Awestaalphabets und sein ursprünglicher Lautwert" in *Proceedings of the XIII International Congress of Orientalists* held in 1902 in Hamburg, Leiden 1904; and F. C. Andreas and J. Wackernagel, *Die erste, zweite, vierte, und fuenfte Gatha des Zarathushtro* (*Jasno, 28, 29, 31 und 32*). *Versuch einer Herstellung der älteren Textformen nebst Uebersetzung*, 1911 und 1913; cf. also Hch. F. J. Jünker, "The Origin of the Avestan Alphabet," *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1930, pp. 766-774). In fact, the national Iranian renaissance is due to this Parthian king, who was the first to introduce Pahlavī legends in Aramaic script on his coins, side by side with the usual Greek legends which in course of time had become so corrupt as to be illegible. Again, the first Pahlavi document known up to date is a parchment, discovered at Avroman in Iranian Kurdistan in 1915, on which a contract of the sale of a vineyard is written in Aramaic script. It is dated month Harvatat of the year 300 of the Arsacid era, which began on the 10th of October, 246 B.C., and hence the parchment must have been written in 54 A.D. However tempting the comparative columns of the different scripts given by Mr. Bulsara in plates I-III might be, his bold thesis requires at any rate more convincing proofs, especially of *historical* nature. In this connection I should like to draw his attention to an inscription written in ink on a calcarous boulder, discovered at

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Susa in 1933, in an as yet unidentified cursive script, which resembles in parts Demotic, Aramaic and even Pahlavi scripts. There are in this inscription *svastikas*, *ankhs* and some Proto-Elamite signs. At any rate, it can be looked upon as Proto-Susian and dated 3500 B.C. The script runs from right to left, some lines even from left to right. I hope, he will be able to unravel with his usual acumen the mystery attached to this script.

(4) As regards the interpretation of the Avesta texts, we have to observe that they are sensibly different from one another according as they are given by the traditional, philological, or mystical school. The traditional school has, of course, the support of the Pahlavi translations and commentaries of the Sassanian Dasturs, and to a certain extent also of the Sanskrit and Modern Persian versions of the Dasturs of India. Wherever the interpretation of the traditional school is not satisfactory, philology is of great help ; the reverse is also the case, as in the explanation of obscure words, e.g. in *Vidēvdāt*, 8.96. The Pahlavi commentaries, particularly on the Vandidad, give us a good idea of the views held by Sassanian Dasturs on matters pertaining to social and religious customs. Of late, the mystical school of the Ilme-Khshnumists, founded by the late Mr. Behramshah N. Shroff in the first decade of this century, one of whose modern exponents is Dr. Faramroz Chinivala, has published translations in Gujarati with elaborate commentaries of some Avesta texts. This school is spreading its teaching in well-organized classes and public lectures. The efforts of the school at interpretation of the Avesta scriptures are no doubt commendable, but I wonder whether scholars will agree in regarding them as sufficiently scientific and critical in character. I must say that the Ilme-Khshnumists, and the Parsi theosophists as well, cater for the growing spiritual hunger of those Parsis who are not quite conversant with the real spirit of Zoroastrianism.

(5) One of the epoch-making discoveries of the beginning of this century was that of the manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts made in Chinese Turkistan, which are written in Middle Persian, Tokharian, Ueigur, Chinese, Saka, Khotanic, Sanskrit and Pali languages, and in different scripts. They appertain to Manichaeism, Buddhism and Christianity, the three great religions which were spread peacefully in that region in the early centuries of the Christian era. These manuscripts are preserved in the University Library of Berlin, in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, in the British Museum of London, and in the Library of the University of Leningrad.

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The Middle Persian fragments have been published by eminent scholars, like F. C. Andreas, A. von Le Coq, A. Cowley, F. W. K. Müller, Paul Pelliot, Hans Reichelt, and Carl Salemann. Turfan fragments appertaining to Manichaeism and published by F. W. K. Müller are written in two important dialects, in the Arsacid or north-western dialect and in the south-western dialect spoken in Persis, which became the official language of the Sassanian empire. The importance of the Turfan texts lies in the fact that the ideograms employed in the Pahlavi inscriptions and in books pertaining to Zoroastrianism are wholly eliminated from it, and that they preserve, therefore, faithfully the pronunciations of Pahlavi of the third century A.D. Bartholomae has called the Pahlāvi of these texts Turfan Pahlavi. Again, among the fragments published by Müller, there are some written in Sogdian, a north-eastern dialect of Pahlavi which flourished approximately from the first century of the Christian era upto the invasion of the Mongols, perhaps still later, in the regions of Samarqand and Farghana, with Samarqand as its centre. The characters employed for the Turfan documents are Estrangelo-Syriac with certain modifications, whereas the Sogdian ones were written in Estrangelo-Syriac and in Sogdian characters, which were of Aramaic origin. In the latter the long Buddhist texts discovered in the grotto of Touen-Houang by A. Stein and Paul Pelliot are written. Robert Gauthiot who had deciphered the Sogdian fragments brought to Paris by Pelliot's mission as early as in 1911 and 1912 wrote his *Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne, I, Phontéique,* Paris 1914. It has been published as a posthumous work by A. Meillet in 1923. Its *II. Partie, Morphologie, Syntaxe et Glossaire,* Paris 1929, is the work of E. Benveniste.

The early Sassanian inscriptions of Hajiabad, Naqshe-Rustam, Shahpur and Paikuli are engraved in two different scripts, Arsacid and Sassanian. The Arsacid lapidary script is the same as that employed in the so-called Chaldeo-Pahlavi version of the Hajiabad inscription. It differs from the script found on coins of the later Parthian kings, dating from 51 A.D. to 226 A.D. Both are of Aramaic origin, but the characters of the latter assume rather square shapes in imitation of the Greek legends on these coins. The legends on coins of the early Sassanian sovereigns are in the same script as used on Sassanian lapidary inscriptions, and although it affects on coins of later kings the cursive forms of Book-Pahlavi, the archaic forms are co-existent. It has been suggested from a certain quarter to call this script and the language of the legends as well *Pārsīk* (for the script cf. Hch. F. J. Jünker, "The Origin

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of the Avestan Alphabet," *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1930, p. 768). This suggestion is acceptable as regards the language only, if we consider Pārsīk as the language of Pars or Persis. But the term Pahlavi is generally employed by Iranists for Middle Persian or the language which shows that phase in the development of Iranian which is intermediate between Ancient Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenids and Modern Persian. They call the Arsacid or Parthian language Pahlavi of the north, the Sassanian language Pahlavi of the south, and the newly discovered Sogdian language the north-eastern dialect of Pahlavi. At any rate, to use the word *Pārsīk* for Pahlavi seems to me rather pedantic.

(6) It must be said as regards the transcription of the Pahlavi texts and coin-legends that the Turfan texts have proved without a shade of doubt by wholly eliminating the ideograms employed in the Pahlavi of inscriptions and books pertaining to Zoroastrianism that these ideograms, which are evidently loan-words from an Aramaic dialect, were never pronounced as such. In this respect they are comparable to Sumerian words used as ideograms in Babylonian and Assyrian languages, or to Chinese words similarly used in Japanese. H. S. Nyberg has explained in *Le Monde Oriental*, tome XVII, 1923, the Semitic forms of verbs used as ideograms in Pahlavi.

As said above, the Turfan texts which are written with the utmost care in Estrangelo-Syriac characters, devoid of polyphony, have preserved faithfully the pronunciations of Pahlavi of the third century A.D. This fact has been fully utilized by Bartholomae who has evolved a reliable system of transcription of the Pahlavi texts, as can be seen from his numerous publications. This system has been followed by me in my *Neryosangh's Sanskrit Version of the Hōm Yasht*, Vienna 1924, and other publications. Benveniste, Nyberg and Pagliaro have tried to find forms of the Parthian or northern dialect in some Pahlavi texts, e.g. in *Draxt i Asūrīk*. The transcription of Pahlavi as given by western scholars remains to a certain extent unsettled since 1924 owing to the steady progress in the decipherment of the Turfan Pahlavi and Sogdian texts. At any rate, the practice of transcribing the ideograms as Iranian words should be unanimously followed by Parsi scholars.

(7) The highly controversial question of the alleged practice of consanguinous marriages (*xvētūk-das*) among the ancient Iranians, the question which formed the subject of a paper read by Mr. H. P. Mehta in the Iranian Section of the XI All-India Oriental Conference, held at Hyderabad in 1941, has been exhaustively treated by West, Sanjana, Casartelli

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and Dhabhar. The latter says in the introduction to *The Pahlavi Rivāyat, accompanying the Dādistān-i Dīnīk*, Bombay 1913, p. 4, as follows: "Taking into consideration the extracts on *Khvētūk-das* from our Pahlavi Rivāyat only, we notice that the writer, perhaps a priest, attempts under cover of anonymity to foist the practice of *Khvētūk-das* on an unwilling people. That the custom was in every way repugnant to the people and that the generality of the people must have lent it no countenance is at once gathered from the fact of its being fulsomely extolled by the writer in the different extracts bearing on the subject. In palming it off on the people in the name of religion, the unknown writer is compelled to confess his failure," and on p. 5 "In fact, not a single extract on *Khvētūk-das* introduced in the manner described above can be identified with the Avesta. Whatever might be the cause of advocating this pernicious custom unauthorised by religion, one thing was uppermost in the mind of the writer, viz., as admitted by him in one of the extracts, there was the fear of perversion to another faith of members of the community which was fast dwindling down in his time. On the contrary, in pre-Islamic times, when there was no fear of the community being perverted to a foreign faith, there existed laws and regulations for privileged wives who were even foreigners. Hence it is reasonable to infer that the extreme kind of *Kvētūk-das* (next-of-kin marriage) must have been vehemently advocated by the author in order that the community might not turn away from the practice of the normal *Khvētuk-das* (viz., marriage among first cousins)." I have also treated this subject in *Observations on the Religion of the Parthians*, Bombay 1925, pp. 32-33, and said on p. 33 that "In the cases cited by Bartholomae from the *Mātīkān i Hazār Dātistān* (cf. *Die Frau im Sassanidischen Recht*, Heidelberg 1924, p. 16) the question is not of incestuous and consanguinous marriages in the proper sense of these words, when we take into consideration the consequences of the practice of polygamy, which was once very prevalent in the East."

Several documents of capital importance for the Iranian history and culture have been discovered in Iran and Egypt during the early decades of this century and in recent years. In 1936, while excavating at Persepolis for the American mission, Prof. Herzfeld came to a sealed door behind which, *like so much waste paper*, were stored those 29000 tablets of the Persepolis archives. They have been taken to America for the purpose of firing in an electric kiln before their study. Besides certain

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suggestions made by Herzfeld as to the religious character of the contents of some of them, and as to their composition in Ancient Persian cuneiform script, some five hundred even in Aramaic, the administrative language of the Achaemenian empire, and in Aramaic script, as far as I know, nothing definite has transpired up to date about these tablets. Further, an Ancient Persian inscription written in Aramaic characters has been found by Herzfeld on the tomb of Darius in the same year.

Aramaic was widely spread in Western Asia during the Achaemenian epoch. If it was not the language of the chancellory of the Great Kings, as it is contested by some savants, it is certain that it was widely employed in commerce. Thus the Aramaic papyri, discovered in the excavations of the German mission in the island of Elephantine and at Assouan in Egypt, and the ostraca with Aramaic inscriptions found there by Clermont-Ganneau, both pertaining to a Jewish colony of the Achaemenian period, deserve our attention. They are published by Ed. Sachau in Leipzig in 1911 and by A. Cowley in Oxford in 1923. In *L'Aramaico antico*, Roma 1934, J. Messina criticises the theory of Schraeder that Darius had introduced Aramaic as the only language of the chancellory of the whole of the Persian empire (see above) ; *Iranische Beiträge, I, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaften.* 6. Jahrg., 5. Heft 1930.

Mention must be made of the discovery of the inscription of Darius the Great at Susa by R. de Mecquenem, concerning the construction of his palace in this city and the men and materials employed therein. It was found in three versions, Ancient Persian, Babylonian and Susian, inscribed on clay tablets and stone-slabs. This inscription is very interesting for two historical facts, (1) that when Darius became king, both his father Hystaspes, who was governor of Parthia (*Bahistān*, § 35), and his grandfather Arsames were living ; (2) that the palace was completed during the life-time of Hystaspes, for whom he invoked the protection of Ahura-Mazdā. This inscription has been published by Père Scheil in *Mèmoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, tome XXI, Paris 1929. I have given an excerpt of this volume in the *Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenids found at Susa, with a glossary*, Paris 1929. The trilingual inscription giving the extreme limits of the empire of Darius the Great, engraved on gold and silver plates (13×18 cm.) discovered at Hamadan was communicated by me to Herzfeld in May 1926 in Teheran and to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay in September of

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the same year. It has been published by Herzfeld in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 34, Calcutta 1928. In a foot-note to p. 1, Sir John Marshall, the editor of the *Memoirs*, has acknowledged the priority of my communication. Two pairs of gold and silver plates (24×30 cm.) bearing the same trilingual inscription were discovered on the north side of the palace of Darius I at Persepolis by the German architect Dr. Kraefter in about 1932. A new inscription of Xerxes was discovered at Persepolis by Dr. Erich Schmidt in 1931 and translated by Herzfeld. It enumerates the satrapies held on the accession of Xerxes in 485 B.C., mentions a new war against the Daeva-worshippers, speaks of Xerxes as an enthusiastic worshipper of Auramazdā and Arta, a passage of extraordinary significance for the Achaemenian religion. (cf. *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1936, p. 119).

Several Greek inscriptions of the Parthian period have been found in recent years at Susa, among which two are worth noting. One is a letter of Artabanus III (10/11-40 A.D.) addressed to the magistrates and to the municipality of the city of Susa in 21/22 A.D., the other mentions the dedication of boys and girls as servants in the temple of Artemis for a period of thirty years. We learn further from these Greek inscriptions that Susa was a completely Hellenised city. This Hellenistic influence remained active even during the Sassanian period, as can be judged from samples of the works of art found in the ruins of Susa.

Since the publication of E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli. Monuments and Inscriptions of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire.* 2 Vols., Berlin 1924, many new Sassanian inscriptions in Pahlavi have been discovered in recent years. A big inscription was found at Naqshe-Rustam on the east side of the monument called *Kaabe-Zardusht* by Dr. Erich Schmidt in 1936. It has been published in transliteration and translation by M. Sprengling in the *American Journal for Semitic Languages and Literature*, 53, No. 2, Jan. 1937, pp. 126-144. It is dated about 293 A.D., i.e. the beginning of the reign of Narse. It is important for early Sassanian onomastics and for a reference to some obscure religious ceremony. I have heard that a revised complete translation of the inscription has been recently published. Twenty short Pahlavi inscriptions, rather in a cursive script, were found at Derbend in Russian Azerbeijan by E. A. Pachamoff, who has published them in *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique d'Azerbeidjan*, No. 8, Bakou 1929. They mention a certain Barznish who was *Hamārkar* or controller of revenue of Azer-

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beijan. In excavations of the French mission at Shahpur, a bilingual, Arsacid and Sassanian, Pahlavi inscription was discovered in 1936. It was engraved on the shaft of one of the columns of a votive monument. It mentions the erection of a statute of Shahpur I in 266 A.D. The monument was found 525 m. to the west of a fire-tempe called *Ātur-Anāhit.* It has been published by R. Ghirshman in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, X, 1936, pp. 123-129. Besides these monumental inscriptions, short Pahlavi legends are found engraved on gems of Sassanian seals, and on coins and clay bullae. Those on gems pertaining to the Kaiser Friedrichs Museum of Berlin have been published by Paul Horn and M. S. Scekin. Since 1934 I have been collecting materials for a work on Sassanian seals preserved in different museums of Europe and America, and in private collections. My report on Sussanian seals of the India Museum of Calcutta has been sent to its curator in 1938. There exist Pahlavi ostraca written in ink on potsherds. They were found at Susa and in the vicinity of Teheran. They are hopelessly fragmentary, and are therefore only of an epigraphical interest. A. Pagliaro has given a tentative reading of the Pahlavi dipinti found on fresco-paintings in the ancient synagogue of Dura-Europos, situated on the Euphrates, in *Report of the Sixth Session of excavations at Dura-Europos*, Chicago 1936. Neither the reading of Pagliaro nor that of Benveniste to whom the dipinti had been communicated, are satisfactory. There exists a big collection of Pahlavi papyri in the Staatlichen Museen of Berlin and Vienna. Olaf Hansen has published sixty-six papyri of Berlin in *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Academie der Wissenschaften*, No. 9, 1938. Their script is Book-Pahlavi, but very cursive. This fact makes their decipherment extremely difficult.

It would be too long to mention the names of books and articles published by western and Parsi scholars in the field of Avesta, Ancient Persian and Pahlavi languages and literatures. I shall name only a few worth a special notice, particularly those written by Parsi Iranists.

The metre in Zoroastrian sacred and profane texts has drawn of late the attention of some German and French Iranists. Karl F. Geldner and after him Johannes Hertel have contributed to researches on the metre found in the later Avesta, especially in the Yast literature. The metrical form of some of the Ancient Persian inscriptions has been first noticed by Johannes Friedrich, cf. *Orientalische Litteratur-Zeitung*, 1928,

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cols. 238-245 and 288 seq. And H. W. Bailey, E. Benveniste, A. Christensen, and W. Henning have dealt with the question of versification in some portions of the Pahlavi literature. It is not surprising that apart from the Manichaean and Christian hymns and psalters preserved in several manuscripts from Turfan, some sort of poetical composition existed in Sassanian times, but their traces are certainly obscured by the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script and by the pedantry, and to a certain extent, ignorance of later scribes.

Dr. Irach Taraporevala has published *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian with critical apparatus and a vocabulary* for students of the Calcutta University in 1922. It is interesting to note that Iranian languages are studied even in Japan, where a chair for Iranistics has been held in Kyoto Imperial University by Prof. Gikyo Ito. Another Japanese Iranist is Mr. Shigheru Araki of Tokyo.

D. M. Madon, *Study of the Gathas, Part I, The Gatha Ahunavaiti*, Bombay 1916, and Khodabakhsh E. Poonegar, *The Zoroastrian Gathas translated with Notes and Summary*, Bombay 1928, show the results of the critical study of the Gathas, as inaugurated by the Gatha Society of Bombay, one of whose active exponents is Prof. Behramgore Anklesaria. Aga Poore Dawood has translated into Persian the Gathas and a portion of the Yasht literature, and thereby he has made the Avesta accessible to the Zoroastrians and Muhammadans of Iran in their own language.

Christian Bartholomae has left an immortal name in the field of Pahlavi. His researches on the Pahlavi version of the Avesta scriptures are embodied in the foot-notes to Avesta words in his monumental work *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. He has also handled nearly the whole of the Pahlavi literature in a quite novel way. In philological discussions on several obscure Pahlavi words, he has quoted passages *in extenso* in which they occur with their readings and translations: cf. *Mitteliranische Studien*, I-IV, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes; Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten*, I-VI, in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1916-1925. Thus he has done an important preparatory work for a Pahlavi dictionary with concordance. The Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat Funds and Properties have entrusted the work of compiling such a dictionary several years ago to Mr. Bomanji Dhabhar, an eminent Pahlavi scholar, who has already done more than half the work. But he had to give it up last year owing to serious eye-trouble. Bailey,

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Pagliaro, and others have recently adopted Bartholomae's method of doing research-work in Pahlavi. Bartholomae's articles on Sassanian law, based on the *Mātīkān i Hazār Dātistān* (*Ueber ein Sassanidisches Rechtsbuch*, *SHeidelbergAW*. 1910 and *Zum Sassanidischen Recht.*, I-V, *ibid.* 1918-1923) show his masterly treatment of such a difficult subject as Sassanian law. This Pahlavi text has been wholly translated by Sohrab Bulsara with copious notes under the title *The Laws of the Ancient Persians*, Bombay 1937. That he has not always agreed with Bartholomae in the interpretation of many passages shows clearly the difficulty of the task which is enhanced by the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script. Bulsara has also translated another important Pahlavi text called *Aerpatastān and Nīrangastān*, Bombay 1915. This is the only text on Zoroastrian liturgy. The Gujarati translation of the *Dātistān i Dēnīk*, Bombay 1926, is a joint effort of two eminent Pahlavists, the late Ervad Tahmuras Anklesaria and the late Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha. The late Dastur Darab Sanjana had completed a few years before his death in 1928 the remaining work of editing and translating the *Dēnkart*, Vol. X-XIX. The publication of these works were undertaken by the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat.

Among those who have published and translated some of the Pahlavi texts contained in the *Pahlavi Texts, I-II*, edited by Jamasp-Asana, I may mention B. N. Dhabhar, Markwart-Messina, A. Pagliaro, J. C. Tavadia, J. C. Tarapore and J. M. Unvala. These texts are simple but important for compiling a Pahlavi dictionary, particularly the text of *King Husrav and His Boy* and *Draxt i Asūrīk* contain words which are seldom found elsewhere in the Pahlavi literature.

The University of Copenhagen has published up to date in fascimile the following Pahlavi codices pertaining to its library with an introduction by Arthur Christensen: K 20 and K 20b, containing *Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak*, *Bundahishn*, and other texts, K 35, containing *Dātistān i Dēnīk and Pahlavi Rivāyats I-II*, Epistles of Mānushchihr and the Selections from Zātsparm, and K 26, containing *Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak* and *Mātīkān i Yavisht Friyān*.

Firoz S. Masani's series of Pazand prayers in Gujarati transliteration and translation, Bombay 1917-1921, is an important contribution to the understanding of Pazand, *i.e.* Pahlavi written in *plene* with Avesta characters, reproducing the Middle Persian or non-Semitic pronounciations with a marked tendency for the southern dialect. This is the first translation

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of the Pazand texts made by a Parsi scholar after the publication of Spiegel's translation in *Aveta, die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen,* übersetzt, Bd. III, Leipzig 1863, pp. 207-246.

There are two big collections of *Rivāyats*, those of Dārāb Hormazyār and Hormaziār Farāmarz. These Rivāyats composed in Persian are collections of questions on religious subjects asked by the Zoroastrians of India to their co-religionists in Iran through their emissaries and answers brought by them during the course of the XVth upto the beginning of the XVIIIth century of the Christian era. Maneckji Rustamji Unvala had prepared an edition of the Rivāyat of Dārāb Hormazyār in two volumes, which has been published after his death by Dr. Jivanji J. Modi with an introduction in Bombay in 1922. Bomanji N. Dhabhar has published an English translation of the Rivayāt of Hormaziār Farāmarz with copious notes and a glossary of unusual Persian words found only in Zoroastrian writings, Bombay 1932.

J. M. Unvala, *Collection of Colophons of Manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe,* Bombay 1940, contains among others several Pahlavi colophons of valuable manuscripts. They have been transcribed and translated. J. C. Katrak, *Oriental Treasures,* Bombay 1941, deals with colophons of manuscripts in private libraries of some Parsis of Gujarat. This book records only the salient facts mentioned in the colophons. All these colophons are important not only for fixing the date of manuscripts, but for determining their relative value.

It is just natural that the Parsi scholars have produced a big literature on Zoroastrianism in their mother-tongue Gujarati, from which the following are worth noting: Jivanji J. Modi. *Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrianism;* Khurshedji E. Pavri, *Resālehāe Khurshed,* which has been translated into English; Sheriarji D. Bharucha, *Rīstistān* or a description of the funeral ceremonies of the Parsis. The last named work contains exhaustive information on the subject gathered from the whole of the Zoroastrian literature.

Dastur Dr. Dhalla has traced the development of Zoroastrianism from its very beginning up to the beginning of this century in *Zoroastrian Theology,* and in *History of Zoroastrianism,* New York 1914 and 1918. R. Pettazzoni has worked on the same lines as Dr. Dhalla in his *La Religione di Zarathushtra nella storia religiosa dell'Iran,* Bologna 1930.

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A. Christensen has contributed monographs on the critical study of Zoroastrianism. Chr. Bartholomae, *Zarathushtras Leben und Lehre*, Heidelberg 1919, and A. Meillet, *Trois Conférences sur les Gathas de Zarathushtra*, Paris 1915, are two short but very important monographs on Zarathushtra and his religion.

After taking all that has been written up to date on the religion of the Achaemenids, A. Berriedale Keith says "The proper conclusion to be reached on the evidence seems, therefore, to be that it is impossible to deny that Dareios may have been influenced decisively in his attitude towards Ahuramazda by the teaching of Zoroaster." (Cf. *Dinshah Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1943, p. 25). That Xerxes prays for protection for himself and his family to Auramazdā and Arta, we know from the recently discovered inscription of Naqshe-Rustam, and we further know that Artaxerxes II Mnemon invokes Auramazdā, Anāhita and Mithra in his inscription from Susa. Thus we have an idea, though of course incomplete, of the angelology of the Achaemenids.

My *Observations on the Religion of the Parthians*, Bombay 1925, remains up to date the only attempt at tracing the religious beliefs and customs of the Parthians from historical, epigraphical and numismatic sources. Archaeological and numismatic documents discovered recently at Susa show that the Parthians practised two main cults, those of Mithra and Artemis-Anaītis (Anāhita) as his *parèdre*. These two enjoyed even a special cult among the Sassanians, as is shown by two bas-reliefs of Taqe-Bostan. Anāhita figures also on the reverse of certain coins of Bahram II.

Seven Manichaean manuscripts were discovered at Medinet Mahdi in the province of Fayum in Egypt in 1933. They contain the Coptic version of the works composed by Mani and his disciples. One of them has the major portion of the book called Kephalaia which was composed by Mani himself. They are dated at the latest 400 A.D. They contain undoubtedly references to Zoroastrian doctrines though from a biased point of a Manichaean. They are important for understanding Zoroastrianism as it was practised by the early Sassanian sovereigns. Some portions of these manuscripts have been published with their translation into German by Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1933.

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What concerns Sassanian and post-Sassanian history and culture, two important works have been recently published ; one is *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* by A. Christensen, Copenhagen 1936. It gives the political, cultural and social history of Iran under the Sassanian rule. The other is *A short sketch of the history of Tabaristān and of the Masmoghāns of Damāvand*, which I have incorporated in my *Coins of Tabaristān*, Paris 1938. It is a history of the Zoroastrian princes of Tabaristan and of the adjoining mountainous districts who declared their independence immediately after the downfall of the Sassanian empire, and ruled over these provinces for nearly one hundred and fifty years, sometimes only formally acknowledging the suzerainty of the Caliphs of Baghdad.

Two important works on the early history of the Parsis have been published in Bombay in 1920 ; one is *Studies in Parsi History* by Shahpurshah H. Hodivala and the other *Parsis of Ancient India* by Shapurji K. Hodivala.

A. Christensen has tried to trace the Iranian legendary history as given in the *Shāhnāma* to the original Pahlavi *Xvatāi-Nāmāk* in a series of monographs published in *Studier fra Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning*, Köbenhavn. Later Iranian tradition of Zohāk as preserved in the Pahlavi *Bundahishn* and the *Shāhnāma* reflects the Babylonian myths of Nin-Gishzida and En-kidu, as I have shown in two articles, one entitled "Zohāk" and published in *Studi e Materiali*, V, Bologna 1929, pp. 56-68, and the other entitled "Gopatshāh" and published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, V, iii, London 1929, pp. 505-506. Working on the same line, much light can be thrown on other Iranian myths.

It would be out of place to give an idea of the work done in the field of Iranian archaeology and numismatics. Still, I cannot but mention an interesting series of coins recently found at Susa, viz. the post-Sassanide copper fels of the Umayyad and Abbasid governors of Susa, Rai and Istakhra with Pahlavi and Arabic legends in Cufic characters. I have published twenty-five such coins in *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1937, pp. 280-296. Another series of coins with Pahlavi and Hephthalite, Brahmi or Arabic legends were issued by the Hephthalite or White Huns on the Sassanian models. I have given the readings of their Pahlavi legends in an article entitled "*Hephthalite Coins with Pahlavi Legends*," published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. IV, part I,

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1942, pp. 37-45. Colonel Allotte de la Fuÿe has published in *Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane et des Contrées Voisines, Revue Numismatique*, Paris 1925, 1926, several coins with legends in Sogdian characters which reveal perceptibly their Aramaic origin.

Finally, I may mention that many interesting articles and monographs on Iranian and allied subjects have been published in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* of Bombay by Parsi scholars. Eight Memorial Volumes in honour of Parsi and European savants have been published up to date by the Parsis of Bombay, and two more are in preparation, to which the majority of the articles contributed are written by Parsi scholars.

Gentlemen! From this short survey of the work done in the field of Iranian culture in general, and ancient Iranian languages in particular, since the beginning of this century and even earlier, we see that Parsi scholars have contributed their valuable share along with their European confrères. They have done a great service in unravelling the secrets of difficult Pahlavi texts in conformity with the spirit of Zoroastrianism of the Sassanian and post-Sassanian epochs. What concerns the translations of the Avesta scriptures, with rare exceptions, they have maintained the prestige of the school of Zoroastrian research founded by the late Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama. Of course, their translations exhale rather fervour for the Zoroastrian faith, which is always lacking in those done by *mere* philologists. The Parsi community which is at present struggling against the countercurrents of orthodoxy, mysticism and ultra-rationalism seems to be not contented with the merely dry philological translations of their sacred scriptures. To cater, therefore, for the mystical cravings of some we have their wholly allegorical and mystical interpretations as given by the Ilme-Khshnumists, and for the emotional cravings of a few other Anglicized Parsis a *beautiful* translation of the Gathas of Zarathushtra is being prepared by a couple of enthusiasts!

Gentlemen! Ever since its birth in Germany Iranistics has flourished in that country, where nearly in all big universities eminent professors have occupied unlucrative chairs. In France, in the University of Paris and in the College de France, an Anquetil Dupereon, a Burnouf, a Darmesteter, a

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Meillet, a Benveniste have graced the chair for Iranian studies at the intervals of decades. Mr. Blochet who has done good work in Pahlavi is little known to the Parsis. The German school of Iranistics is represented by Christensen in Denmark, by Nyberg in Sweden, by Morgenstierne in Norway, by Freiman in Leningrad, by Pettazzoni and Pagliaro in Italy and by Pure Dawood in Iran. In England, the chair for Iranistics had remained vacant since the death of Mills. It was occupied in 1929 by Bailey of the School of Oriental Studies of London, thanks to the princely donation of the Parsis of Bombay. Bailey left the School in 1934, and his successor to the chair, W. Henning, a German professor of the University of Berlin and a student of Andreas, was appointed in 1936. Iranistics has been introduced into Japan by the Japanese pupils of Prof. Behramgore Anklesaria.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: ISLAMIC SECTION

By

Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, M.A., LL.B. (Aligarh), Ph.D. (London),

University of Madras.

Gentlemen,

I am very grateful to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have done me by electing me to preside over the Islamic section. Although I was given very short notice of the fact that I have to preside over this section, I accepted the position as it gives me an opportunity to discuss with fellow scholars certain problems that have been of late engaging my attention. I hope that with your kindness and co-operation the work of this section would be carried on successfully.

Many historians, have written on the Muslim invasions of India, and the foundation and the growth of Muslim power in that country; yet, hitherto no one has attempted to write a history of the advent and spread of Islam in India considered apart from the military successes and political achievement of the Muslims. The spread of Islam over so vast a portion of this world is due to many causes, social, political and religious; but some hold the view that India is a typical instance of a country where the spread of Islam is due to persecution and forced conversions, and mention as examples the brutal massacres of Brahmans by Mahmud of Ghazna, the p rsecution of Awrangzeb and the coercion employed by Haydar Ali, Tippu Sultan and the like. How untrue is this view may be judged from the fact that even in the centres of Muslim power such as Delhi and Agra, the Muslims hardly exceed one-tenth and one-fourth of the population in modern times.

Of the series of Muslim invaders of India from the fifteenth year after the death of the Prophet of Islam up to the eighteenth century A.D. some were mere adventurers, some came only to plunder and retired laden with spoils, while others remained to found kingdoms that have had a lasting influence up to the present day. But these conquerors do not appear to have had that *love for souls* which inspires the true missionary. The Khiljis, the Tughlaqs, and the Lodis were generally too busily engaged in conquest or in civil war. They evinced very

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little proselytising zeal and cared little for things spiritual. These conquerors were usually rough Tartars or Turks, ill-grounded in the faith of Islam and untouched by the true Semitic enthusiasm. It is a great misfortune for India that the lateness of its conquest in the cause of Islam has delivered her into the hands of merciless and turbulent Mongol or Turkish generals, whose aim was solely to establish themselves as independent rulers, and obtain by violence as much as possible from its inexhaustible source for their unending wars. It is well known that after the year 1000 A.D., the ambitions of the violent and illiberal Turk had, for nearly two centuries, torn the body politic of Islam, devastating the empire by their misgovernment and interminable warfare, more effectively than any outside foe. After a series of convulsions which destroyed the unity of Islam in a political sense, the branch known as Ottoman Turks established themselves in Constantinople in 1453 holding sway over Syria, Egypt and Arabia; the Safawids became independent in Persia. While these Turks were compelled to respect the cultural traditions and bureaucratic organisations of the old Islamic lands, the class of Turks who migrated southwards to India through the North-west under the appellation of Ghaznawis and Ghoris, gave free rein to their impulses unrestrained by the cultural traditions of Islam. Thus it was a great misfortune that India did not come under the sway of the Arab Empire and the great Islamic civilization, which reached its highest point in the reign of Harun-al-Rashid, the fifth Caliph of the House of Abbas (814 A.D.). In consequence, "the blood-stained annals of the Sultanate of Delhi", as Vincent Smith remarks, "are not pleasant reading."

Of all the successors of Qutbud-Din (1206 A.D.) down to the establishment of the Timurid Dynasty (the Grand Mughals) in 1526 A.D. there is scarcely one who was not intolerant, tyranical and cruel, and the same may be said, with few exceptions, of the minor dynasties. When the Muslim power became consolidated under the Mughal dynasty the religious influence of Islam became more permanent and persistent.

Thus in the centuries of Muslim rule preceding the Mughal era, no doubt, force and official pressure might have gained converts from among the natives of the country, but by far the majority of them embraced Islam of their own free will. The history of the proselytising movements and the social influences have not received due notice from historians, both European and Indian; the histories of the Muslim India are mere chronicles of wars or campaigns, and fanaticism or in-

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tolerance of the Muslim princes. No attempt has been made to study systematically the biographies of Muslim Saints and local traditions with a view to reconstruct a history of the period quite independently of the political life of the country. It may not be quite correct to say that a study of the religious side is not possible or fruitful without surveying first the political aspect of Muslim rule in India, because Islam has gained adherents in the Deccan and South India at a time when political power was weakest.

The first appearance of Islam in South India dates as far back as the seventh century during the life time of the Prophet. It is not true, as some writers have maintained, that Islam made its first appearance in Southern India about two hundred years after the Hijra (822 A.D.) of the Prophet. The Arabs had trade relations with the East long before the birth of the Prophet of Islam. In the second century B.C., the trade with Ceylon was wholly in the hands of the Arabs. In the sixth century A.D. there was considerable trade between China and Arabia by way of Ceylon. At the beginning of the seventh century the commerce between China, Persia and Arabia was further extended. Siraf, on the Persian Gulf, was the chief emporium for the Chinese traders. It was mainly through the Arab merchants that Syria and the Levantine countries received the supply of the Eastern produce like spices, ivory, gems, etc. These circumstances have contributed for a continual stream of the influence of Arabs and Persians flowing upon the west coast of India, Ceylon, and in East Indies as far as China, before the appearance of Islam in Arabia.

The character of the commercial relationship between China and Arabia may be guaged from the tradition of the Prophet 'Seek for knowledge even unto China.' Mention is made of the Arabs in the Chinese annals at the commencement of the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.); the Chinese also note the rise of Muslim power in Madina, the city of the Prophet, and briefly describe the tenets of the new faith. But such references to Arabs and the new religion are not yet ascertained from the records of South Indian languages. Though direct historical evidence is lacking, it is most probable that Islam was first introduced into South India and Ceylon in the life time of the Prophet by merchants who followed the old-established sea-route.

The traditionary record which gives an account of the first advent of Islam in Malabar is related by Zaynud-Din-al-Mabari (16th century) in his *Tuhfat-al-Mujahiddin.* He says

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that a party of Muslim faqirs with a Shaykh arrived at Cranganore, intent on a pilgrimage to the Footprints of Adam in Ceylon. When the Raja heard about their arrival he sent for them, entertained them, and made kind enquiries of them. The Shaykh informed the Raja of the advent of the Prophet Muhammad, explained to him the tenets of the religion of Islam, and the miracle of the splitting of the moon. "Allah, glory be to Him, and exalted be He, had caused to enter in his mind the truth of the mission of the Prophet, and the king believed in him. The affection for the Prophet took possession of his heart." So the Raja requested the Shaykh, and his companions to come back to him after their pilgrimage to Adam's foot-print. On the return of the pilgrims from Ceylon, the Raja of Cranganore asked the Shaykh to get ready a vessel for his voyage, without the knowledge of any one.

There were lying in that port many vessels belonging to foreign traders and the Shaykh made arrangements with one of the captains for the journey. As the time of departure drew near, the Raja gave orders that none of the inmates of his house or his ministers should come into his presence for a period of seven days. The Raja set himself to appoint a governor for each of his provinces and wrote out detailed instructions, defining the limits of the territories of each so that one might not encroach upon the limits specified for the other.

Then the Raja embarked with the Shaykh and the faqirs during night time, and reached Pantalayini where they landed and stayed for a day and a night. Thence they again set sail and proceeded to Darmadam where they landed and stayed for three days; then they again set sail till they reached Shuhr on the Arabian coast where the king and all those who were with him alighted. Here he remained for some time, and then returned to his own country with a party of Muslims for the purpose of erecting mosques and propagating the faith of Islam in that country. But the Raja fell ill on the way and died. On his death-bed he solemnly enjoined on his companions—namely Sharaf, son of Malik, his uterine brother Malik son of Dinar, his brother's son Malik, son of Habib son of Malik and others—not to cancel their voyage to Malabar after his death. They replied "We do not know your place, nor the extent of your villayet. We decided on travel because of our friendship to you." On hearing this the Raja gave them a letter of recommendation to his viceroy, at the same time bidding them not to inform any one in Malabar of his death.

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Then Sharaf ibn Malik, Malik ibn Dinar, Malik ibn Habib, and his wife Qamariyya, and others with their children and dependents set sail for Malabar in a ship and arrived off Cranganore. They landed and presented the letter of the deceased Raja to the ruler at Cranganore but they concealed the fact of his death as they had been enjoined. When the ruler went through the letter he granted them plots of lands. The newcomers settled there and erected a mosque. While Malik ibn Dinar settled in Cranganore, his nephew Malik ibn Habib stood up in his place to erect mosques throughout Malabar.

Malik ibn Habib proceeded to Quilon with his wife, some of his children and his property, and erected a mosque there. Then leaving his wife at Quilon he started to Mount Delly and built a mosque there. Then he proceeded to Barkur, to Mangalore and to Kasaragod. In all these places he built mosques one after another. Then he returned to Mount Delly and stayed there for three months. Thence he went to Srikandapuram, Darmadam, Pantalayini, and Chaliyam. In all these places he built mosques one after another. He stayed in Chaliyam for a period of five months. Then he returned to Cranganore where his uncle Malik ibn Dinar was living. He then started from that place to all the mosques mentioned above, and after saying his prayer in every mosque he came back to Cranganore, "feeling thankful to Allah, and praising Him for making the Faith dawn in a country filled with disbelief."

Then Malik ibn Dinar and Malik ibn Habib went to Quilon with their companions. They settled there, except Malik ibn Dinar and some of his companions who set sail to the Arabian coast. Malik ibn Habib left some of his children at Quilon and returned with his wife to Cranganore where he and his wife died.[1]

It may be that there is no evidence of historicity in this narrative, yet the circumstantial evidence cannot be lost sight of. Zaynud-Din thinks that the introduction of Islam in Malabar could not have been earlier than the third century of the Hijra. But the opinion in general circulation among the Muslims of Malabar is that the conversion to Islam of the Malabar king took place at the time of the Prophet upon the monarch's perceiving on a night the splitting of the moon. He set out on a journey to visit the Prophet and had the honour

[1] For details see *Tuhfat:al-Mujahidin:* Translated by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, University of Madras, 1942.

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of meeting him. On his return journey he died at Shuhr. Although there is no authority for the different dates, or for the popular belief, yet there is no conclusive evidence to show that Islam was *not* introduced in the life time of the Prophet. On the other hand, if we could set a value on the knowledge of Arab geographers with reference to Southern India, we find that Quilon, Sindhudurg, Shirur and Supara on the west coast, and Conjeevaram, and Madura on the east coast of the Indian peninsula seem to be main centres of trade from the earliest times. Ibn Khurdadhbeh (844 A.D.) the Director of Posts and Police in Media who draws up in his book official notices of the principal trade routes, is the first author to describe with a fair degree of accuracy the leading cities on the west and east coasts of India. But it is ascertained that the Director of Posts has recorded only the traditional knowledge about the sea route to the east, that was in vogue from the earliest times and current in the name of Sulayman. Later research has shown that Sulayman's book is a compendium of different accounts by various travellers and navigators which may be taken to represent the knowledge possessed by Arab geographers from the earliest times prior to 851 A.D.[1]

It is related in the book of Sulayman that most of the ships from China take in their goods at Siraf and set sail to Maskat at a distance of two hundred *parasangs* from Siraf. From Maskat the ships depart to the ports of Hind, sailing towards Quilon. It is a month's journey from Maskat in moderate wind. There is a garrison at Quilon, where ships from China also come. Between Maskat, Quilon and the sea of Harkand it is about a month's journey. At Quilon they store sweet water. Thence the ships sail towards the sea of Harkand, pass through many islands like Kalahbar, Java, Batuma, Kadranj, Champa, Sanja and thence to Canton in China. Thus the account of Sulayman shows clearly that Muslim navigators were quite familiar with the seas and the journey from Siraf as far as Canton in China.

The extensive commerce with the East, carried on by the Arabs from the early times through the sea route described above, makes it easy to suppose that the Arab trader might have been the exponent and teacher of the new creed in Quilon and other ports of Southern India, and the South Indian Muslim and the Arab might have been the joint medium for the propagation of the Faith in Malay Archipilago and other islands

[1] *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*: by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, University of Madras, 1942.

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in the East Indies. It can be easily understood how the sight of the Arab or Muslim trader at prayer, at stated intervals, his absorbed and silent worship of the Almighty God, would impress the peoples at a low stage of civilization. Curiosity would naturally prompt inquiry, and the knowledge of Islam thus imparted might win over a convert who might not have cared, had it been offered unsought. This fact has been noticed by many observers. To quote an eminent Christian Bishop:

"No one who comes in contact for the first time with Mohammedans can fail to be struck by this aspect of their faith.......Wherever one may be, in open street, in railway station, in the field, it is the most ordinary thing to see a man, without the slightest touch of Pharisaism or parade, quietly and humbly leaving whatever pursuit he may be at the moment engaged in, in order to say his prayers at the appointed hour. On a large scale, no one who has ever seen the courtyard of the great mosque at Delhi on the last Friday in the Fast-month (Ramazan) filled to overflowing with, perhaps, 15,000 worshippers, all wholly absorbed in prayer, and manifesting the profoundest reverence and humility in every gesture, can fail to be deeply impressed by the sight, or to get a glimpse of the power which underlies such a system, while the very regularity of the daily call to prayer, as it rings out at earliest dawn, before light commences, or amid all the noise and bustle of the business hours, or again as the evening closes in, is fraught with the same message."[1]

Bound up with these ritual observances, the articles of Faith are so simple, definite and positive, that they do not leave the believer in doubt as to what he has to do. When he performs the duties, he gets the satisfaction that he has fulfilled all the precepts of the Law. This kind of union between reason and rituals has captured the imagination of the peoples in Southern India with whom the Arab traders came into contact after they received the New Dispensation. There is also one other circumstance which contributed to the easy conversion to the Faith in South India. The Hindus who suffered from caste restrictions looked upon Islam as the source for their emancipation from the disabilities attached to the caste system.

The facts related so far bear witness to the peaceful character of the proselytising influences that were at work on the Malabar coast for centuries from the life time of the Prophet.

[1]*Mankind and the Church*: pp. 227-8 By Dr. G. A. Lefroy, London. 1907.

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The agents in this work were chiefly Arab merchants. There would appear to be no record of the individuals who took part in the peaceful propaganda. But there is ample material for such a study. At Quilandy in the malabar District there are a number of Arabic inscriptions over the tombs in the compound of mosques which have not yet been studied carefully.

The information we possess of the spread of Islam in the Deccan in the earliest times is also meagre. But we learn from Sulayman and Masudi that the early Chālukya and Rāṣtrakūṭa kings, (6th to 10th century A.D.) referred to by the Arabs as the Balhara line of kings, were very kind and affectionate to the Arabs and Muslims who settled down in the area of Konkan. These Arabs intermarried with the women of the country and lived a prosperous life. They built mosques and observed religious practices without any hindrance. They were even granted by the rulers the privilege of living under the Islamic Law.

Under the Muslim dynasties of the Deccan from the middle of the fourteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, a fresh impulse was given to Arab immigration. During this period the trader, the soldier of fortune and missionaries, all sought to make spiritual conquest in the cause of Islam and win over the Hindu population of the country by their preaching and example. Here again it may be observed that the kings of the early Deccan dynasties did not resort to forcible conversions. On the other hand, their rule was characterised by a striking toleration compared with the Muslim sovereigns of Hindustan. The reasons for this attitude are manifold, and these have to be studied in great detail.

Thus the entire period of the spiritual conquest of Southern India in the cause of Islam may be divided into two parts: first, the early adherents gained by Arab traders who devoted their leisure hours to the preaching of Islam in the streets and bazaars of the South Indian cities; next come the conversions due to the political influence of the court and armies of the various Muslim dynasties in the Deccan. Side by side with these influences is another of an entirely different character, *viz.*, the preachings of the Muslim saints from the earliest times. Their endeavour with an effort to realise in actual life the ideals of religion served as a veritable tonic to the life and thought of the Hindus and quickened many minds into a fresh life in the path of Islam. The spiritual energy of the saints has helped to bring to the front the finer spiritual qualities which are the truest incentive to the missionary work. The South Indian soil also was admirably suited to such an endeavour.

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The medieval Hindu society was, above all, a religious society. To religion it owed its social organisation, social inequalities, heritage of literature and laws. Religion has not only created the cultural background and psychological orientation of Hindu society, but supplied for its members a philosophy of living. The whole range of Hindu literature reflects this social insistance on religious values and an interest in matters of religion. When Islam came into contact with such a society, there was little difficulty for the Hindus to grasp the teachings of Muslim saints. The central dogma of Islam—there is but one God, Creator of heaven and earth, who alone is to be worshipped, the absolute Master of all His creatures, whose lives He has, in His inscrutable Love and Wisdom, foreordained, and whom He shall judge on the last judgment Day—this positive character of its teaching attracted minds that were dissatisfied with the vagueness and subjectivity of a pantheistic system of thought. The doctrine of divine unity (Tawhid) as adumbrated above has been the basis for the Sufi system of thought. The system conceives that not only True Being, but Beauty and Goodness, belong exclusively to God, though they are manifested in a thousand mirrors in the phenomenal world. God, in short, is Pure Being, and what is "other than God" (*ma siwa Allah*) only exists in so far as His Being is infused into it, or mirrored in it. He is also pure God and Absolute Beauty; whence He is often called by the Sufis in their pseudo-erotic poems, "the Real Beloved", "the Eternal Darling" and the like. There is ample evidence to show that Muslim saints, who belonged to this system of thought withdrew from secular warfare, and came in large numbers to Southern India before the tenth century A.D. They roamed about as faqirs, distinguished by the patched robe, wallet and staff, who scorned to earn so much as a mite by their own labours, trusting to the Providence of God and the charity of the people. This type of individualist asceticism fitted admirably into the Hindu system of religious thought and attracted many who became their disciples. In the early stages these Muslim saints (followers of the inner light) excited the disapprobation of the legalist. But at a later period, probably during the latter part of the eleventh century, Sufism was gradually moulded by al-Ghazzali and others into a more or less philosophical system, and was also, to a considerable extent, brought into alliance with orthodoxy. After this the followers of the mystic path came to be grouped in congregations, called after some eminent Shaykh, who was regarded as the founder of the *tariqa* or rule, with the ritual litany which was one of the distinguishing marks of each congregation. The disciples of each order went round the world and preached

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the Faith. They all looked up to the descendants or successors of the Founder of their order as the head. The reverence accorded by the disciple to his Shaykh when alive, and the elevation of former Shaykhs to the rank of saints, to whom invocations were addressed, seemed to the theologian (legalist) to destroy the non-sacerdotal principle, and even to trespass into polytheism, the one mortal sin in Islam. At first the breach between the theologian and Sufi had been much wider, but in course of time the popular influence enjoyed by the Sufis forced the theologians, however unwillingly, to terms in the matter of veneration for saints. Especially with the influx of the Turkish element into the social and political life of Islam, the theologians found it necessary to admit much that they had formerly resisted. Still they continue to chafe at them, and the hostility continues, though less openly shown.

Southern India had the full benefit of the teachings of Muslim saints or Sufis from the earliest times and still continues to draw inspiration from the same source. The happy relationship between the Hindus and Muslims in Southern India is due, in a large measure, to the liberal views held by the Muslim Saints.

The history of Islam in Southern India by no means always continued to be of so peaceful a character, but it does not appear that the forcible conversions of the Hindus to Islam which took place in the later centuries, can be parallelled in the early history of peninsular India. The same may be said also of the history of Islam in the Deccan.

In conclusion, it may be observed that it is the zeal for the truth of their religion that has inspired the Muslims to carry with them the message of Islam, to the people of every land into which they penetrate, and the stupendous result in the Deccan and Southern India has been due to the great labours of Muslim saints and preachers, who, with the Prophet himself as their great example, have spent themselves for the conversion of unbelievers. The whole of the Deccan and Southern India is studded with tombs of these pure souls; little is recorded beyond their names and the sphere of their labours. There is a great need to collect more information about them and write a history of the spread of Islam in the Deccan and Southern India on the basis of such missionary annals.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: ARABIC AND PERSIAN SECTION

By

PROF. MOHMAD IQBAL,

Oriental College, Lahore.

GENTLEMEN,

I am fully conscious of the honour the Executive Committee of the Oriental Conference has done me in asking me to preside over the Arabic and Persian Section. I thank them for this kindness and assure you, gentlemen, that I have accepted this honour, by no means to arrogate to myself the task of directing your deliberations, but with the sole object of coming in contact with you in order to learn and be benefitted by your illuminating discourses.

I shall not give you in my address any survey of the literary activities in Arabic and Persian at various centres in and outside India, for I am aware that I am not addressing a gathering of laymen but of experts who know every detail of what is going on. Nor shall I take up for discussion any particular subject connected with the Arabic and Persian languages. On the other hand, I propose to lay before you what, I think, are our most urgent needs and requirements for the promotion of studies and research in these languages, as also in Islamic History. It is for every one of us to see what possible efforts can be made to supply these needs and to overcome the difficulties in the way.

The first and foremost of these difficulties for us in the field of research is, to my mind, the lack of critical, correct, and well-printed texts. It is true that there are several good libraries in India with fine collections of manuscripts, well-preserved, well- looked after and well-catalogued for the benefit of researchers. But are they easily accessible to those who stand in need of them? Can a scholar of average means in India travel long distances in order to reach them or can he afford to acquire their costly photographs or transcripts? And, above all, can we rest assured that they will be kept preserved for a long time to come? It can by no means be a matter of satisfaction that our precious manuscripts and documents are being acquired and kept safe in big libraries. What safety can be guaranteed for them in this age of aerial attacks and incendiary bombs? Even within the fireproof walls of European libraries with underground vaults there is no safety for them.

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And what will be their fate inside the frail buildings of Indian libraries if, God forbid, our cities at any time are subjected to such terrible air raids as are common today in Europe? I leave you to imagine the consequences.

A greater danger than that of the air raids exists for our precious collections of antiques and manuscripts. There are people in every country, here as well as in Europe, with very strong communistic opinions who condemn the spending of national wealth in the purchase of such costly old-world relics, who consider it a great waste and would instead make a better use of this money to promote industry or to manufacture war weapons. With such people in power, a wave of fanaticism and indignation can, at any time, destroy museums and libraries. Political and racial hatred, so common in the present-day world, can be another possible cause of such destruction. During the last Great War, the infuriated mobs in America made bonfires of German books in certain libraries. God forbid that such a thing should ever happen to our collections of manuscripts, but it is (alas!) possible. And in India, besides such human destroyers of books, there are some natural ones. There is white ant and there is damp and there are worms. In Iran, if no danger of worms and damp exists, there are other very strange causes that make valuable books disappear. Some years ago when I was in Teheran, I paid a visit to the Kitab-khana-i-Majlis, one of the best libraries in Iran. In their published catalogue of manuscripts I had noted a rare copy of the Diwan of Hafiz, transcribed by the famous calligraphist Maulana Sultan Ali Mashhadi. I had made it a point to see it. On requesting the Librarian to let me have a look at it, I was told that the book was gone; it was presented some months before, to the Crown Prince of Sweden who visited the Library, and a very rare old album of Persian paintings was at the same time presented to his wife who came with him. These two (*viz.* the Diwan and the album) were the most precious volumes in their possession. The Librarian proudly told me that it was their custom to give such gifts to distinguished visitors who came to inspect their Library. Alas, I was not such a distinguished visitor! Just imagine what will be left in their Library after all the Crown Princes of the world have visited it! This furnishes an instance of how a manuscript, even after it is properly catalogued and made known to the world, can leave a library and disappear for ever.

Now the question is, what is the remedy? How can we save our manuscripts from all these ravages? There can be only one answer. The only way to save them is to publish

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them. Publish as many of them as possible and as soon as possible. It is most imperative under the present conditions to start series of publications such as the Gibb Memorial Series or the series of Arabic works published by the Dār'ul Kutub al-Miṣriyya. It is a task which should be undertaken by every institution of learning and, above all, by the Osmania and the Aligarh Universities. The newly constituted Islamic History Conference and the already existing Idara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia should devote their energies essentially to this task. Of Sanskrit books, so far as I know, there are at present fourteen series in progress in India, while of Arabic and Persian publications there are only six. The best and the richest of these is the series of the Dāirat' ul Ma'ārif of Hyderabad. The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Punjab University in their Oriental publications have brought out some very rare Arabic and Persian books, but their progress is very slow and their liabilities are not confined to Arabic and Persian. The Islmic Research Association of Bombay and the Kutub Khāna-i-Aliya of Rampur have newly started their series, but they are handicapped by the meagreness of their financial resources. We must also appreciate the efforts of the Majlis-i-Mukhṭuṭat-i-Fārsi of Hyderabad for the preservation and publication of Persian manuscripts. But considering the very large number of Arabic and Persian manuscripts that await publication, these six series are hardly enough. More and more should be started. Researchers, I think, should drop everything else and devote themselves solely to the work of editing and publishing. For what other work of authorship, whether critical, historical, biographical, lexicographical or scientific is possible if old sources are not accessible? I would advise the Dār'ul Muṣannifin of Azamgarh, the Nadwat' ul Muṣannifin of Delhi and Jamia Millia Islamia to include in their literary activities the task of publishing old Arabic and Persian texts.

Apropos of this, I may make a passing remark on the lack of a good press in India for printing Arabic and Persian books. Great value is attached nowadays to the beauty and get-up of a book. For years past the only press with good Arabic type has been the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta. But its charges are exorbitant. I do not know how long the curse of litho-printing will keep its hold on our minds. While every other country in the world has abandoned it and replaced it by the more convenient, more beautiful and in the long run less expensive type-printing, we are still, as ever, adhering to our old, antiquated, out-of-date litho-press. What comparison is there in beauty and charm between books printed

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in Cairo and Teheran and those lithographed in Lahore and Delhi? People abroad simply throw them away in disgust. We must at once give up our slovenly litho-printing and popularize books printed in type. It is a matter of satisfaction that type-printing is being introduced and improved in Hyderabad. But Hyderabad alone is not enough. Unless there is a large number of printing presses in India with beautiful Arabic, Persian and Urdu types, books will not be made cheap, nor will their aesthetic outlook improve.

Other precious relics of Islamic Culture which, like manuscripts, stand exposed to the danger of destruction are Muslim monuments, inscriptions and coins. Some of the former presidents of this and of the Archaeological section of the Oriental Conference have in their addresses, greatly stressed the need of studying and editing the unpublished Arabic and Persian inscriptions, which abound in all parts of India. I need not repeat what they have said. It is sad indeed to note that gradually and steadily the Muslim monuments are crumbling, being partly subjected to the decay of time and partly demolished by human hands carrying away the precious building material for other purposes. What invaluable sources of Muslim history and memories of a brilliant era are being lost! The Idara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia in its session held at Lahore and again at Delhi passed resolutions urging the Archaeological Department to devote more attention to the preservation and publication of Arabic and Persian inscriptions. The Department is doing what it officially can, but not all that is needful. Muslim monuments are scattered all over the country and the inscriptions that still survive are innumerable. Unless the official activities of the Department are supplemented by archaeological explorations conducted by the universities and also by individual efforts on the part of scholars, the desired results cannot be achieved. The universities in India should include the subject of Epigraphy in the syllabuses of Oriental languages. I am glad to inform you that the Punjab University has given a lead in this matter and has introduced Muslim Epigraphy as a subject of study in the M. A. examinations in Arabic and Persian. It is gratifying to learn that the Inter-University Board, in its last session held at Hyderabad a fortnight ago, has passed a resolution urging the universities to make Indian archaeology and epigraphy optional subjects in post-graduate courses in Indian history. It is to be hoped that when this resolution is carried into effect, we shall before long have a band of epigraphists studying archaeology and making valuable discoveries. It is fortunate that Muslim monuments in India

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are not, like some of those in Iran, buried underneath the earth. We are thus saved the difficult and costly process of excavations. Everything is on the surface and the task of the archaeologist is much easier. I think it would at present be very desirable if a society, to be called the Islamic Archaeological and Numismatical Society, be formed to organise research in Muslim Art, Archaeology and Coins. It should be made to hold its sessions at regular intervals at various centres and should take in hand the work of publishing Arabic and Persian inscriptions such as mentioned above. For this purpose it should start a quarterly or bi-annual journal like the excellent Āthār-i-Irān published twice a year (both in French and in Persian) by the department of Archaeology in Iran. The Society can exist independently or be amalgamated with the newly founded Islamic History Conference.

I shall now pass on to the statement of another great necessity in the sphere of research in Arabic and Persian. Taking stock of what has been done so far in India, Europe, or other countries, we find that it is mainly in the field of literature, philology, history, geography and religion that the Oriental scholars have done any good work. They have, on the other hand left the domain of Art, Philosophy and Sciences entirely unexplored. They have not been able to determine the contributions of the Muslims to these sciences, the origin of which is generally associated with the West and which are termed modern. The reason is obvious. To a European the acquisition of the Arabic language with all the intricacies of its grammar and the vastness of its vocabulary is the work of a life-time. He has no time left for any other study. He ends by becoming an Arabist and begins his researches in what he has learnt of the literature, prosody and rhetorics of the Arabic language. Moreover, he believes in specialization. He will pursue one and only one line of study. If he chooses to be a linguist he cannot be a scientist, if a scientist, he cannot be a linguist. It is rare for a person in Europe to combine the study of a science and of a language. This explains why no Arabist of Europe has been able to carry his researches into the field of Muslim sciences such as Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Music, Philosophy and Medicine. Examples of rare attempts made are: the History of Arabian Medicine by Dr. Campbell (1926), Lectures on Arabian Medicine by Prof. Browne (1921), History of Arabian Music by Dr. Farmer (1929). A History of Chemistry in Mediaeval Islam by E. J. Holmyard which was once announced as one of the future publications of the Gibb Series, has never appeared. To these may be added

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a few translations of scientific works from Arabic into modern European languages.

But in India no such attempts have been made. Only a few papers on the study of Optics and Physics by certain Muslim scientists were read in the various sessions of the Idara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia. These have been published in its proceedings. In fact the Idara was founded by the late Sir Mohammed Iqbal with the sole object of conducting and encouraging researches in Islamic sciences. "The culture of Islam" he said, "is the youngest of all Asiatic cultures. For us moderns it is far more easy to grasp the spirit of this culture than to imagine the world-picture of those ancient cultures whose intellectual and emotional attitude it is extremely difficult to express in a modern language. The difficulty of the historian of Muslim culture is mainly due to the almost total lack of Arabic scholars trained in special sciences....It is in Art as well as in the concepts of special sciences and philosophy that the true spirit of a culture is revealed. But for reasons mentioned above, the student of Muslim Culture is yet very far from understanding the spirit of that culture."

The task of making up this deficiency is far more difficult for us Indians than for Europeans. Whereas they have to master two things—a science and the Arabic language, we have to master in addition to these two, the English language which is the medium for acquiring modern sciences. And where is the encouragement for such arduous task? How will the scholar be repaid for all this hard labour? These are days of struggle and high cost of living. The career of research must be made sufficiently lucrative in order to attract brilliant and ambitious type of scholars. Funds must be provided and handsome stipends must be given to researchers of this kind. Those of the scholars who have received training in a special science, must be encouraged to study Arabic and for this encouragement special scholarships must be awarded by Muslim institutions and trusts. Another good suggestion in this connection is that our scholars should go not to Europe but to Egypt for this kind of research work. They will not only have the benefit of mastering the Arabic language more easily but will also be able to make use of the excellent libraries of Cairo where, I think, Arabic manuscripts of scientific books are more abundant than in the libraries of Europe.

And now I shall say a few words as to the present condition of Arabic and Persian studies in the Indian Universities and the future of these studies.

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Persian and Arabic are treated in India as classical languages and are taught as such in the Indian Universities, exactly as Greek and Latin—classics of Europe—are taught in the Universities of Europe. Their position is no doubt analogous, but there is a big difference between the classics of Europe and the classics of the Muslim world. Whereas Greek and Latin are dead languages, Arabic and Persian are most vitally alive. They should not therefore be taught, as they unfortunately are, as dead languages. In the syllabuses of various universities mostly the old books are prescribed. No place is assigned in those syllabuses to modern literature, and the study of journals and newspapers is totally neglected. No heed is paid to pronunciation—the living pronunciation of the "people of the tongue." When Arabic and Persian are living and progressive languages, we should move with their progress. We should know thoroughly the trend of their modern literature and the new cast into which these languages are being moulded. Our pupils in the universities should be encouraged to practise speaking and writing in these languages. Universities should employ Iranians and Egyptians as teachers. Example is already set by the Punjab University, where an Arab is at present working as teacher of Arabic (in the Oriental College) and the post of a lecturer in Persian has been created, which will be filled by an Irani. This example should be followed by other Universities in India.

The utility of the Arabic and Persian languages is very imperfectly understood in India. We regard Arabic exclusively as the language of religion and Persian essentially a language of history and poetry. But their utility is and (please God) in future will be much greater than this. Arabic and Persian are going to be the cultural links between Muslims of India and their brethren abroad. They will be the most potent unifying factors of the Muslim world. In the post-war world when Asiatic nations will be thrown closer, when the means of communication will be made quicker and travelling easier, the commercial and cultural relations between India and the Near East will be revived and Arabic and Persian will serve as media for all inter-communications. I strongly believe that the importance of these languages will very much increase in future, and they will be taught in Indian Universities like French and German in the English Universities. And, if the proposed federation of Arab states is actually realized, Arabic will once more become the lingua franca of the Muslim world.

I shall end by striking a note of warning to the Persian people who for some time past have been proposing to follow

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the example of the Turks in adopting the Latin script for Persian. The case of the Turks was very different. They thought that certain sounds of their language could not be correctly represented by Arabic script. Perhaps it was so. Moreover, their literature was by no means of an international character. If they have changed their script, nothing is lost to the world. But if the Persians did so, they will deprive the world and their own future generations of the gems of their past literature, a literature which is the property of common humanity. They should not do anything so foolish. Persian will not then be read anywhere outside Iran. Persian literature will lose half of its readers and admirers. India has always been the intellectual market for Persian literature. Persians must not lose their market by this change which is not going to serve them any useful purpose.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : SANSKRIT SECTION

By

MM. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., Bombay.

I deem it a great honour to have been called upon to preside over the Classical Sanskrit Section at this Conference. Among my predecessors who occupied this chair were such great scholars as Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri, Mahāmahopādhyaya Prof. Kuppuswami Shastri, Dr. Woolner and Dr. Thomas. Therefore I feel great diffidence in the work entrusted to me. I am handicapped by two things, viz. the short time at my disposal after it was notified that the conference was to be held in this holy city of Benares and my own personal difficulties owing to some eye trouble. I hope that with your whole-hearted co-operation and help I may be able to carry out the task undertaken by me. Though the full meeting of the whole conference will bear witness by a special resolution to the loss suffered by the passing away of scholars, I cannot begin my work without referring to the irreparable loss to Sanskrit studies caused by the death of Dr. Sukhtankar, Prof. Haradatta Sharma, and M. M. Abhyankar Shastri.

The field of the Classical Sanskrit Section is vast. Its boundaries are nowhere exactly defined, nor are the duties of the Chairman specified anywhere. Therefore I have to fall back upon previous practice (*śiṣṭācāra*). If I may draw an inference from previous practice, this Section includes the Epics, the Purāṇas, Kāvyas, Dramas, Kathā and Akhyāyikā, the Śastras of grammar, etymology, metrics, Dharmaśāstra, Alaṁkāra and Nāṭya, Kāmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra. Sometimes papers on astronomy, mathematics, the Upaniṣads and Mīmāṅsā have been included in this section. The scholars that presided over this section sometimes made in their presidential addresses certain general observations or pointed out the desiderata of this section or took a bird's-eye-view of the works and articles published during the preceding two years. I cannot pretend to have read or even seen all or even most of the works or articles published during the last two years. But I have tried to do what I could. Works are being published in several series and at several well-known presses in Bombay, Poona, Calcutta, Baroda, Benares, Lahore, Madras, Adyar, Mysore, Trivandrum, and Srirangam. Numerous journals publish articles on matters relating to classical Sanskrit, such as

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the Indian Culture, Indian Historical Quarterly, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta; Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, New Indian Antiquary, Poona Orientalist, at Poona; Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, Journal of Bombay University, Journal of Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, in Bombay; Journal of Oriental Research, Journal of Indian History at Madras; Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry; Journal of the Mythic Society at Bangalore; Journal of Sri Venkatesh Oriental Institute at Tirupati, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at Patna, Journals of the Benares Hindu University and of the Mysore and other Universities, the Journal of the recently started Ganganath Jha Institute. A host of scholars, both old and young, are engaged in contributing papers to these several journals. This is a very hopeful and encouraging sign for the progress of Sanskrit studies. It would be invidious to mention a few such names and omit the rest. But I cannot help referring to the papers contributed and work done in this section by some of our comparatively younger scholars on a variety of topics such as Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Mr. P. K. Gode, Dr. Raghavan, Prof. V. M. Apte, Dr. Pusalkar, Prof. N. A. Gore, Prof. S. L. Katre, Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar, Dr. Hazra, Prof. Devasthali, Dr. J. B. Choudhuri, Dr. V. S. Agarwal, and Dr. R. N. Dandekar.

A few remarks may be made about certain desiderata in our Section. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata is making slow but substantial progress. An edition of some at least, if not all, of the 18 Purāṇas is a great desideratum. The papers published by Dr. Hazra on the Devīpurāṇa, by Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Ayyangar on the Nandi-Purāṇa and by Dr. Pusalkar on the Vāyu Purāṇa indicate the urgent necessity of sifting the Purāṇa literature for the purpose of enabling scholars to draw certain conclusions on history, sociology and Dharmaśāstra. Another great desideratum is to have a bibliography prepared on the lines of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology published by the Kern Institute at Leyden, but of a much wider scope indexing references to all texts printed in India and elsewhere and to all works and papers written on Indology in India and abroad in English or in other languages. This is a stupendous task and can be undertaken only by a central body possessing ample funds and commanding the co-operation of numerous scholars. This is a work which should be undertaken by the conference itself.

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Among the texts published in the last two years, I should like to mention particularly the following :—

The Āraṇyakaparva of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata ;* the *Vyavahāranirṇaya* of Varadarāja ; the *Dattaka-Candrikā* (with a learned commentary by Pandit Marulkar), the *Kālamādhavakārikā*, *Jyotirnibandha* and the *Tithicintāmaṇi* (all from the Ānandāśrama Press) ; *Dharmadvaitanirṇaya*, *Sāpiṇḍyanirṇaya* of Śrīdhara and *Sāpiṇḍya-dīpikā* of Nāgoji (edited by Principal Gharpure) in Dharmaśāstra ; the *Sāṅkhāyanagṛhya-sūtra* (published at Junagadh) ; the *Daṇḍanīti-prakaraṇa* edited by Mr. Bendrey ; the *Alaṅkāra-Mahodadhi* edited by Mr. L. B. Gandhi in the G. O. S. and the *Alaṅkāraratnākara* of Śobhākara (edited by Prof. C. R. Devadhar) ; the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* with English translation by Prof. Suryanarayana Shastri, the *Aṇūbhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtra (I. 3-4) edited by the late Mr. Teliwala, the *Brahmasūtra Siddhānta-Muktāvalī* (published by the Ānandāśrama Press) in Vedānta ; the *Rāmānuja-Campū* under Kāvya ; the *Pancarātra-rakṣā* (published in the Adyar Library Series).

Among works and monographs I would draw particular attention to Dr. Raghavan's "*Studies on some concepts of Alaṅkāraśāstra,*" "*Bhāsa*" by Dr. Pusalkar, Prof. Sakhare on "*History and Philosophy of the Lingāyat religion,*" Dr. De's "*Early history of the Vaiṣnava faith*"; the "*Progress of Indic Studies*" (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona) ; *Vīra-Saivism* by Dr. Nandimath, the Bibliography of the Rāmāyaṇa by Prof. N. A. Gore. It is really creditable that inspite of the scarcity of paper and the depressing conditions engendered by the Great War so many texts and such valuable works were published during the short space of two years.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY SECTION

By

MAHĀMHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. UMESHA MISHRA, M.A., D.Litt.,
Allahabad University.

MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE,

I CONSIDER it to be my first duty to express my most sincere gratitude to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have conferred upon me by inviting me to preside over the Section of Indian Philosophy and Religion of this session of the Conference which is holding its sittings within the precincts of a University which I am proud to call my *Alma-mater*. Being fully aware of my limitations and of the onerous duty which a President has to perform, I feel much diffident to shoulder the responsibility, but as आज्ञा गुरूणां ह्यविचारणीया, I have no other choice.

As the President of a section it is my next duty to deliver an address covering the progress achieved in the subjects connected with the Section since we met last at Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1941, and to place before you some of the more important problems which as a student of Indian Philosophy I have before me.

Before proceeding with the first part of my work, I must confess very frankly that the survey of the progress made in this Section, as given below, in no way claims to be quite exhaustive and comprehensive. It is partly due to the short notice of the session and partly to the consideration of not encroaching upon the time of others while delivering it before the audience here.

I

The most important contribution to this Section is the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Parts I and II, by Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane. Pandit Kane's scholarship needs no introduction. The first volume of his *History of Dharmaśāstra* has been before the public for over ten years and we know what great amount of labour and scholarship is necessary for such a monumental authoritative work. The present volume contains the treatment of *varṇa*, *āśrama*, *saṁskāras*,

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āhnika, ācāra, dāna, and *utsarga* and *śrauta* sacrifices. The author has based the exposition of all these topics on authoritative original sources including most of the modern *Nibandhas.* The subject is so vast and its nature is sometimes so complicated that it is difficult to say that all the schools of Dharmaśāstra are fully represented, but as far as it seems, Pandit Kane has not omitted any important text from his treatment. We are much indebted to the author for his contributions and are anxiously looking forward to see the third volume which I hope is almost complete by now.

The next but not the less important work is *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā in its Sources* by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha with an Appendix by myself named *Critical Bibliography of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā,* also known as *Mīmāṁsākusumāñjali.* It is the first volume of the newly started *The Library of Indian Philosophy and Religion Series* under the general editorship of Sir S. Radhakrishnan and published by the Benares Hindu University. Dr. Jha was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest scholars of recent times. As regards his contributions to Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, we may say without any hesitation that he has done the same service which the great Kumārila Bhaṭṭa did in his time to the Śāstra. His present work which was unfortunately his last contribution in this life, is the most exhaustive and comprehensive treatment of the three well-known schools of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, namely, *Bhaṭṭa, Guru* and *Miśra.* By the publication of this work we have got a complete book on the History of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā based on original sources.

The *Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda* deserves our next attention. Though generally it is called *Māṇḍūkyakārikā* or *Gauḍapādakārikā,* yet the present author likes to name it *Āgamaśāstra,* because it is an "authoritative treatise which deals with or is based on a traditional doctrine or doctrines." It has been edited, translated and annotated by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya of Calcutta after a thorough study of the book for about twenty years. Professor Bhattacharya is not at all satisfied with the interpretation given by Śaṅkarācārya, and identifies it with that of the *Vijñānavāda.* It is true, holds Prof. Bhattacharya, that Gauḍapāda advocates the *Vijñānavāda* in his *Kārikās,* but certainly, he takes the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* as the ultimate basis for his treatment. One may or may not share with his views, but there is no doubt that his treatment has opened quite a new line of thinking and is worth further investigation. In spite of all the praise that the present edition deserves, it is a fact that

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the printing of the text in Devanāgarī script would have been much more desirable.

Dr. S. K. De of Dacca University deserves our congratulations for his *Early History of the Vaiṣnava Faith and Movement in Bengal.* In this interesting work the author gives us an account of the views of early Caitanyaism based on almost all the original works written by the followers of Śrī-Caitanya. Though not quite exhaustive, the author has given a summary of almost all the works written in Sanskrit by scholars and devotees inspired by the personality of Caitanya. He also discusses therein the interpretation of *rasa-śāstra,* theology, philosophy, rituals etc. as found in the works of Vaiṣnavaism of that period. The book, on the whole, is indeed a valuable contribution to the literature and deserves our praise.

One of the most important books that has been published in the *Adyar Library Series* is *The Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita* by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A. The main purpose of this work, as he himself has told us, is to give a critical and comprehensive exposition of the central features of the Philosophy of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* and its relation to other schools of Vedānta. The author very dispassionately and critically elucidates almost all the aspects of the school. He proceeds with a clear outlook and makes efforts to judge his statements from the correct angle of vision of all the schools of Vedānta. His statements are quite authentic and do not conflict with the true spirit of the school on any point. The author seems to me one of the best exponents of the thought. It is indeed a very good addition to the literature of the school.

Dr. S.C. Nandimath, Principal, Lingaraj College, Belgaum has added *A Hand-Book of Vīraśaivaism* to the literature of the Lingāyata School. Śaivaism is one of the important schools of Indian Philosophy which has two sub-schools—Śaivaism of Kashmir and that of Southern India which is, ordinarily, called Vīraśaivaism, or more popularly, Liṅgāyatā Darśana. The author has made a comparative study of the various schools of Vedānta and has compared and drawn contrasts between their views and those of the Liṅgāyata school. The teachings of this school are more particularly ethical, but their philosophical back-ground cannot be overlooked. The author has discussed topics like the conception of God, *Śakti*, *Māyā*, Appearance, and Reality. The book is well written and the author deserves every encouragement.

History and Philosophy of Liṅgāyata Religion (being an Introduction to the *Liṅgadhāraṇacandrikā* of Nandikeśvara)

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by Mr. M. R. Sakhare is another work added to the literature of Vīraśaivaism. The main object of the author is a comprehensive treatment of the History and Philosophy of the school. Mr. Sakhare traces the origin of the school to the twelfth century A.D. The school has got a philosophy of its own and deals with the social and religious aspects also as practised amongst its followers. It is influenced both by the Śaivaism and the Śāktaism. Both in theory and practice its views are very reactionary and revolt against the orthodox views and do not appear to believe even in the influence of the *Law of karman*. Perhaps this was the reason why it could not spread far beyond the locality of its origin.

The author in his enthusiasm has gone far beyond the limits of his main theme, and so has been not much successful in his attempts. It was not at all necessary for him to go back to the old questions and discuss the much controversial topics of the ancient civilisation of the country in this very volume. If the author were serious enough to discuss such questions, he could have done it in a separate volume. Besides, some of the statements made therein are far from satisfactory and ought to have been more critically examined before being put before the public. As it is, the book is much confused and contains many things which need not have been there at all.

Next, I pass on to the *Nimbārka School of Vedānta* by myself. As far as I know, no attempt was ever made to write in English, as a matter of fact, in any language except Sanskrit, a comprehensive History of the school prior to this. The only book published in English is the *Doctrine of Nimbārka* in two volumes by Dr. Roma Chowdhari, which is, nothing but an English translation, with some annotations, of the two direct and indirect commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras* of *Bādarāyaṇa* known as the *Vedānta-Pārijāta-Saurabha* and the *Vedānta-Kaustubha*. The third volume which was announced to contain a full philosophical exposition of Nimbārka's doctrines is still awaiting its publication. The book under review is an exhaustive treatment of the doctrines of the school based on almost all the available texts in print. It is fully documented and is thus most authoritative.

The work of Bhai Manilal C. Parekh, named *Vallabhāchārya—Life, Teachings and Movement* is perhaps the latest addition to the literature of the Vallabha School. The book is divided into four sections—Life of Vallabha—Teachings of Vallabha—Movement of Vallabha and the *Bhāgawatadharma* in Gujarat. The exposition is quite popular and has not much to philosophy in it. What I mean is that no effort has been

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made in this book to go to the original texts as to bring out the philosophical doctrines of the school. Perhaps that was not even the object of the author. Though quite interesting, the book cannot be taken to be a scholarly representation of all the aspects of the school based on original sources. Then, we know that there is much scope for writing on the social and religious aspects of the school, which also are not found in this book. To me the school of Vallabha appears to be, more or less, a living system which exists not only in belief but is strictly adhered to in practice, and so it is necessary that a much more comprehensive study of the doctrines of the school should be presented to the scholarly world. I have been myself working on it for about a year or so and have collected all possible and necessary material and hope to present a volume to the scholarly world before long.

The Jaina Sadhus have been writing in Sanskrit from a pretty long time on Jaina thoughts. It is gratifying to find that they have lately begun to write in English also to popularise their thoughts. This will enable us to have more authentic books based on original sources and traditions of the *Sampradāya*. It is our first duty to preserve the traditions which alone can guide us like a torch in our scholarly pursuits to bring into light the hidden treasures of thoughts. It is because we have lost tradition in several branches of our literature that we are quite in dark as to the correct interpretation of various important problems connected with them.

I am glad to mention in this connection the efforts made by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya of Ahmedabad. Under the common title *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* he has brought out four volumes. The first part of the first volume deals with the twenty-six previous *Bhavas* (existences) of Mahāvīra after the realisation of *Samyaktva* (right belief). The second volume contains an account of the twenty-seventh *Bhava* of Mahāvīra as Vardhamāna Kumāra. The third volume treats of *Gaṇadharavāda*, that is, the explanation of doubts by the eleven chief disciples of Mahāvīra namely, Indrabhūti and others. The fourth volume is named *Sthavirāvalī* which contains an exposition of the *sthaviras*, that is, the old and highly respected learned ascetics. All these works are well annotated, translated and explained. Every effort has been made to make these volumes useful and up-to-date. The expositions though very lucid, interesting and informative, are sometimes mere frivolous. To write much more than what is necessary seems to be a habit with the modern Jaina writers. For a scholarly work brevity of expression should always be adhered to.

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Cosmology Old and New, by Mr. G. R. Jain and published in the *J. L. Jaini Memorial Series*, contains a free English translation of the fifth chapter of the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* of Umāsvātī with ample notes. The author has not only taken great pains to explain the *sūtras* but has also gone beyond the scope of the school to compare and contrast its doctrines with those of the other systems of Indian Philosophy. This sort of comparative study is, undoubtedly, very useful and desirable, but one should remain very careful against misinterpretation of thoughts. There are certain statements in this book which are quite misleading and confusing, and I am afraid, instead of doing any good to the beginners, they may create prejudices in their mind.

A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas by Prof. H. R. Kapadia gives us the history of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon. The author has collected very good material from the original sources based on manuscripts. He has tried to emphasise more on the traditional aspect of the thought, and so he may not appear to be very critical in his judgment to the modernists. It is good that we should try to preserve our traditions, but at the same time we should not forget to make out clear distinction between traditions and history. There is no serious and systematic arrangement of the various aspects of the thought. With such an ample and original collection of material the author could have written a far more interesting and critical book on the subject.

Likewise, we have got a few modern works on Buddhism also to note here. There is the *Early Monistic Buddhism*, Vol. I by Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt wherein questions like—what is not Buddhism, what is early (monistic) Buddhism, how a Buddhist should live etc. have been discussed. The book is written more from the popular point of view than for the use of critical scholarship.

Then there is a collection of sporadic writings and lectures of the late Mrs. Rhys Davids which she has named *Way-farer's Words*, Vol. II. It contains an account of her own researches in early Buddhistic sources. She rightly criticises the various old and current views on Buddhism and holds that for the correct interpretation of Buddhist thoughts, original Pali records are still to be properly studied. Most of the interpretations of the Buddhist thoughts, she holds, have been disproved simply because they could not be supported by original texts. She goes even so far as to apply her argument to systems like Vedānta also. There is enough truth in what she has said.

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Indeed, working without consulting original texts is responsible for many a mistake in several other fields also.

The *Ethical Philosophy of the Gītā* by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari of Madras is a very interesting book. The author (in nine different chapters) has expounded the ethical aspect of the *Bhagavadgītā* in the light of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* by adopting, as he himself says, western methods of critical enquiry. The ethical stand-point of the various schools of Indian thought has been examined in the light of the western thought and a true valuation of the position of the *Gītā* has been made out. The author is a very good scholar of Viśiṣṭādvaita school and has clear ideas about the different stand-points of almost all the schools. His treatment is quite lucid and unbiased.

The Progress of Indic Studies (1917-1942), published by the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* in connection with its Silver Jubilee, contains a brief survey of the progress made in Indian Philosophy by one of my students Dr. P. T. Raju of the Andhra University. The author gives us a very sketchy account of the work done in this field. The treatment, besides being quite unsatisfactory, is entirely misleading. It is strange that the author has such an imperfect acquaintence with the essential characteristics of Indian Philosophy. He has throughout misunderstood the Indian outlook and is not at all clear as to the high standard that Indian Philosophy has ever kept before it. One fails to understand how a philosophy, which deals with the ultimate Truth, can change with the change of the cultural surroundings. There are so many questionable remarks and sometimes quite incorrect, that it is not at all possible for me to refute them here. I will, however, certainly refer to one or two points which will be quite sufficient to show his ignorance of the subject. Every Sanskrit Pandit is never regarded as a philosopher. There are thousands of Vaiyākaraṇas, Jyotiṣis, Vaidikas, and many others who never, even in their dream, think of themselves as philosophers, although they are great Pandits. His assumption that for being a philosopher and for understanding the difficult Sanskrit texts, training is needed in the European philosophy is entirely untenable. You can very easily gather his ideas about Indian Philosophy from the following lines which I quote from his essay. He says :

"It is true that, Sanskrit being a dead language, a good deal more knowledge of the language is required for the understanding of Sanskrit philosophical texts than of English for the understanding of English philosophy. But this admission

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does not imply that every Sanskrit scholar without the necessary training in philosophical thinking can be a philosopher. And training is needed not only in Sanskrit philosophy but also in the European. It will not do if one knows a little about Berckeley's *Principles* or Spinoza's *Substance*. A more systematic training is necessary before India can produce many philosophers who can rank with the greatest intellects of the West. Apart from the question of producing new systems, even in interpreting our ancient thought a good knowledge of Western Philosophy is necessary."

Such being the standard of judgment of Dr. Raju, I think only half a dozen (or even less) scholars who have got thorough training in European philosophy, can deserve to be called Indian philosophers, while Śaṅkarācārya, Rāmānujācārya, Vācaspati Miśra, Śrīharṣa, Udayanācārya, Dharmakīrti, Vasubandhu, Nāgārjuna and all those, who have done similar services to the cause of knowledge in India and are regarded by all as great philosophers of this country, do not deserve to be called philosophers, simply because they were never systematically trained in Western Philosophy. It is painful to hear and even pronounce any judgment on such remarks of Indian students. I am extremely sorry to have dealt with this at length, but I think it is very necessary for me to speak of it in this manner, so that no student of philosophy of any country should ever cherish such a wrong notion about Indian Philosophy in future.

Besides, some other works also have appeared during this period, and without discussing their merits I only mention them here: *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions*, by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, *Studies in Religion and Philosophy* by Dr. Susil Kumar Maitra, *The meaning of the Religious Forms* by Mr. Abinash Chandra Lahiri, *The Yoga of Kaṭhopanishad* by Shri Krishna Prem, *Lectures on Yoga and Vedānta* by Swami Shivananda, *Bhagavadgita and Modern Philosophy* by S. C. Roy, etc.

Recently efforts have been made to write History of Indian Philosophy in Hindi. We have two such works before us worth mentioning—by one Dr. Nandakishora Devaraja and the other by Pandit Baladeva Upadhyaya, a Professor of this very University. The book of Pandit Upadhyaya is much more comprehensive and scholarly than that of Dr. Devaraja. It presents a very good reading for those who do not know the subject and cannot read the standard works from the original sources. As these remove a long felt desideratum in Hindi

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literature, I welcome them, and hope that many more efforts will be made to produce better books in other modern languages.

Similar efforts have been also made in Maithilī in recent times. The late Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha wrote a book on Śaṅkara-Vedānta, called *Vedānta-Dīpaka*. It is very interesting and lucid in its exposition. Dr. Jha, as was his usual habit, has explained the whole system without confusing his readers with the intricacies of Vedānta. The book is written for popular use and not for any critical scholarship.

Likewise, Babu Kshemadhari Sinha of Madhubani has written a small book on Sāṅkhya, named *Sāṅkhyakhadyotikā* in Maithilī. The author has followed the treatment of the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* and has tried to give the substance of entire school in this small book. His exposition is quite easy and lucid and is very interesting for general reading. Though not quite in agreement with the outlook of the author, I welcome such efforts simply because these are useful for those who would have remained quite ignorant of the subject without such books.

II

After reviewing in brief the progress made in Indian Philosophy and Religion in the course of these two years, I now propose to take up the next and perhaps the more important aspect of my duty.

It is already known to you how Philosophy in India is inseparably connected with the very idea of existence. It is, perhaps, because of this that it has outlived all possible changes—social, religious and political—through which the country has passed. Several nations of the world have, from time to time, invaded, conquered and ruled over the country, partly or wholly, and produced political and a few social changes. The Muslims, the Buddhists and the Jainas and many others have attempted to reform the social and religious outlook of the people of this country and may have been even successful to a certain extent, though quite detrimental to the interests of Indian thought and people, yet none of them could ever produce any change whatsoever in the philosophical outlook of the country. Since the very dawn of reasoning, truths, as propounded by the great seers, have remained unaltered. The utterances—the unfolding of the best and mature experiences of the great seers and sages—have proved infallible and unsurmountable so far. It is in this respect that India has held her head high and has never stooped down before any nation of the world. Indian

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Philosophy is, undoubtedly, the purest and the most reliable record of human achievements. In fact, it is the nucleus round which all that is best and most sublime in India has grown. Hence, if we want to study India in her unsophisticated form we must unearth her hidden treasures—the philosophical records—of which we are so proud.

It should be always kept in mind that in order to study the mind of any country it is most indispensable to be very intimately and sympathetically acquainted with the general conditions of the country, with the natural trend of the mind of its people and with its religious and social customs and practices. The unperturbed and unassuming life of a country forms the very back-bone of the thought of that country. It is found reflected and interwoven in its literatures—both light and serious. But there is something more and much more important than this in Indian literature, particularly, in its Philosophy. The gradual evolution of her philosophical thoughts, the mature and infallible experiences of the great seers of the past as recorded in the authoritative texts, represent only the theoretical aspect of human existence, while the practical side of it is found in the actual and unsophisticated normal life of her people. If, therefore, a system of philosophy, in India, does not correspond to the actual functioning of human life on regular and sane lines, it would have neither any practical value nor any general appeal; and I am afraid, it does not deserve to be recognised as a system of Indian thought. In other words, one must study and understand with faith the true spirit of the life of Indian people in order to have a proper grasp of the spirit of their philosophy.

It must be kept in mind that Philosophy and life of the people in India both aim at the same goal, that is, absolute freedom from pain or the realisation of the highest truth. There exists mutual reflection between these two. In other words, the life of people in India is regulated in close adherence to what is found in her Philosophy. Thus, Philosophy and Life may be said to be identical for Indians. The standard of judgment is the same for both. So without any hesitation we may say that the life of people in India is nothing but Philosophy in practice. This alone differentiates Indian Philosophy from those of other countries.

The ultimate aim of Philosophy and Life in India is realised by the true vision of the Supreme Self, that is, *Ātman*; so says the Śruti 'आत्मा वाऽरे द्रष्टव्यः,' and every system of thought directly or indirectly stands as a means (*sādhana*) to this very

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aim. It is only because of this that it deserves the name *Darśana*. The nature of this *Ātman* is so very subtle that to speak of it, nay even to think of it, is simply impossible as is clear from the Śruti—'यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह.'

It is never possible to know the unlimited *Ātman*, that is, its realisation, with the limited *Manas*. The *anantarūpa* of the *Ātman* cannot be expounded by any one particular school of thought. So what is found in different systems is that each one has limited its scope and represents one or two aspects of that ultimate truth only. Thus Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, for instance, asserts the separate and independent existence of *Ātman*, while the Sāṅkhya proves that it is nothing but pure *caitanya* and leaves for the Vedānta to propound its blissful nature. Accordingly, every enquirer into the nature of this ultimate truth cannot realise it at one and the same time. It is, therefore, that the great *Ācāryas* have advised us to proceed after the *Arundhatīdarśana-nyāya* and have laid great emphasis on the question of *Adhikāribheda*. It necessitates the attainment of those qualifications and conditions which must be acquired and fulfilled by the aspirant to philosophical studies before he can enter their portals and also in the course of those studies until he realises the ultimate goal. With this back-ground the various schools of Philosophy in India have been arranged and any one desirous to study them must also be accordingly equipped.

This being so, it must be admitted that the various schools of Indian Philosophy expound the Truth from different angles of vision. Thus, it is not correct to hold that all the schools of thought deal with the same aspect and from the same standpoint. I do not think it would have been ever possible for the systems of thought to differ amongst themselves had they all taken their stand upon the same angle of vision. Can under any circumstancec a thing, say a pot (*ghaṭa*) for instance, appear to be different from what it is, if it be looked upon from the same stand-point? But that there exists vast difference in the objects of treatment between the various schools cannot be gainsaid. So the conception of a *bhūta*, for instance, cannot be the same in various schools. It is this very difference in the outlook that necessitates the difference in their objects of treatment. Again, to an enquirer when all the systems are looked upon collectively, there appears a sort of gradation also amongst the various schools of Indian Philosophy. One system presupposes the treatment of another. As for instance, the Śaṅkara-Vednta presupposes the *satkāryavāda*, the *caitanyasvarūpa* of the *Ātāman*, and so on of the Sāṅkhiya. It

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is therefore, difficult to follow a particular system, if systems dealing with those stages which are prior to that, have not been properly studied. The doctrines of Śaṅkara-Vedānta cannot be rightly understood if the Sāṅkhya system has not been thoroughly studied, or those of the Sāṅkhya without the careful study of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, and so on. Hence, what one particular system teaches is only an aspect of the ultimate truth and not the whole.

Keeping all this in mind if any new approach is made to realise the highest end, it is welcome, and I would consider it as an addition to the existing systems of Indian Philosophy. Do we not have some ten different systems of Vedānta alone closely based on the *Brahmasūtras* all leading to one and the same goal? Not to speak of the past but even within our own living memory, only some three years back, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pañchānana Tarkaratna of this very city propounded a new line of thinking, called *Svarūpādvaitavāda*, and wrote a new and quite original commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* and the *Bhagavadgītā* named *Śaktibhāṣya*. His view-point is indeed a fresh addition to the list of the already existing monistic thoughts in the history of Indian Philosophy. According to this view, the Absolute or the Universal Being is the Unity of Supreme Power which is identical and yet in a mysterious way transcendent of its mutually contradicting aspects of *Cit* and *Acit* (*Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*), or Spirit and Matter—the eternal principles of Light and Darkness, of Consciousness and Insentiency, of Immutability and Flux. Spirit and Matter are held to have a common essence with *Brahman* or *Śakti*; in fact, they have the same indivisible unity of Being (एका सत्ता) as of *Brahman* or *Śakti*. There may be others who might have done similar service to the cause of true knowledge. The only point to be kept in view is that we should be true to our aim and consistent in our method of approach in accordance with what has been said before.

This sort of originality is possible only when a man has maintained moral and spiritual discipline throughout his life and is at least above the average man, if not entirely free from *rāga*, *dveṣa* and *moha*; and is always guided with right intuition 'अपरोक्षानुभूति' and is also equipped with the knowledge of the existing systems. In the present generation most of us are busy in ascertaining the correct interpretation of the existing texts. No doubt, this is very useful and must be done at all cost, but we should never forget that this is a means only and not the final aim. Though Philosophy in India is more or

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less individualistic and requires that every individual person should realise the ultimate truth for himself, yet it is also necessary that he should leave behind his mature experiences for the good of the future generation.

It is very encouraging to see that the study of Indian Philosophy is becoming more popular and that the students and teachers of European Philosophy also consider their equipment incomplete without its study. To my mind this is a change which has been brought about by the publication of the *History of Indian Philosophy* by Professors S. Radhakrishnan and Das Gupta. No doubt, the ground was originally prepared by the translations of the most important and difficult texts by the late Dr. Jha and a few others, but it is from the pen of these professors that the thoughts have been synthetically arranged and presented to the scholarly world in an interesting and readable form, so that it has become quite clear to all that Indian Philosophy also can be studied like the Philosophy of other countries. Following these scholars many others have also begun to write and it is very pleasing indeed to see several books now in the field. These scholars represent one type of scholarship, while the other type is found represented by scholars like the late Mm. Dr. Jha, Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinatha Kaviraja and a few others who have produced much more critical works entirely based on original sources and imbued with authenticity.

These two types of work present a very important problem for us. We know that Western thought, though critical and logical, is yet entirely speculative. Scholars trained in that thought wholly depend upon reasonings and have no means to verify their conclusions. It is also a fact which needs no verification that howsoever pure a reasoning may be, it can never ensure the validity of the results unless it is corroborated by the actual reality. It is not that the Western scholarship does not realise this deficiency in its method, but as the philosophical problems are so very subtle and as they deal mostly with things which are beyond the range of our physical means of verification, it is not at all possible to carry on experiments in this field. It is, therefore, that the results of their speculation are frustrated very often and the scholars working according to that method are never sure of what they are doing. In Indian Philosophy, however, there is the process of *nididhyāsana* which is compulsory for all to test the validity of the results of pure reasoning, and so its conclusion is never found invalid.

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Under the circumstances, when scholars trained in the Western method purely on speculative lines make an effort to interpret the subtle problems of Indian Philosophy, they cannot ordinarily be expected to change their outlook and use the Indian method ; for, once the speculative method has made its impression on their mind, it is difficult, if not impossible, to wipe it off and remove their prejudices. I whole-heartedly welcome their scientific outlook but not their prejudices and lack of faith in the critical judgment of the orthodox scholars. I would insist on the combination of the critical method of Western scholarship and that of the orthodox learning. It may be true in the present circumstances to doubt the critical habit of Indian scholars, but it is simply ignorance to deny it. Our higher studies in different branches of learning very clearly show that the method of critically examining a problem is even now traditionally present in most of our orthodox Pandits. It is, therefore, that the scholars of European Philosophy try to find out the thoughts of Spinoza, Berkeley, Hume, Kant and Hegel in the works of Indian thinkers and if, by chance, they could thrust in their views in the works of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and others, then alone they appear to attach some sense to the works of Indian Philosophers. In other words, the present standard of judgment of our modern scholars is Western thought. Whatever appears similar to or is found nearer to the Western thought, that alone can have some value for our modernists. The result is that Indian thoughts are interpreted wrongly in the light of the western thoughts and the true spirit and merit are hardly ever realised by them. This is a grave danger which we have before us. If this practice is allowed to continue for a longer period, I am afraid, the original contributions of Indian Philosophy will be thrown behind the huge columns of thick dark clouds of utter ignorance, and the sublime tradition of the thought will be irrecoverably lost.

Already it is found that, due to one reason or another the traditions of certain schools are lost and we find ourselves in utter helplessness to understand the true spirit of those thoughts. I will just refer to one or two instances to illustrate the above.

From our studies of the various schools of thought, including Epics and Purāṇas, it appears that the school of Sāṅkhya has been so very popular that hardly there is a *śāstra*, or even a book of Sanskrit literature which does not refer to its teachings, and it is perhaps due to this very popularity that we have so many variations in its treatment. As for instance, some hold *Prakṛti* to be eternal, while others consider it to be a product.

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Again, some believe that there is only one *Prakṛti*, while others propound its plurality, and so on. But due to the loss of its tradition and some connecting link, we find hardly any commentary which can claim to be true and faithful to what Īśvarakṛṣṇa has taught in his *Kārikās*, and to my mind it has become extremely difficult to restore his teachings.

Again, a much more serious result appears to be that though it is so very clear that there exists a synthetic gradation amongst the various schools of Indian Philosophy, yet most of our orthodox Pandits, who are, in fact, the real custodians of the treasures of Indian scholarship, are quite unwilling to accept it. It is the negligence of this outlook which seems to me responsible for so much misunderstanding in the true interpretation of philosophical problems even amongst the orthodox Pandits.

Then again, we know that the Bhāṣya of Rāmānujācārya on the *Bādarāyaṇasūtras* is called *Śrībhāṣya* and there is a common belief in this part of the country that the school of Rāmānuja-Vedānta is said to belong to the *Śrīsampradāya*. Most of our Pandits and modern scholars hold that *Śrī* is the founder of the *Sampradāya* and they quote the following verse from the *Padmapurāṇa* in support of their belief:

कलौ खलु भविष्यन्ति सम्प्रदायप्रवर्त्तकाः ।
श्रीब्रह्मरूद्रसनकाः वैष्णवाः क्षितिपावनाः ॥

But our critical study and enquiry in the traditional families indicate that *Śrī* is not the founder of this *Sampradāya* and that the school of Rāmānuja-Vedānta emphasises *Śriyaḥ Patiḥ* and not *Śrī*. It is further said that as the term *Śrī* indicates नित्यविभूतिमत्त्व, the Vaiṣṇavas of the Rāmānuja school and others also have been traditionally adding it before everything they name. So they have *Śrīvaikuṇṭha*, *Śrīdhāma*, *Śrīmukha*, and so on. Now it is difficult to say which of the two views is correct.

These are some of the instances where we can see the disasterous results of the loss of tradition and original thoughts. So if our modern scholars continue the practice of reading western thoughts in Indian ones, I am afraid, only after a few years the true spirit, nay the very foundation of Indian Philosophy, will be shaken, and once the tradition is lost, it will not be possible to recover it.

I must make it clear that I am not opposed to any comparative study, rather I think it very useful for the clear understanding of philosophical problems. What I mean, therefore,

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is that as the two thoughts differ like the two poles in their outlook, it is very difficult to find out any common and useful ground to work on and any kind of forced interpretation to bring them together will simply ruin the cause. So these two thoughts should be left to flourish quite independently in their own separate spheres. And if ever any reference has to be made for showing some similarity, their outlook should never be forgotten. With these clear ideas of difference in mind whenever and wherever any attempt is made to study Indian Philosophy, it is welcome. It is, therefore, quite necessary that we, the students and teachers of Indian Philosophy, should try to study the original texts on the traditional methods and not to depend upon mere translations which are generally confusing and sometimes convey thoughts not quite accurate. At present there is a great need of that type of scholarship which the late Mm. Dr. Jha, Mm. Rāmāvatāra Śarma and the present Mm. Gopinatha Kaviraj have shown in their works. We should produce works written with the help of modern critical method combined with the depth of learning of the traditional Paṇḍits. This type of work alone can maintain the high tradition and purity of Indian thought. Our work should be marked with authenticity fully documented with original texts and critical judgment. We know such works will not be so popular, but is it not dangerous to sacrifice everything for gaining popularity? For popularity too we do want a separate set of books, so that they can be freely used by the beginners, or those who are working in different fields and cannot easily get any facility to study standard works. But here also I would like the presentation of thoughts to be very accurate, so that the grounding of our beginners may not remain shaky and unsound.

By the way, I wish to inform you that it is with this very idea that the admirers and friends of the late Dr. Ganganatha Jha have founded a *Research Institute* at Allahabad. Amongst its various aims, one is to bring the two types of scholars together to their mutual benefit. There are eminent Sanskritists whose knowledge of their subject is deep and quite sound, but neither it is recognised in the world of modern scholarship nor does the advantage of their learning become available to such modern scholars who need it most. It is very necessary to bring the Sanskritists who have finally qualified themselves on the traditional lines in close touch with the methods of modern scientific researches and to provide facilities to the modern scholars for introduction to the depth of the traditional learning of the orthodox Pandits. Then alone we shall have the most

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needed combination of what is the best in the two types of scholarship. This will also help us to preserve the ancient traditional learning of the country which to our great regret is fast disappearing. But it pains me to remark that we never feel for this even for a moment. It will not be out of place to quote a few lines from the experiences of an ex-Governor of Bengal which will tell you what others think of our Pandits even these days. Lord Lytton says: "I have called this book *Pundits and Elephants* because, as I said in my farewell address to the members of the Asiatic Society[1] these were examples of the indigenous, genuine and original qualities which compelled my admiration whenever and wherever I met them. I never tired of watching elephants and studying their ways and habits. They seemed to me to be the embodiment of the true civilisation of India. Their antiquity, their calm dignity, their deliberation, their immense reserve of strength, their complete self-confidence and their superb humility were qualities that I also associated with the Pundits."

Coming back to my proper subject, I wish to draw your serious attention to a very important fact. I need not say that India is essentially a country of spiritual and religious thoughts. Philosophy and religion are the two vital parts of her people. Not only in the very veins of her people there flow Philosophy and Religion but even in the very soil below their feet we see nothing but Philosophy and Religion. Such being the case, how do you like that thousands of her children go out of the sacred portals of our Universities every year without getting any opportunity whatsoever of thinking, nay even of hearing, for a moment of their own essence, I mean Philosophy and Religion? We prescribe courses in Western Philosophy, Logic, Psychology, Metaphysics, Ethics and so on and teach our boys things which are quite foreign to their nature and which may or may not be congenial to them, but why are we ashamed or careless to prescribe even one fourth of the entire degree course to be *compulsorily taught* in Indian Philosophy? Do you dare say that there is nothing worth teaching? What more shameful can it be to see that the best brains of the country go out without ever being told of the hidden treasures of their own in the *Upaniṣads* and the works of the great Ācāryas—Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and others?

[1] *Vide*—Pundits and elephants are things which are associated in my mind, they alike arouse my deepest respect, and I shall be ever grateful to the country that has made me acquainted with them btoh"—1927

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The same is the fate of Religion which alone teaches us the means of becoming happy here and hereafter. It is religion alone which moulds the life of a man. If closely seen, it is found that every man follows consciously or unconsciously some religion or other, but what is required is to give a regular training in it on right lines, so that one can understand the essence of it and make the best use of it in the course of one's whole life. But we see that in the course of his entire period of training a boy is never told of it. He is, therefore, quite ignorant as to the very aim of his life. Even when he grows old and completes his training period, he becomes so much merged into the worldly life that he hardly gets any time to think of what is Religion. The result is that throughout his whole life he fails to experience peace and consolation and never realises the force of inner self. He never feels for a moment that there is a life after death and that he should make some preparation for that long journey. His life remains aimless and irregular. May I ask you to tell me who is responsible for all these? Can we consciously throw the blame on the shoulders of our youngsters? Never. Persons in authority alone are to be blamed. It is their duty to give them timely instructions in this line also. So they alone are responsible for all the shortcomings of our youngsters. Even if anything is being done at present towards this in any institution, it is clear they are never serious and so the little they do becomes a farce.

It is never late to admit one's own mistake. We may even now, if we desire to do something seriously, rectify our past negligence. I would, therefore, suggest that we should try our best to introduce a full paper in Indian Logic at the Intermediate stage and one full paper in the degree course to begin with and after some experience we must reserve fifty per cent of the total marks for Indian Philosophy for every examination. We are the authorities to propose this in our committees of courses in different Boards and Universities, and if we at all realise the seriousness of this proposal, we should not fail to take the earliest steps to implement it in our committees and to draft syllabus for the course and appoint qualified scholars to write books accordingly.

There is one more point to which I would like to draw your attention. For any kind of higher research work a good collection of manuscripts is quite indispensable. Though there are several organisations where this work of collection and search is being done, yet there is a very great need of making much more vigorous efforts in this field. Every day we see

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that thousands of manuscripts are crumbling to pieces and are left at the mercy of white-ants and are lost for ever. It is to be kept in mind that for the reconstruction of the social, political, philosophical and religious history of India, we have to depend entirely on these manuscripts alone. That we have not yet been able to do much work in the ancient period of our history is a clear proof to show that our searches in this field are not quite satisfactory. I may inform you that just a little effort in this field has enabled us to collect over three thousand manuscripts for the newly established *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* at Allahabad within five or six months. We have definite information about thousands of manuscripts lying unused and uncared for in this very city and we can easily imagine the importance of these manuscripts. I may tell you that the owners in most cases are ignorant of the value of these manuscripts and so they are perishing. It is very difficult to preserve these manuscripts and if no effort to secure them or to preserve them even in their own places is made in near future, they will all be thrown in the lap of mother Gaṅgā. It is also necessary in most cases to get their transcripts done, for some of the manuscripts have become so very old that they will be destroyed even while handling. This work of ours needs big funds and sincere workers. For want of funds, I am sure, no serious scholarly work can ever be allowed to suffer and particularly, when we have our revered Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Professor Radhakrishnan with their Rajas, Maharajas and Birlas. I only feel dearth of men for this serious work. We know it cannot be done by one man. It is a work which can be done, if all of us join together and try to collect these manuscripts from every village and town where we go and live. I would even ask the students to collect these from their villages and place them in safe places.

Lastly, I would draw your attention to the fact that there seems to be a tendency to regard Jainism and Buddhism as separate from Indian Philosophy. I do not see any justification for this. Already there are so many splits and do we not feel tired of it? Are they foreign to India? Do we not see vast differences even amongst the orthodox systems themselves? Can any student of Indian Philosophy neglect their study? It is the duty of every student of Philosophy to study each of these systems from the right angle of vision and do full justice to them. No system of thought can be properly studied without reference to all of them. So I leave it to you to find out if there is any sense in this split.

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This is all, friends, that I had to say ; and I hope we shall be able to do something to further the cause of Indian Philosophy on right lines. I shall regard myself amply rewarded if you can secure a safe place for it in our Institutions and also do something to collect and preserve manuscripts. Before I conclude, I must once more thank you for your kindness and patient hearing.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: PALI AND BUDDHISM

By

DR. P. V. BAPAT,

Professor of Pali, Fergusson College, Poona.

BROTHER AND SISTER DELEGATES,

I have to thank, very sincerely, the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for having given me the honour of presiding over this section, of Pali and Buddhism of the XIIth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. It is for the first time in the history of this Conference that a separate section is being assigned to Pali and Buddhism. It was, perhaps, discovered by the organisors of the Conference that this subject did not receive the attention it deserved, when combined with Ardhamāgadhī or Prakrits and Jainism section. Prof. Benimadhav Barua in his presidential address of the Prakrit section of the Tenth Session of our Conference held at Tirupati made a remark: "I sincerely hope that from the next session of the Conference, Pali, too, would be given a distinct place which it pre-eminently deserves." Specialisation has now advanced to a such stage that it is being more and more difficult for Oriental scholars to keep abreast with the latest developments in the varius branches of the oriental studies. The world-wide interest which Buddhism invokes has made it still more difficult.

Before we proceed further, it is our bounden duty to pay homage to the departed savants in our field. Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, the President of the Pali Text Society since the death of her illustrious husband, Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, in the year 1922, passed away on 26th June, 1942. She was ably guiding the affairs of the Pali Text Society which continued to publish, with re-doubled force, as it were, the texts and translations from Pali. Though in the last few years of her life there was a considerable change in her conception about the fundamental teachings of the Buddha, she was considered to be a champion of studies in Pali and Early Buddhism. Prof. Stcherbatsky of the Academy of Arts and Sciences also passed away. He had been a very ardent exponent of Buddhist philosophy and his books on 'Conception of Buddhism,' 1923, 'Conception of Nirvāna" 1927, and his 'Buddhist Logic' (two vols. 1930-32) have proved to the world of scholars his merits to

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interpret to the Western world the philosophy of Buddhism contained in difficult Sanskrit texts. Prof. E. H. Johnson expired in October 1942. His translations of Buddhacarita and Saundarānanda are well-known and we shall very much miss his reviews on books on Indology. Prof. Heinrich Zimmer of Heidelberg University died as an exile in New York. His work 'Māyā, der Indische Mythos' is well-known. We have also come to know of the sad death of Prof. Lüders of Berlin University. His publication of the Fragments of Buddhist Dramas as well as of Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā had created a great stir in the world of scholars. Quite recently news has been published of the expiry of Sir Aurel Stein. His wonderful discoveries in Central Asia have opened up quite a new vista of Buddhist studies, and the treasures of manuscripts discovered by him have kept a number of scholars busy in deciphering and interpreting them. His famous volumes on Ser-India have become the fittest monuments for him. We are also grieved to learn of the death of the Polish scholar, Stanislas Schayer, from occupied Poland. He was well-known for his 'Pre-canonical Buddhism' (AO 1935), 'Fire and Fuel' (1926), 'Anityatā, the problem of impermanence in Buddhist philosophy' (1933-34) and 'Contributions to the Problem of time in Buddhist Philosophy' (1938).

I. *Pali in Europe*

It is being increasingly more and more recognised that the studies of Pali and Buddhism cannot be entirely divested of studies in earlier literature of India like the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, particularly the last, and that it is not possible to have a proper perspective of the Buddhist thought without thoroughly understanding its background. Buddhism cannot be taken as a manifestation of an independent up-start movement, but it must be taken as a chain in the historical evolution of Indian thought.

In January 1943, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, commemorated its Silver Jubilee and marked the occasion with the publication of two volumes, one of which gives the 'Progress of Indic Studies' in twelve sections. Unfortunately, it does not include the progress of studies in Pali and Buddhism. Friends have suggested that as this is the first occasion when a separate section in our Conference is being given for Pali and Buddhism, it would not be out-of-place to take a survey of studies in Pali and Buddhism in general, during the last twenty-five years. It would also make good the lacuna in the Bhandarkar Institute volume.

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The philological interest of European scholars in Pali studies in the early few years of the second half of the nineteenth century, as revealed by Fr. Müller's 'Beiträge zum Kenntniss der Pali-Sprache' (1867-69), Senart's 'Kaccāyana's Grammaire Palie' with translations and notes (Paris, 1871), J. Minayeff's 'Grammaire Palie' (Paris, 1874), A. Grünwedell's 'Rūpasiddhi', (Berlin, 1883) etc., was soon followed by the interest in the literature and religious thought of the Buddhists. It was considered necessary to make organised and systematic attempts in making available to the European scholars the original Pali texts and Dr. H. Oldenberg published in Roman characters the Vinaya Piṭaka, or the Collection on Buddhist Discipline (London, 1879-83). When Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids retired from Ceylon Civil Service, he with the help of other scholars founded the Pali Text Society (1881), which, since its first publication in 1882, has been publishing, until lately (1941), two volumes, at least, every year. The Society had published by the year 1918 almost all the books of the Sutta and Abhidhamma Piṭakas (except Apadāna and Tika-paṭṭhāna). If this period of 1881-1918 could be roughly described as being devoted to the publication, in the main, of the original Canonical texts of the two Piṭakas, Sutta and Abhidhamma, the succeeding period can be described as being devoted to the publication of the commentaries on the canonical texts. Commentaries already undertaken were completed and fresh ones were taken in hand and published. We may say now that the Pali Text Society has supplied to us the commentaries on most of the Canonical texts. Those on the Vinaya, Aṅguttara, Paṭisambhidā and Theragāthā are incomplete while those on Buddhavaṁsa and Apadāna are probably on the waiting list. It is needless to say how very valuable these commentaries have been to all Pali scholars. The indexes to the published texts, canonical as well as commentaries, have been found to be very useful and we learn with much regret that the work on Piṭaka Concordance remained incomplete before the death of Mrs. Rhys Davids (1942).

English Translations of Canonical Texts

Another important activity of the Pali Text Society has been to supply us English translations of the canonical texts in Pali. This series, along with the Sacred Books of the East as well as the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, has covered most of the important books of the canonical literature. Miss I. B. Horner, on whom we understand has now fallen the mantle of the Presidentship of the Pali Text Society, has given two

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volumes of the Book of Discipline and a third is reported to be in press. These volumes along with the Vinaya Texts of Rhys Davids and Oldenberg (1881-85) cover most of the important volumes of the Vinayapiṭaka. A large part of the Suttapiṭaka is translated. The Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas have their translations in the 'Dialogues of the Buddha' (1899, 1910, 1921) and 'Further Dialogues of the Buddha' (1926-27 in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists). 'The Book of Kindred Sayings' by Mrs. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward of Tasmania (1917-1930) and the 'Book of Gradual Sayings' by F. L. Woodward and E. M. Hare (1932-36) are the translations of the other two Nikāyas, Saṁyutta and Aṅguttara. Of the Khuddakanikāya, the most popular of the important volumes, the Dhammapada and the Suttanipāta were already translated by Maxmüller and V. Fausböll respectively in the Sacred Books of the East Series, vol. X (1881). In the Minor Anthologies, however, Mrs. Rhys Davids has included the Dhammapada also along with the Khuddakapāṭha for her translation. Udāna and Itivuttaka are translated by F. L. Woodward, while Dr. B. C. Law has given us the translations of Buddhavaṁsa and Cariyāpiṭaka (1938) in the same Series. We are further assured that the translations of Petavatthu and Vimānavatthu, with excerpts from the commentary, by H. S. Gehman and Jean Kennedy are in press. Thera-and-Therī-gāthā have been already known to readers in their English garb: 'The Psalms of the Early Buddhists—the Sisters (1909), the Brethern' (1913). Only three volumes in this Nikāya—the Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga and Apadāna still remain to be translated. Of the Abhidhamma, Dhammasaṅgaṇi, the first basic work, was already translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her 'A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics' with a very learned introductory essay (Oriental Translation Fund, No. XII, London, 1923). An excellent translation of another important Abhidhamma book, Kathāvatthu is found in 'Points of Controversy' or Subjects of Discourse by Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids (1915). Dr. B. C. Law's 'Designation of Human Types' (1922) translates Puggalapaññatti, a minor Abhidhamma text. Thus only four works of the Abhidhamma still remain to be translated—Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna.

Non-Canonical Texts

Of the non-canonical works, the most interesting ones, the Dīpavaṁsa and Milindapañha, were given to us by H. Oldenberg and V. Trenckner, respectively, as early as 1879 and 1880. In addition to a few minor works of later times such

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as Khuddakasikkhā, Mūlasikkhā, Cha-dhātuvaṃsa, Pajjamadhu, Saddhammopāyana etc. that appeared in the P. T. S. Journals, from time to time, the important non-canonical treatises like Abhidhammatthasangaha, the most popular Manual on Buddhist philosophy by Anuruddha (1884), Gandhavaṁsa (Journal, 1886), a brief bibliography of Buddhist books in Pali, Sāsanavaṁsa, (1897) a traditional account of the spread of Buddhism in Southern Asia, Nettipakaraṇa, a philosophical treatise (1902), Mahāvaṁsa (1908) and Cūlavaṁsa (1926-27), the Chronicles of Ceylon, Buddhadatta's Manuals on Vinaya and Abhidhamma (1915, 1928), Visuddhimagga (1920-21), the most standard book of encyclopædic nature on early Buddhism and Vaṁsatthappakāsinī (Commentary on Mahāvaṁsa) came at intervals.

English Translations of Non-Canonical Texts

Of the most important texts of these non-canonical texts, also, English translations have now become available. Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids have given (1910) the translation of the Abhidhammatthsangaha in their 'Compedium of Philosophy' with a masterly introduction by the former. Of the same work, E. L. Hoffmann has given a German translation (1928). Another Burmese scholar, Principal P. Maung Tin gave us the translations of the Aṭṭhasālinī (1920-21) and Visuddhimagga (1922, 28, 31) in his 'Expositor' and 'Path of Purity' respectively. W. Geiger and Mrs. Mabel R. Rickmers have translated the Chronicles, Mahāvaṁsa and Cūlavaṁsa (1912, 1929-30). Along with the Aṭṭhasālinī, some other important and interesting commentaries also, have been made available to purely English readers. The Commentary on Dhammapada, a book of world-literature, has been translated by E. Watson Burlingame in his 'Buddhist Legends' (Harvard Oriental Series, 28, 29, 30, 1921). 'The Debates Commentary' by Dr. B. C. Law is an illuminating translation of the commentary on Kathāvatthu, a text which, as tradition puts it, was added to the list of Abhidhamma books at the time of the Third Council of Pāṭaliputta or Patna.

The Jātakas form a literature by themselves, and the standard edition of V. Fausböll stands unrivalled. Their popularity is highly enhanced by their English translation by several scholars working under the general editorship of Prof. E. W. Cowell (Cambridge Uni. Press, 1895-1913).

Thus from the short review of the activities of the Pali Text Society, it will be found that a very large portion of the credit of supplying critical editions, in Roman characters, of

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the texts of the Pali Canon as well as of most of the commentaries, goes to the Pali Text Society. In the work of translations, the credit is shared by the Society along with the organisors of the Sacred Books of the East, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, as well as the organisors of the Harvard Oriental Series, in which last we have another translation of the Suttanipāta along with the text printed facing it (No. 37, 1932).

Publications in the East

(*i*) *Ceylon*

With the national awakening in the East, the young Buddhists of Ceylon were enthused with a new spirit of the revival of Buddhism. There was produced keeness in the minds of young men to revive the simplicity of the original Buddhist Faith, to revive the study of old Pali texts, and to revive the practice of having Buddhist names in families where Christian names were more or less forced upon them by the political vicissitudes in the history of Ceylon. Rich merchants felt an urge to do something for the Buddhist faith. In Hewavitarane family, there was founded a Trust called 'Simon Hewavitarane Bequest Fund' to provide for the publication of the texts and commentaries in Pali. With the assistance, in 1914, of the veteran Pali scholar from Mahārāṣṭra, Prof. Dharmānanda Kosambi, plans were laid for the publication of the commentaries. Petavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā was published as the first in the series (1917). Then soon followed the commentaries on other texts like the Thera-and-Therī-gāthā (1918), Dīghanikāya, first part, (1925) etc., with the total result that by now (1943) there have appeared as many as forty-four volumes—no mean accomplishment—on excellent paper, with clear type, with variants in footnotes, with indexes and with bold type for words commented upon. These are much better, on account of this last feature, than the Aluvihāra editions. Most of the commentaries on the Sutta and Abhidhamma books are completed, or are on the way to completion. The Aṭṭhakathās on the Majjhima and on the Vinaya, however, are a long way off their completion. It is much to be desired that when the commentaries are all published, the works of the original canon are also taken in hand, along with the Ṭīkās or sub-commentaries. It is astonishing to find that even in Ceylon, there should not be still any printed editions of the Yamaka, Paṭṭhāna, Paṭisambhidāmagga and all the Jātakas. It is also interesting to note that in the Simon Hewavitarane Series, Commentaries on the Nettipakaraṇa (1921), Suttasaṅgaha

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(1929) and Catubhāṇavāra (1929) as well as the Visuddhimagga-Aṭṭhakathā—it is customary to call it an Aṭṭhakathā as it has been credited to fulfil the roll of an illuminating Commentary on the Nikāyas—are included.

Although there have been several texts and commentaries printed elsewhere in Ceylon, which it is impossible to name, we may mention here Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta's Visuddhimagga (1914) and Apadāna (1930), two volumes of the Visuddhimagga Tīkā (which end with the Indriyasaccaniddesa-vannanā) edited by Morontuduve Dhammānanda Nāyakatthera of Vidyodaya-pariveṇa, Abhidhammaṭṭhavibhāvinī (1933) and Aṭṭhasālinī Mūlaṭīkā (1938) published in the Vidyodaya-Ṭīkā Publication Series. Dīghanikāya (all the three vols.) is published in the Mānatuṅga publication Series (1929) and Vimativinodanī, the commentary on Vinaya-Aṭṭhakathā, is published by Dr. H. Gabriel de Silva, Colombo, 1935.

(ii) *Siam and Cambodia*

In Siam, with the patronage of the members of the then royal family, things have been much favourable. The commentaries (Aṭṭhakathā), were published in and about the year 1920 (B.E. 2463), while the whole of the Canon has been reprinted (1925-28) on excellent paper in 45 volumes. The Jātakaṭṭhakathā also has been published in ten volumes (1922-24). There are indexes, by no means exhaustive, to the Commentaries and though much has thus been done to facilitate the work of a scholar, one cannot help remarking that the usefulness of these volumes would have been increased if the original words commented upon had been printed in some distinctive type to enable them to be distinguished from the rest, as has been done in the books of the Simon Hewavitarane Series of Ceylon. Dīghanikāya-padānukkamo (Index to the Dīgha) is published under the patronage of the Royal Institute of Bankok (1933). Pañcikā (? Pañjikā) on Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī (1933) and several Jātaka collections in Siamese have appeared. Another interesting publication is a reproduction of Lefmann's Lalitavistāra with the Siamese translation (1933). In Cambodia, also, this modern activity in Buddhist publications is on the increase. Buddhist institutes were established at Phnom-penh (1930) and at Laos (1931). Several Pali texts with translations have appeared. Mlle. Suzanne Carpeles of Phnom-penh reported in 1937 (P. T. Society's report for 1937) that the work of the printing of the Vinaya-piṭaka with text and translation, in Cambodian, in fifteen

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volumes was completed and that the Mahāvāravagga of the Saṁyuttanikāya of the Suttapiṭaka was going to the press. Numerous little tracts have also been published in Cambodian translations for the use of the laity.

(iii) *Burma*

Burma has always been leading in the field of Tipiṭaka studies and a whole series of canonical texts, Commentaries, important non-canonical works, and Ṭikās have been published from time to time. The art of presenting the works to the readers in an attractive form seems to be far from the minds of these printers and publishers. They will print even verses also as in prose, although in later editions attempt at improving this technique seems to be aimed at. Books published from the Hanthawaddy Press, P. G. Mundyne Piṭaka Press, and Zabu Meit Swe Press need to be specially mentioned. An important text published in the last mentioned Series is Peṭakopadesa by Mahākaccāna. Hardy had prepared a copy in Roman characters of this text and it has been still preserved in the State Library, Berlin. It was used by Rudolf Fuchs for his 'Specimen des Peṭakopadesa,' Berlin, 1908. This is a companion volume of the Netti-pakaraṇa, but does not seem to be much studied. Another interesting thing about this text is that it quotes certain passages which are taken from what the author calls 'Ekuttarika'—evidently corresponding to Aṅguttara—a title which is used by the Sarvāstivādins, although in another place it quotes from Aṅguttara as well. Another interesting feature of this series is that the words commented upon are indicated by a star. A number of sub-commentaries like Aṭṭhasālinī-Yojanā, Anuṭīkā, Madhusārattha-dīpanī, Aṭṭhasālinī-Mūlaṭīkā and the Ṭikas on other Aṭṭha-kathās are available.

(iv) *India*

Just as the scholars of Europe, or of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia etc. prefer to use for Pali the characters used in their own land, so also in India, the students of Pali prefer to use Indian characters for Pali. After the introduction of Pali studies in the University of Calcutta or of Bombay, the Indian student keenly felt the need of Pali books in Indian characters. Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya's Milindapañha (only a part) appeared in Bengali script. His Pali Prakāśa and Pātimokkha appeared in Bengali, while Prof. R. G. Bhad-kamkar published in Devanāgarī characters his Jātakapuppha-mālā (1912). With the vigorous efforts of popularising Pali,

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Prof. D. Kosambi published his Pali Reader, part I (1914), Bāhiranidānavaṇṇanā (1914) and Nidānakathā of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā (1915). The late lamented Prof. C. V. Rājawade published the 2nd part of Pali Reader as well as Hatthavanagallavihāravaṁsa (1916) and later, with the co-operation of Prof. N. K. Bhagvat and the present writer, Majjhimanikāya (Mūlapaṇṇāsaka), 1918. The present writer published in 1924 a very critical and scholarly edition of the Suttanipāta, several hundreds of copies of which were unfortunately burnt in the fire of the Aryabhushana Press, with the result that the book is now out of print. Dr. Bimal Churn Law followed with his Cariyāpiṭaka and Dāṭhāvaṁsa (1924, 1925), which, however, appear to be printed off by the publishers, without perhaps referring the proofs to the editor, as is so often the experience of the editors or authors. For, there are several very gross mistakes which do not appear to be possible from a scholar like Dr. B. C. Law. Prof. N. K. Bhagvat of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has given Jātakakathāsandoha (1929), Khuddakapāṭha (1928), Dhammapada (1935) and when he became a member of the University Senate, he got the University of Bombay start the Devanāgarī Pali Texts Series, in which appeared the Nidānakathā (a reprint of Kosambi's edition, 1915), Mahāvaṁsa and Dīghanikāya (2nd vol. 1936), Majjhimanikāya (Majjhima-paṇṇāsaka, 1937-38), Therīgāthā and Theragāthā (1938-39), Milindapañha (edited by Prof. R. D. Vadekar of Poona, 1940). Mahāvagga, we understand, is in press. Paritta and Buddhaghosuppatti may also be mentioned to his credit, although one wishes there may have been exercised a greater care in selecting the proper readings in the latter.

A similar attempt has also been made at Sāranāth, Benares, by the Mahābodhi Sabhā, and we have as many as eleven books of the Khuddakanikāya—all the volumes except the Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga and Apadāna—edited by Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana, Ānanda Kausalyāyana and Jagadīśa Kāśyapa and published by Rev. Uttama of Burma. It is not for us, here, to express any opinion on these attempts, but even as first working editions, one wishes they had been more carefully and critically edited, with introduction and indexes.

Other more praiseworthy attempts may be mentioned in Prof. D. Kosambi's edition of the Visuddhimagga, part I, Text, published by the Bhāratīya Vidyābhavana (1940), Andheri, Bombay, IInd part of the same with his own independent, lucid commentary, Visuddhimaggadīpikā (1943) and that of Abhidhammatthasangaha with his own simple and remarkably clear commentary, Navanītaṭīkā (Mahābodhi Society, Sarnath,

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Benares, 1941). Both these volumes have been supplied with indexes, and in the case of the former, he has also given the list of the important variants. While on this point, one cannot but be reminded of the attempts spread over more than half a century, of the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A., at giving a standard edition of the text and translation of the Visuddhimagga, originally attempted by Henry Clark Warren (1854-1899), the author of 'Buddhism in Translations' (Harvard Oriental Series, No. 3, 1896). Prof. D. Kosambi and the present writer had the good fortune of being associated with these attempts. But we are quite at a loss to know why the fruit of these attempts has not yet seen the light of the day. Pālibhāṣā praveśa by Mr. N. V. Tungar (1939) has been found as a very useful Manual of Pali Grammar by students in Mahārāṣtra. Rev. Jagadīśa Kāśyapa has given us an excellent edition of Moggallāna's grammar in his Pali Mahāvyākaraṇa (Mahābodhisabhā, Sarnath, 1940) written in Hindi and provided with all the necessary indexes. This book gives, in the first half, a very systematic treatment of the subject, suitable to the modern methods, and leaves nothing to be desired. Thanks are also due to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for including in their newly started Bhandarkar Oriental Series, books of Pali literature. Prof. R. D. Vadekar has earned gratitude of the student-world by his edition of the Pātimokkha (1939) which would be found highly useful by students of Vinaya. With him as joint-editor, the present writer has laboured for several years in preparing critical editions of two very difficult works of the Abhidhamma character—Dhammasangaṇi (1940), and Aṭṭhasālinī (1942). These editions have been very highly spoken off. The scholarly introductions have been of considerable use even to laymen to understand the abstruse contents of the two works, and lay bare the intricacies of the subject matter dealt with in these books. The typographical devices and the exhaustive indexes highly increase the usefulness of the works even as books of reference on the subject of the Abhidhamma.

In passing, we may also refer to Mr. Batuknātha Sharma's Pali Jātakavālī, which gives the Pali Jātakas with their Sanskrit rendering printed on the opposite page. This Sanskrit rendering, though it occasionally misses the significance of the Pali idiom, will go a long way in popularising the Jātakas among the Sanskrit pandits. In Bengal, Thera and Therīgāthā, Majjhima, Mūlapaṇṇāsaka, Mahāvagga, Buddhavaṁsa, Dīgha I, Pācittiya, and Udāna were published by the Buddhist Mission, Rangoon, in Bengali script.

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Translations are made in Bengali, of the Jātakas by Raisaheb Ishan Chandra Ghosh, of Dhammapada by Charu Chandra Ghosh, of Thera-and-Therī-gāthā by Bejoy Chunder Majumdar and of Udāna and Majjhima, the latter by a gentleman from Chittagong, whose name I have not yet come to know. Only the other day I saw a Bengali translation of Suttanipāta by Bhikṣu Sīlachandra. In Marathi also there have appeared translations of Khuddakapāṭha (1928, by Prof. N. K. Bhagvat), of Dīghanikāya by Profs. C. V. Rajwade and C. V. Joshi, of the Suttanipāta by Prof. D. Kosambi (Vividhajñānavistāra, 1937), and of a few select Jātakas by Prof. C. V. Joshi of Baroda, who has also edited for the Pali Text Society Saddhammappakāsinī, the Commentary on the Paṭisambhidāmagga (1933, 1941), and who has prepared for the High School students 'A Manual of Pali' which has become very popular, as has been vouchsafed by the several editions through which it has already run.

In Hindi, several works from Pali have been translated by the members of same trio from Sarnath, severally. Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana is responsible for Buddhacaryā, which appears to give the life account of the Buddha in the form of translations of original passages from Pali, as well as for the Translations of the Dīgha, Majjhima and Vinaya (first four vols.), The translator, rather with a sense of gratification, mentions the period of only a few weeks in which the work of the translations was accomplished. One would really wish that the translator had taken at least as many months as the weeks he was engaged on these works. Jātakas from 1-250 have been translated by Ānanda Kausalyāyana (Hindi Sāhitya Sammelana, 1942). In addition, some works like the Abhidhammatthasangaha and Milindapañha have also come in the Hindī garb.

II. Buddhist Sanskrit

But Pali literature represents only a fraction of the Buddhist literature. It is well-known that the Buddhists prefered to have their literature worded in their own speech (*sakāya niruttiyā*) and that is why we find the Buddhist literature like the Prakrit Dhammapada (by Barua and Mitra), in Kharoshthī script, in a spoken dialect of the people in the regions to the North-west of India, or in Central Asia, or like the translations in Soghdian, Kutchee, or Uiguirish languages of Central Asia. But a time came when the Buddhists of India thought it necessary to adopt, for their sacred literature, the Sanskrit language, perhaps for securing the sanctity or, perhaps, for securing the

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facility which the Sanskrit speech enjoyed as an inter-provincial language, and as a common vehicle of expression used by the Pandits, all over the Indian soil, for their religious or philosophical thought. Though the Sthaviravādins (the Therāvādis of Ceylon) remained staunch in their loyalty to the Pali-Prākrit idiom, the Sarvāstivādins of what later came to be styled as the Hīnayānists, and the Mahāyānists did adopt the Sanskrit speech for their religious literature. The Sarvāstivādins had, as counterparts of the Pali Nikāyas, the Āgamas known as Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Saṁyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama in Sanskrit. Although most of this Sanskrit literature except a few fragments of the Āgamas and of the Vinaya, is now lost, the Tibetan and the Chinese versions of these texts are still extent.

Literary Works

But occasionally these missing texts are, in fragments, no doubt, discovered from the buried treasures in Central Asia. N. P. Chakravartī has given in his 'L' Udānavarga Sanskrit' (Paris, 1930) such fragments with translation and notes in French. Other Sūtras of the class known as Arthvargīyas, corresponding to the Pali Aṭṭhakavagga, have also been discovered and Prof. A. F. R. Hoernle has discussed these surviving fragments of a Sanskrit version (*JRAS* 1916, pp. 709-732), which differs from the present Pali text, inasmuch as several of these fragments reveal a prose introduction which is absent in the Pali version. There has been also a Chinese version of the same (Nanjio, 674) of which we shall have to say later. A similar version of the Pali Pātimokkha appears to have existed and Prof. M. Nagai has made a comparison of the Bhikkhu-Pātimokkha in Chinese and Pali (1928). A number of Sanskrit manuscripts written in Gupta script of the 6th or the 7th century A.D. have been recently discovered—some of them as recently as 1931-32 and we are very much indebted to Dr. Nalināksh Dutt for having edited, for Kashmir Government, these texts (Gilgit Manuscripts, Vols. 1, 2, 1939; vol. 3, part ii, 1942) some of which like the Bheṣajyaguru-sūtra, Ekādaśamukha, Hayagrīva-vidyā etc. are minor texts, but others like the Samādhirājasūtra and Vinayavastu are quite substantial. Samādhirājasūtra, in part, did once appear as a publication of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta in 1897, but the other, Vinayavastu, is a very valuable discovery. It is a Sanskrit counterpart of the Pali Vinaya and agrees, in certain chapters, very closely with the Pali text, though differing in others very substantially. The published portion is about

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one-fourth of the whole and represents chapters VII-X. Chapters I-VI have been, we understand, entrusted to Prof. P. C. Bagchi and we have been looking forward to the publication of these chapters as well as others, which are expected to cover as many as three more parts. The Sanskrit of this version definitely points out to a Prakrit original. There is the difficulty of sanskritising the Pali-Prakrit original and several terms like the *poṣa* (Pali posa), *paścātśramaṇa* (*pacchā-samaṇa*), *avadhyāyanti*, *kṣipanti*, *vivācayanti* (*ujjhāyanti*, *khipanti*, *vipācenti*), *sthāpayitvā* (*ṭhapetvā* in the sense of 'except') *arthavaśa* (*atthavasa*) point to the Pali expressions. Sometimes there is an incorrect sanskritisation as Puṣkarasāri instead of Puṣkarasādī corresponding to Pokkharasātī of Pali.

To our scanty collection of Buddhist Sanskrit books, several additions have been recently made. Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, one of the important sūtras of the Mahāyānists, appeared in the Bibliotheca Buddhica Series (1908 ff.), in which several other Sūtras have been published in excellent editions. Of the Central Asian recension of this Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, we know from N. D. Mironov in the Buddhist Miscellanea and W. E. Soothill has given (1930) in his 'Lotus of the Wonderful Law, or the Lotus Gospel' simply a rendering of one of the Chinese versions of the original Sanskrit text, of which the translator seems to be making no use. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra which was printed in Calcutta in 1900 appeared in a new edition by Bunyiu Nanjio (Oxford Uni. Press) in 1923. The Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra, another less important but a very popular Sūtra, has appeared at Kyoto under the editorship of Nanjio and Hokei Idzumi (1931). This Sūtra had also a local importance, inasmuch as portions of this Sūtra were recited at the coronation ceremony of Japanese kings. Johannes Nobel has given a very admirable edition of the same in Roman characters, with a very learned introduction (1937), while Dr. D. W. Radloff has given an 'Uiguirischen' version of the same (B.B. No. 27, 1930). The late Baron A. Von Staël Holstein has given us an excellent edition of Kāśyapa-parivarta (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1926), a Mahāyāna Sūtra of the Ratnakūṭa class, with Sanskrit, Tibetan and four Chinese translations. The unique paper manuscript on which the Sanskrit text is based was found in Khotan in Chinese Turkestan, towards the end of the last century by local treasure-hunters and sold to M. Petrovsky, the late Russian Consul at Kashgar, who subsequently sent the same to the Academy, where the editor studied it and from which a photographic reproduction was taken by him for his use. It is written in characters of the

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Khotan variety of the Indian Gupta alphabet (upright Gupta) with peculiarities which point to the ninth or tenth century A.D. as the probable date of the manuscript. A Mongolian translation of the same is also known to have been in existence, though all attempts of the editor for securing the same failed. Another important Mahāyāna doctrine of the ten Bhūmis or planes has been treated in the Daśabhūmika-sūtra (edited by J. Rahder, 1926). This Sūtra also has been a very popular Sūtra and has been translated into Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese. A glossary of words in all these languages as well as in Sanskrit has been prepared by Prof. Rahder (Buddhica, Paris, 1928) and it will be highly useful to check up the interpretations of the original Sanskrit in these different translations. Prof. E. H. Johnston gave us not only another edition of the text of the Buddhacarita (Cantos I-XIV) already edited by Cowell (1893), but also the translation of the original Sanskirt text as well as the translation of the Tibetan and Chinese versions of cantos XV-XXVIII (1937). He has also translated (1932) for the Punjab University another poem, Saundrānanda, of Aśvaghoṣa. Prof. Lüders had revealed (1911) from fragments of Manuscripts found at Turfan the existence of at least three Buddhist dramas, of which Śāradvatīprakaraṇa of Aśvaghoṣa may be mentioned. He has to his credit another important discovery—that of Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, the original of the Chinese translation which gave the wrong title 'Sūtrālaṅkāra' (Nanjio, 1182). He has shown that its author was not Aśvaghoṣa but a Takṣaśilā monk named Kumāralāta (Leipzig, 1926). Prof. Sylvain Lévi edited Mahākarmavibhaṅga and Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Paris, 1932). The former gives the Sanskrit version of the Pali Cūlavibhaṅgasutta of the Majjhima (No. 135) with the addition of stories included in the Pali commentaries. The story tells us of the birth, as a dog, of the father of Śuka Taudeyaputra (Pali Todeyyaputta) and the Buddha is represented as explaining to the son that the dog barking in his house was none else but his father, reborn as the result of his *karma*. The Italian savant G. Tucci has given (*JRAS* 1934, pp. 307-25 ; 1936 pp. 237-252, 423-35), the first, second (incomplete) and the fourth chapters of the Sanskrit text, Ratnāvalī, by Nāgārjuna, often quoted in the Mahāyāna literature of India and Tibet. The third chapter is missing and the fifth chapter was promised to follow. Prof. Sylvain Lévi and Susumu Yamaguchi have edited (Nakaku, 1934) Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā, a systematic exposition of the Yogācāra-vijñaptivāda as contained in Vasubandhu's Bhāṣya on the Madhyāntavibhāgasūtra of Maitreya Asaṅga. As important contributions to the Prajñāpāramitā literature, may

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be mentioned. Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra, edited by Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller (B.B. No. 23, 1929); the fascicule I of which gives the Introduction, Sanskrit text, and Tibet an translation. A Japanese scholar, T. Matsumoto, has given us (Bonner Orientalischen Studien, Heft, Stutgart, 1932) a specimen of the Sanskrit text (with its Chinese translation) known as Suvikrāntavikrāmī Prajñāpāramitā. Dr. Nalinākshi Dutt has given Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (Luzac & Co., London, 1934). He tells us in that connection that the extant manuscripts of the Pañcaviṁśati do not represent the original Pañcaviṁśati from which the Tibetan and Chinese translations were made. Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā is a commentary, from the Yogācāra point of view, on the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitāsūtra by Maitreyanātha. Abhisamayālankāra-ālokā is a commentary by Haribhadra on Abhisamayālankārakārikā and is edited by G. Tucci (Gaikwad O. Series, No. 62, 1932) with indices of proper names and special words. Prof. U. Wogihāra has also given us the whole of the text in Roman characters (1932-1935).

Philosophy and Logic

As an exponent of Sarvāstivāda Buddhism, nobody could be called a stronger champion than Vasubandhu. Prof. G. Tucci has edited from a manuscript in Nepal—copies of which could be traced to French Sanskritists also—the Trisvabhāvakārikā of Vasubandhu, of which Prof. Louis de la Vallee Poussin has also given an edition (Bib.B. VI. No. 163). Perhaps the most important of Vausbandhu's works are Abhidharmakośa and Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana has attempted to restore (1932), with the help of the Commentary Sphuṭārthā-abhidharmakośavyākhyā of Yaśomitra and the Kārikās and notes given in Louis de la Vallée Poussin's monumental translation in French (1923-31), the Kārikās of Vasubandhu, with his own comment in Sanskrit. The study of this work is further aided by the publication of U. Wogihāra's edition of that Commentary, Sphuṭārthā (1932-36), of which only two fascicules are published (1918, 1930) in the Bib. Buddhica Series. Other important publications in connection with Vasubandhu's philosophical works are the two tracts, published from a Nepalese manuscript by Prof. Sylvain Lévi (1925), of Viṁśatikā with the author's Vṛtti and Triṁśikā with the commentary of Sthiramati. Hermann Jacobi has given a German translation of Triṁśikā as well as of the Commentary. This same thesis of Vasubandhu has been the subject of two other volumes (1928-29) of Poussin, where he is giving the French translation of the Chinese Com-

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mentary on Vijñapti-mātrāa-siddhi by Yuan Chwang. G. Tucci has published (*JRAS* 1930, pp. 611-23) from a Nepalese manuscript in Newari characters, a fragment from the Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā, Vasubandhu's Commentary on Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra. While dwelling on this point, we may as well mention Dr. V. V. Gokhale's thesis (Bonn., 1930) on Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra of Ullangha, translated into Chinese by Dharmagupta (607 A.D.) and Amoghavajra (8th century A.D.). Dr. B. C. Law has discussed (*JRAS* 1937, pp. 287-92) the various forms in which the Law of Causation appears in Pali texts with the additional intersting information that while the Kurram inscription on a casket gives only one aspect (*samudaya* aspect), the two brick inscriptions at Nālandā gives the same in the form of the Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā of Vasubandhu. Further light is thrown on the subject by E. H. Johnston's 'Gopalpur Bricks' (*JRAS* 1938, pp. 547-53) where he tells us that on bricks II and III from Gopalpur (Gorakhpur Dist., U.P.) preserved in the Indian Institute at Oxford, he finds the Law beginning with the middle and ending with vijñāna and not avidyā. This stage perfectly agrees with that preserved in the Mahāpadāna and Mahānidāna suttas in the Dīgha (Nos. 14, 15). Prof. Tucci in his 'Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources' (G.O.S. No. 49, 1930) tells us of Śataśāstra of Āryadeva, Vigrahavyāvartanī of Nāgārjuna and of other works like Upāyahṛdaya and Tarkaśāstra preserved in Chinese. He also describes to us the Nyāyamukha of Dinnāga (*JRAS* 1931, p. 483), the oldest Buddhist text on logic, after Tibetan and Chinese material. He has published the English translation of the same Chinese version at Heidelberg, 1930. As a help to the understanding of the same, Śankaraswamin, a disciple of Dinnāga, wrote his Nyāyapraveśa (G.O.S. No. 38 edited by A. B. Dhruva). There is the Vṛtti of Haribhadra, and Pañjikā on the latter by Pārśvadeva. Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacārya has the credit of editing, in the same series (No. 39, 1927) the Tibetan text with Introduction and notes etc. Our study of Buddhist logic is further aided by Dharmakīrti's Nyāyabindu with the Ṭīkā of Dharmottara, with their most illuminating exposition in T. Stcherbatsky's two volumes on 'Buddhist Logic' (1930, 1932). Another important work on Buddhist philosophy (8th century A.D.) edited by Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya is 'Tattvasangraha' (G.O.S. 30, 31, 1926) by Śāntarakṣita with Pañjikā by his disciple, Kamalaśīla. We have its English translation (G.O.S. 80, 83, 1937, 39) by Dr. Gangānath Jhā who, by his English translations of several Sanskrit works on Indian philosophy, has conferred a great boon on non-Sanskritist students of Indian philosophy.

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Tantric Works

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa edited by Ganapati Shastri in Trivendrum series has been now followed by several books on Tantrism and we are much indebted to Dr. B. Bhattāchārya, the Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for having published several books on the subject in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. He himself has edited in that Series 'Two Vajrayāna Works' (1929), Tathāgataguhyaka or Guhyasamāja, the earliest and most authoritative work of the Tantra School (3rd Century A.D.), with which we may also mention by the same author 'An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism', London, 1932. Advayavajrasaṅgraha, edited by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Harprasāda Shāstri is a collection of twenty short works by Advayavajra Sangraha, a professor of Ādikarmapradīpa school flourishing in the 11th century A.D. Sekoddeśaṭīkā, a commentary of Nāropā or Naḍapāda discovered by Prof. Tucci in Nepal, has been edited by his pupil, M. E. Carelli (1941, G.O.S. No. 90). It is a commentary on the Sekoddeśa section of Kālacakratantra describing the Abhiṣeka or initiation of a disciple into the mystic fold. Prof. P. C. Bagchi has added to our knowledge of the subject by his 'Studies in the Tantras' (Cal. Uni. publication) and by his article 'On some Tantric texts studied in Ancient Kambuj' (*IHQ*, 1929, pp. 754-769). Dr. S. K. De of Dacca University has described the Buddhist Tantric Literature (in Sanskrit) in Bengal (*NIA* i. pp. 1-23). Dr. Jatindrabimal Chaudhari's edition of the Tantrarājatantra with the Commentary Sudarśanā has an interest of its own in that the author of the commentary is a lady, wife of another scholar, Premanidhi, an inhabitant of Kumaun, in early 18th century A.D. (Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature, vol. 5, Cal., 1940) The authoress exhibits a literary grace and scholarly traits, with a command over Sanskrit language and a mastery of logical technicalities. She is often found to be combating the views of previous commentators. K. P. Jayasvala has made use of the historical material of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa in his 'Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text' (Lahore, 1934). The mystic term 'Sandhābhāṣā' is traced by Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya (*IHQ* 1928, pp. 287-96) to the Pali expression *sandhāya bhāsitam*, speech aiming at or having in view a certain thing, which is the same thing as *neyārtha-vacana* or *ābhiprāyika-vacana* and is used in that sense in Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Lankāvatāra etc., Dr. P. C. Bagchi gives several new documents and extracts from Tantric texts and discusses various forms of Sandhābhāṣā with Sanskrit and Chinese equivalents (*IHQ* 1930, 389-96). Another paper contri-

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buted by the same professor to the Calcutta Oriental Journal (1934, No. 5) 'Some Aspects of Buddhist Mysticism in the Caryāpadas' deals with the same. Ordinary terms like boat, rat, elephant are not taken in their ordinary sense but they have a special sense in the mystic lore.

Influence on South Indian Literature.

As a result of direct or indirect influence of the works of Buddhist masters like Dinnāga may be mentioned an Old Tamil classic, Manimekhalai, which was brought to light, as I am informed by a competent authority, by Dr. Mahāmahopādhyāya Svāminātha Aiyyar among some rare Tamil Classics on Buddhism. The discovery of this work has aroused great interest among scholars and Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar and Pandit N. Aiyyaswamy have written on the same in their various contributions.

III. Tibetan

Aids to Study.

We must now turn to another vast store of Buddhism—Bkaḥgyur (popularly known as Kanjur) and Bstan-ḥgyur (Tanjur) of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The study of Tibetan language is much facilitated by the enlarged edition of Jäschke's Tibetan Grammar with the Addenda by A. H. Franke and W. Simon (1929) as well as the reprint of Jäschke's Tibetan-English Dictionary. Students of Sanskrit will be grateful to Prof. Vidhushekhar Bhattācharya for his Bhoṭa-prakāśa (Cal. Uni. 1939), which gives the outlines of the Tibetan Grammar and selected passages for reading, taken from Tibetan translations having Sanskrit originals. The notes, translations and word for word renderings give it the character of a 'Royal Road to Tibetan'. These books with the old Dictionary of Tibetan-English by Śaratchandra Das (1902) may further be supplemented by the Tokyo edition of the Mahāvyutpatti (edited by Sakaki, 1926) which gives the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese equivalents as well as a highly useful index of Sanskrit words.

Catalogues.

For the study of the Buddhist Tibetan literature, we have now 'A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur preserved in the library of Otani Daigaku', Kyoto, Japan (1930-32). This catalogue compiled by B. Sakurabe and Prof. Teramoto contains a detailed list of Sūtras collected with the existing

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corresponding texts in Sanskrit, Pali and Chinese. It also gives the page-references to the Narthang and Derge editions of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Another equally useful Catalogue of both Kanjur and Tanjur, edited by Profs. H. Ui, M. Suzuki, and Y. Kamakura, is published by the Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai, Japan, 1934. The indexes (Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese) are given in a separate volume.

Translations from Pali.

It was for a long time believed that the Tibetan Tripiṭaka contains translations of Buddhist works from Sanskrit only. But on a closer examination it has been found out that there are a few (very few indeed when compared with the mass of translations from Sanskrit) texts rendered into Tibetan from Pali. A distinct proof has been given by Pandit N. Aiyyaswamy Shastri in his 'First Sermon of the Buddha' (*NIA* i. 473 ff.) where he gives a Sanskrit rendering of the Tibetan translations of Dhramacakrapravartana—sūtra. The colophon as rendered by him clearly mentions Siṁhaladvīpa where the translator's teacher had his Pravrajyā and that he was staying in a Vihāra which was a seat of bi-linguists. Friedrich Weller has given the Mongolion and Tibetan versions of the Pali Brahmajālasutta with the German translation (ZII Band 10 Heft I, 1935). Kanjur, Mdo, vol. XXX contains thirteen (nos. 13-25) such texts translated from Pali. As prominent among such Sūtras may be mentioned Āṭānāṭiya-sutta (Dīgha 3rd vol.) Mahāsamayasutta (Dīgha, 2nd vol.) Girimānandasutta (A. Xth Nipāta, vi. 10) Mahākassapasutta (Saṃ. Mahā. ii. 11. 13) Mahāmaṅgala (Khuddakapāṭha and Suttanipāta), Jātakanidāna etc. In this connection we may as well note that Nanjio in his Catalogue of Chinese Tripiṭaka often makes a remark about a text, whether it agrees with Tibetan or whether it is lacking in Tibetan. In connection with all the four Āgamas of the Sarvāstivādins (Nanjio, 542-545) which are close parallels of the four Pali Nikāyas, Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṁyuta and Aṅguttara, Nanjio, perhaps, on the authority of an older catalogue like K'-yuen-lu (A Comparative Catalogue of Buddhist works collected in the K'-yuen period, A.D. 1264-94) makes the following remark "It agrees with Tibetan." So one may say that although the present available catalogues do not make any mention of Tibetan versions of these Āgamas or Pali Nikāyas, a further and closer examination may reveal the Tibetan counterparts. At any rate, as there is a Chinese record of the 13th century A.D. to that effect, one may conclude that such Tibetan counterparts did exist till the thirteenth century.

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Restorations.

The peciliarity of the Tibetan translations is that they are so close, word-for-word, literal translations, that with the help of such translations of texts and commentaries, it often becomes possible to restore the original Sanskrit text. Of course, there is still the possibility that, of the numerous synonymous words used to express a certain sense or idea, one may not necessarily hit upon the right word. Such attempts to restore texts are found in Prof. P. L. Vaidya's 'Etudes' sur Āryadeva et son Catuḥśataka, chapitres VIII-XVI,' Paris, 1923; In Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya's 'Mahāyānaviṁśikā of Nāgārjuna' and Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva, 1931—which last really developed out of the author's review on Prof. Vaidya's book; in Śīlaparikathā by Anantanāth Basu (*IHQ* 1931, pp. 28-33); in Nairātmyaparipṛcchā by Sujitakumāra Mukhopādhyāya (1931); in Dignāgā's Pramāṇasamuccaya (1st chapter) by H. R. R. Aiyengar, Mysore, 1930; or in Pandit N. Aiyyaswamy's Madhyamakāvatāra of Candrakīrti, Madhyamkārthasangraha of Bhāvaviveka, Bhavasankrāntisūtra and Ālambanaparīkṣā and its Vṛtti by Dinnāga (Adyar Lib. 1942) etc. etc. Of this last text, there is a French translation 'Examen de l'objet de la connaisance' by Susumu Yamaguchi and Henris Meyer, Paris. We may also mention Dr. V. V. Gokhale's 'Akṣaraśataka' of Āryadeva, a Mādhyamika text where the Sanskrit text is attempted to be restored with the help of Tibetan and Chinese. Hastavālaprakaraṇa, a small work of Āryadeva, containing six verses is given by F. W. Thomas and H. Ui in *JRAS* 1918, pp. 267-310, with the Tibetan and Chinese versions. Prof. Etienne Lamotte, a pupil of the late Prof. Poussin, presents to us a critical text of the Tibetan translation of Mahāyānasangraha, with Yuan Chwang's Chinese translation and his own annotated French translation. The same scholar has also given us, after the Tibetan and Chinese versions, Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa (Bruges, 1936) with the translation of the 17th chapter of Madhyamakavṛtti in an appendix. E. Obermiller's translation of a work of Ārya Maitreya: 'The sublime science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation' with a commentary by Ārya Asaṅga is a manual on Buddhist monism. Constanty Régamey edited Bhadramāyākāra-vyākaraṇa (Warsaw, 1938), one of the minor Ratnakūṭasūtras, where the Buddha is represented as the greatest of the magicians. Tibetan translations of Vasubandhu's Kārikā of Abhidharmakośa and his Bhāṣya on the same, (B.B. 1917-30) of Daśabhūmika and Lankāvatāra-sūtras, of the works on logic, Nyāyamukha, Nyāyapraveśa, Nyāyabindu and Nyāyabinduṭīkā, of Samanantarasiddhi of

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Dharmottara with Vinītadeva's commentary (B.B. XIX), of Udānavarga by Dharmatrāta (edited by Hermann Beckh, Berlin, 1911) are some of the important works which are highly valuable to Sanskritists.

Fresh Discoveries

As mentioned above, Tibetan Tripiṭaka is a vast store which needs closer examination and which will reveal the existence of several works not yet enlisted in the catalogues. The great scholar-social-worker, Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana, visited the libraries of several monasteries in Tibet during his frequent sojourns and discovered a number of new works, some of which proved to be the Sanskrit works considered to be lost to Sanskrit language. He discovered copies of Vādanyāya, Vārtikālankāra and Pramāṇavārtika, the first two of which have appeared as publications of the Mahābodhisabhā, Sarnath, and the latter was being published in the Journal of the *BORS* (App. to Vol. XXIV). Another discovery and identification of a Tibetan fragment of the Vimuttimagga, corresponding to the third chapter of the work and agreeing with the second chapter of the Visuddhimagga, was made by the present writer and he read papers on the same at the seventh and tenth Oriental Conferences held respectively at Baroda and Hyderabad in 1933 and 1941. His work on the same is continuing as is indicated by his article on 'Washington Manuscript' in the Annals of the BORI, Poona, vol. XXII parts i-ii, 1941, where he has shown the shorter version of the text to be the truer one.

IV. Chinese

Now I must turn to Chinese Buddhist studies. Chinese is one of the most difficult languages and it requires continuous study for years together before one can hope to get a thorough mastery over it. Most of the Indian works translated into Chinese are Buddhist. There are translations of only two non-Buddhist texts—one *Daśapadārthī*, (Nanjio, 1245) manual of Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, translated by Yuan Chwāng (in 648 A.D.). Prof. H. Ui has given us an edition of the Chinese text along with his own translation with the help of F. W. Thomas (Oriental Translation Fund, vol. 24, 1917). The other is *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*. Prof. Takakusu has given a French Translation of the Chinese (Nanjio, 1300) translation of the same by Paramārtha. For the Sūtras contained in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, we have, in addition to Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (1883), Prof. J. Takakusu's Catalogue of Taisho Tripiṭaka (Tokyo, 1929) which contains 20 catalogues published till now. This

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is very useful in tracing Buddhist texts, either from the name of the author or from the title of the text, in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese or Japanese. This same has also been reprinted with numerous additions in honour of the first Anniversary of S. Mochizuki (Bib. Bouddhique). Further we have now Prof. P. C. Bagchi's 'Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine' vol. I, 1927. The second volume also has now been reported to be out. Another Catalogue has been issued (Tokyo, 1931) as an 'Annexé' to the Hobogirin, an encyclopædic Dictionary of Buddhism. It gives a serial list of all the 2184 texts in the 55 volumes of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka edited by Prof. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe (1924-29). It gives (1) the index of the names and authors of the texts in Japanese[1] (transcribed into Roman characters) (2) the index according to the Chinese Radicals, and (3) the Index, in Sanskrit and Pali, of the names of texts as well as of authors and translators. A chronological table on China is also appended. Another interesting book for Pali scholars is the 'Comparative Catalogue of the Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas' by Prof. Akanuma of Otani University (Nagoya, 1929). He has given a detailed comparative table of the Suttas in the Pali Nikāyas with the corresponding Chinese texts in the Translations of the Āgamas, and vice versa, with supplements and corrections.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka has been published in various editions and the edition printed in bold letters from wooden blocks seems to have been used by Nanjio for his Catalogue, as the references to pages given by him are found to be tallying with the existing editions in bold letters prepared from wooden blocks.

Like the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, the Chinese Tripiṭaka also is a vast store and unlike the Tibetan translators, the Chinese translators—except the earlier ones—had an eye more to the sense than to the words. So, from the Chinese translations alone it does not become easy, to make restorations.

Translations from Pali

In this literature also there are several works, which may be considered as the Chinese translations or versions of Pali texts. Besides the Chinese Āgamas referred to above, there are Chinese texts corresponding to the Pali Dhammapada, Udāna (Nanjio, 1353, 1365, 1439 etc.), Itivuttaka (Nanjio, 1321)

[1] There is also a Japanese Alphabetical Index of Nanjio's Catalogue of the Buddist Tripiṭaka with supplements and corrections, Tokio, 1930, ed. by Profs. Tokiwa, Ogiwars and Mino.

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a few stray Suttas corresponding to those in the Suttanipāta, especially the Aṭṭhaka (Nanjio, 674) and the Pārāyaṇa-vaggas (see 'Katam Karaṇīyam' in honour of M. Anesaki by his pupils, 1934, pp. 289-304; also *JPTS* 1907). There is the Chinese version of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, closely agreing with the Pali Vinaya. Prof. J. Takakusu has described (*JPTS*, 1905) the 'Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins' which may be compared to the books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka of the Pali Tripiṭaka (see Introduction, p. ix of the Devanāgarī ed. of Dhammasangaṇi by Profs. Bapat and Wadekar, Poona, 1940).

Among the non-canonical texts also, may be mentioned Pali Milinda, which has a counterpart in Chinese translations (Nanjio, 1358; Nos. 1670a, 1670b of Taisho ed.), which agree with only the first three divisions of the present Pali text. Prof. M. Nagai drew attention (*JPTS* 1919) of Pali scholars to the Chinese counterpart of Buddhaghoṣa's 'Visuddhimagga'. The present writer has worked out this problem of their inter-relations in his 'Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga: A comparative study' (Poona, 1937), where he has given a detailed summary of the Chinese text 'Chie-t'o-tāo-lun' (Vimuttimagga). There is another important non-canonical work San-Chie-phi-po-sā-lün (Nanjio, 1125) corresponding to the Samantapāsādikā. The writer of this paper is working on the comparative study of these two works and it is expected that the result will reveal several new points with regard to the mutual relation of these two books, as well as the several versions of the Samantapāsādikā, before it reached its present voluminous size. At any rate, the comparative study of these texts will go a long way to settle the textual history of the Pali work.

Translations from Sanskrit.

But these Pali books are insignificantly smaller in number when compared with the Sanskrit texts having their translations in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Not a few texts in Sanskrit are merely known by their names. The actual texts are irretrievably lost in India. But they are preserved in Chinese or Tibetan, or both, and hence the importance to Indian scholars of studying Chinese also. There are Chinese versions of the missing chapters of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, of Dignāga's Nyāyamukha, of the seven Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivādins (Nanjio 1273, 175, 1276, 1281, 1282, 1277 or 1292 etc.,) of Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, a restoration of the first part of which has been attempted by Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana with the help of Wong Mow Lam, Editor of Chinese Buddhist (*JBORS* XIX,

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1933, 72 pages and vol. XX appendix), of Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa-śāstra (O-phi-ta-mo-ko-sho-lün, Nanjio 1267), of Nāgārjuna's Mahāyānaviṁśikā and of other books on logic like Upāyahṛdaya and Tarkaśāstra (by Tucci, *GOS* No. 49). Who would not like to have them at least in Chinese translations ?

Central Asian Discoveries.

Central Asian discoveries have led to the discovery of several Buddhist texts in Prakrit, Buddhist Sanskrit, Chinese, Soghdien, Kutchean, Uigurish, and Mongolian languages. A survey of these will land us into an endless ocean. And besides U. N. Ghosal has given us an admirable survey of this vast field (Progress of Indic Studies, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, 1942). I shall barely mention only a few below—Khotanese Jātakastava (ed. by Sten Konow), Tun-huang manuscripts in Khotanese containing a fragment of a legend of Kaniska and of Aśvaghoṣa, fragments of Aṭānāṭikasūtra (Leipzig, 1919), of Kutchean texts (Udānavarga, Udanastotra, Udānālankāra and Karmavibhaṅga by Sylvain Lévi, Paris 1933, fragments of Upāyakauśalya mentioned in the Saddharmapuṇḍarika discovered in Khadlik, Turkish Turfan texts published by Dr. W. Bang, Berlin, 1934, Chinese Buddhist Texts in Tibetan writing edited by F. W. Thomas to whom we also owe a Buddhist Chinese text in Brāhmī script (*ZDMG* 1937, pp. 149), Soghdian Vessantarajātaka and Soghdian manuscripts preserved in the British Museum.

V. Dictionaries, Gramars and Word-Interpretations.

The work of Pali scholars was considerably lightened by the publication of the Pali-English Dictionary by T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (1921-22). Though this dictionary has greatly removed the handicap that was keenly felt by Pali scholars, J. Charpentier in his review of the same in *JRAS* 1923, pp. 455-57, points out that the etymological part is "such that it ought not to appear in any scholarly work." Articles on Abbhuta, Abhijjhālu, Amacca, Ābhassara, Āloka, Ucca, Ussolhi are, sayshe, amazing to use a very moderate expression. A beginning of another Dictionary, 'A Critical Pali Dictionary' continued from Trenckner's beginnings by Anderson and Smith has been already made and nine parts have appeared till 1938. The work has not completed even the first letter, *a*. The reprint of Jäschke's Tibetan English Dictionary has been already referred to a above. The publication of Dr. P. C. Bagchi's

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'Deux Lexique Sanskrit Chinois I,' 1929, and 2nd vol. 1937 are of great interest to Chinese Buddhist scholars. Prof. Sunītikumāra Chatterjee has described the importance of these two works by Li-yen and I-tsing, respectively (*NIA* ii. pp. 741-47), in that they reveal the peculiarities of the Buddhist Sanskrit of the regions to the North-west of India and of the regions in Central Asia on the one hand, and of the Gangetic plane in the Eastern India on the other. Li-yen's Sanskrit was of the former type, while that of I-tsing was of the latter. Obermiller's 'Indices Verborum, Tibetan-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-Tibetan', of the Nyāyabindu and the Nyāyabinduṭika (B.B., 1928) and Rahder's Glossary of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese versions of the Daśabhūmikasūtra will be found very useful by students of Buddhism. A study of Tibetan and Chinese equivalents by Walter Simon, reprinted from 'Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen' Bd. XXXII. Hft. 1, 1930, would be most welcome by students of Tibetan and Chinese. 'A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms' by W. E. Soothill and L. Hdous (London, 1937) will be considered as a good step in the direction of an ideal work to be expected from the co-operative efforts of several scholars. A step in that direction has been already taken by the organisors of the Hobogirin—an encyclopædic Dictionary after the Chinese and Japanese sources under the direction of Profs. Takakusu and Prof. Sylvain Lévi (1929. ff.). Friedrich Weller's Chinesiche Dharmasaṅgraha (Leipzig, 1923) and the Tokyo edition of the Mahāvyutpatti (edited by Sakaki, 1926) with a Sanskrit index will be found to be indispensable. A Devanāgarī edition of the Abhidhānappadīpikā was published by Muni Jinavijayaji (Poona, 1924). A Bengali edition of the same had also appeared in Calcutta. And last but the most important work as a reference book is Malalaseker's Dictionary of Pali Proper Names. The editor deserves our warmest encomium for carrying out single-handed a work of this type. We can imagine what an enormous labour it must have involved for years together. It has tremendously helped the workers in the field of Buddhist studies. Helmer Smith's edition of the Saddanīti 1928-29 ff, (excellent editions of which in Sinhalese and Burmese characters are already available), and of which the index is yet to come, would also be welcomed by European workers in this field.

As regards word-study we may refer to a few articles such as those of E. H. Johnston (*JRAS* 1931, pp. 565-92), or of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in the 'Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies' (Vol. IV, 1939) or on Ākincañña in *NIA*

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(iii. 1-16). We may also add the following list which will be found to be interesting :—

Antaraghara	by Prof. P. V. Bapat	in NIA i. 81-82
Thīnamiddha	„ „ „ „	in F. W. Thomas Commemoration Vol. pp. 4-18
Tādi	„ „ „ „	in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol. pp. 249-58
Middha	„ Edgerton	in NIA i. 607-10
Abhidhamma, Abhivinaya	Miss I. B. Horner	in IHQ 1941, pp. 291-310
Paṇṇākara	P. Thieme	in ZDMG 1939, 129-132
Yaṭṭhi in Mahāvaṁsa	Narendranath Law	in IHQ 1931, pp. 571
Vardhamāna	E. H. Johnston	in JRAS 1931, pp. 565-592; 1939, p. 690
„ „	Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy	in Ostasiatische Zeitscrift, Nf. iv. 1927-28, pp. 181-82
Sobhanika	G. H. de-A-Wijesekara	in IHQ, 1941, pp. 202 ff.
Akkheyya (Pali)	Dr. S. M. Katre	in IHQ, xi, p. 199
Bilanga-dutiya	Sylvain Lévi	in Melanges Anesaki pp. 84-95
Syndanikā	Sylvain Lévi	in Grierson Commemoration Vol.

VI. Literary Histories.

Several new works have appeared by way of giving more information about Buddhist literature. On the lines of 'Pali Literature of Burma' (1909) by Mabel Bode, Dr. G. P. Malalsekera has given us 'Pali Literature of Ceylon' (1928). 'A History of Pali Literature' in two volumes (1933) by Dr. B. C. Law appeared and the author has given us there a detailed idea of the contents of the Pali Literature, both canonical and non-canonical. English Translation of Winternitz's History of Indian Literature, part ii, by Miss Shilavati Ketkar and Miss Kohn (1936), subatantially revised by the Author, has considerably lightened the work of non-German-knowing Indian students. Tārānāth's 'History of Buddhism in India' is being given in its English garb, from its German translation by Schiefner, in *IHQ* 1928, 30, 31 etc., and the most interesting and highly valuable 'History of Buddhism' (Chos-ḥbyung) by the Tibetan writer, Bu-ston, has been translated by Obermiller and published in the 'Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus' by Prof. Walleser (1931-32). The very scholastic and the systematic

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handling by the editor has made the work highly useful for our knowledge of the Buddhist Sanskrit and Tibetan Literature. Dr. B. C. Law's 'Buddhist Studies', 'Studies in the Apadāna' (Bombay *BRAS* xiii. 23ff), 'Study of the Mahāvastu (with a supplement)' 1930, and his latest 'Ancient Tribes of India' (Bhandarkar Oriental Series, vol. IV, 1943) utilizing every available information on the subject, have all added to our knowledge. Dr. Nalinaksha Dutta has given us the account of the Beliefs of the Mahāsaṅghikas, Sarvāstivādins and Sammitīyas in *IHQ* (1939, pp. 90-100 for instance). His article on Dhammasangaṇi (*IHQ* 1939, pp. 345-72) is worth a perusal, although his statements about the chronological relations of the different parts of the book are not acceptable. The present writer and Prof. R. D. Vadekar have put forth a contrary view as far as the Nikkhepakaṇḍa is concerned (Intro. to Dhs. p. xv-xvi). We have, in our Introduction to our latest book Aṭṭhasālini (1942), pp. xxxiii-xxxv, raised the problem of the authorship of several commentaries that are ascribed to Buddhaghoṣa by tradition. This problem was mooted by Prof. D. Kosambi in his edition of the Visuddhimagga (Introd. xiv-xv) published in the Bhāratīyavidyābhavana Series, already referred to above (p. 107). We have proved by various arguments that the tradition of ascribing to Buddhaghosa all the commentaries that are not definitely assigned to Dhammapāla cannot be accepted as reliable. We have shown (xxxiii-xxxv) that by a comparison of the present text of the Vinaya-Aṭṭhakathā, the Samantapāsādikā, with its Chinese version, it can be proved that the former seems to have gradually grown in size during several centuries and that there are irreconcilable reference to one another in all these Aṭṭhakathās wrongly ascribed to Buddhaghoṣa.

VII. Literary Problems.

There is also the problem of two or more Buddhaghoṣas. In the Aṭṭhasālini, introductory stanzas, the author says that he has been writing the book at the request of a Bhikkhu, Buddhaghoṣa by name (Bhikkhunā Buddhaghosena sakkaccam abhiyācito). Prof. B. M. Barua (*IC* 1934, pp. 294-95) had pointed out the same fact about two Buddhaghoṣas by referring to the Nigamanagāthā of the Vibhanga-Aṭṭhakathā, Sammohavinodani, (yācito ṭhitagunena yatinā—Buddhaghosena). Another Buddhaghoṣa is credited with Pādyacūḍāmaṇi, a Sanskrit Kāvya (Madras Govt. Oriental Series 1921).

Mrs. Rhys Davids adumbrated a new theory of the authorship of Milindapañha, that of *one* author editing the conver-

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sations between Milinda and Nāgasena in early days and adding subsequent portions at two different occasions. Winternitz is not prepared to accept this theory (Hist. of Indian Lit. pp. 619-20, part ii. of Engl. Trans.) but he sticks to his own view that the first three chapters form one part and that all the rest are later and spurious additions. The absense of these later chapters in the Chinese version is certainly in favour of Winternitz. In this connection, we may as well point out the work of preparing a full biography on Milinda by S. Behrsing in the 'Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies' (1934, pp. 335-45 ff). Ratilal Mehta has given us, on the authority of the Jātaka tales, 'A Political, Administrative, Economic, Social and Geographical Survey' which he calls 'Pre-Buddhist India' (1939), although it is open to grave doubts whether the picture given by the Jātakas can really be called pre-Buddhist. Perhaps they give no other picture than the one seen by the Buddhist monks on their way round the town while begging food. Dr. B. C. Law refers to different recensions of the Jātakas (*JRAS* 1938, pp. 241-51) (i) one of 500 Jātakas as proved by Fa-hien's account (Legge's Travels of Fa-hien, p. 106), and by Cūlaniddesa (ii. p. 80), (ii) another of 547 Jātakas as presented in the Siamese edition based on a tradition of the Mahāvihara Aṭṭhakathās, and illustrated on the Ananda pagoda in Burma ; (iii) and a third one of 550 mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa and others and illustrated in the Petleik pagoda, Pagan.

In Buddhist Sanskrit literature, there had appeared an interesting controversy since the publication by Lüders (1926) of the 'Fragments of Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā.' One set of scholars headed by Sylvain Lévi (*JA* 1929, pp. 255-85) maintained that the Sūtrālaṅkāra (the title accepted by the Chinese translation) was the original work of Aśvaghoṣa and that Dṛṣṭāntapankti or Dṛṣṭāntamālya was a later edition of the same. J. Przyluski, on the other hand, supported the advocates of the contrary theory and in his article on 'Aśvaghoṣa et la Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā' (*BCLS* of the Royal Academy of Belgium, vol. XVI, pp. 425-34) maintains that Dṛṣṭāntapankti is the same as Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā of Kumāralāta and that further in his very lucid survey of the history of Buddhist Sects 'Dārṣṭāntika, Sautrāntika and Sarvāstivādins' (*IHQ* 1940, pp. 246-54) shows from the colophon of the work "Āryakumāralātāyām Kalpanāmaṇḍaṭikā-(yāṁ nāma Dṛṣṭānta)-panktyām" that the work Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā was originally written by Kumāralāta, and that when he, an author of no great fame, was forgotten, it came to be ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa under the name Sūtrālankāra. Another problem of two works of the same name, 'Sūtrasamu-

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ccaya' is handled by Anukūla Chandra Banerjee (*IHQ* 1941, pp. 121-46), who maintains that there were two works of this name by Śāntideva and Nāgārjuna and there is the authority of Bu-ston for the same.

VIII. Philosophical Problems.

There have been several attempts to dive at the original teaching of the Buddha. Several scholars, as remarked at the beginning of this paper, have made an attempt to treat Buddhism with the background of the Upaniṣads and Hermann Oldenberg and J. Przyluski have dealt with the question in 'Die Lehre den Upaniṣaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus' (1915) and 'Bouddhisme et Upaniṣad' (*BEFEO* 1932) respectively. Dr. Maryla Falk in her 'Nairātmya and Karman' (*IHQ* 1940, pp. 647-82) and her latest 'Nāmarūpa and Dharmarūpa' (Cal. Uni. publication, 1942) has exhibited the same tendency. Prof. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya in his numerous short notes appearing in Journals does the same thing. In his 'Evolution of Vijñānavāda (*IHQ* 1934, pp. 1-11) he traces the origins to the Upaniṣads. Helmuth Von Glasenapp has written (*NIA* i. 128 ff) on 'Buddhism in Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad'. Mrs. Rhys Davids, also, has turned to them and has found support from them to her new interpretation of the original teaching of the Buddha. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya in his 'Basic Conception of Buddhism' (Ādhārchandra Mukerjee Lectures, Cal. Uni. 1932) has made an attempt to show that the Buddha found out that the suffering could cease by the extinction of desire. Mrs. Rhys Davids was, with a religious missionary zeal, hammering out, in season and out of season,—and what else would you say when she expressed her pet theories even while reviewing books of others ?—that the present Pali texts, although they are the oldest of the available authorities on Buddhism, do not represent the original teaching of the Buddha, but that they are the later monkish attempts of re-editing the teachings of the Buddha. She was lately repeating the same thing in her numerous books and contributions to learned Journals. In 'Buddhism not originally a Negative Gospel' (Hibbert Journal 1928), 'Sākya or Buddhist Origins' (1931), 'Growth of Not-Man in Buddhism' (*IHQ* 1928) etc. etc., she insisted that the Buddha could not have taught the denial of the soul—and that as a successful world-teacher how could he have taught this negative doctrine ?—which is not likely to enthuse his followers with any new spirit. She enumerates as many as eleven 'Nots'—things he will not have taught (*NIA* 1939-40, vol. ii, 183-89). She believes that inspite of the monkish editing, the present Pali

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texts, if subjected to historical and textual criticism, do reveal several, what she calls 'left-ins', which give an idea of the original teaching of Sākya Buddha. She thinks that the priestly theory has degraded the sublime nature of man who, according to her interpretation of the teaching of the Buddha, was capable of progressing. With this definite theory firmly fixed in her mind, she tries to find the 'left-ins' which would support her in her original imagined teaching of the Buddha. And she reads, perhaps, too much in passages, which may not ultimately have any philosophical significance. In her 'Overlooked Pali Sutta' (*JRAS*. 1933, pp. 329-34) she refers to a passage from Ang. Tikanipāta, No. 40 'Tīṇi ādhipateyyāni—attādhipateyyaṁ, lokādhipateyyaṁ, dhammādhipateyyaṁ'. She finds here the negation of 'non-soul' theory, which she considers to have been fabricated by the Buddhist monks in opposition to the original teaching of the Śākya Buddha. Though she is supported in her new theory by her colleague and successor Miss I. B. Horner, the author of 'Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected' (1936), and by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his 'Re-interpretation of Buddhism' (*NIA* ii. 575-90), Mr. E. H. Johnston in a review of her recent book ('recent' in the sense that it was revised), aptly remarks (*JRAS* 1937, pp. 505-07) that the author's view has substantially changed and that few scholars agree with her conclusions which she seems to arrive at by intuition. She finds different strata in a sutta where other competent authorities see none. Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, on the other hand, observes in his article 'The Ātman in the Pali Canon' (*IC* ii. 823-24) that it is not beyond the range of possibilities that 'a few Buddhist philosophers of the early ages admitted a transcendent Ātman.' There are a *few* documents which may be interpreted to support the theory, but there are *many* which deny it. Hence he makes a very cautious remark: "We do not sin by imprudence when we consider as relatively late the canonical tenet of the negation of a self" (*ibid*. p. 822). Dr. Maryla Falk tries to explain, with the help of the Upaniṣadic interpretation, what to several appears to be the antinomy of Nairātmya and Karman (*IHQ* 1940, pp. 647-82). Theodore Stcherbatsky, however, is quite firm and while enumerating the different traits of Buddhism, puts the 'denial of soul' as the very first Doctrine of the Buddha, (*BSOS* VI, pp. 867-96).

Over another riddle of Buddhism, several authors have exercised their brains. Dr. B. C. Law has given 'Aspects of Nirvāṇa' (*IC* ii, 327-48), while Mrs. Rhys Davids in 'Historical Aspects of Nirvāṇa' (*IC* ii, 537-47) has found an early predecessor,

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attha, of Nirvāna. Louis de la Vallée Poussin has written a special monograph on the same (1925), in reviewing which Prof. Stcherbatsky was prompted to write what ultimately grew into 'The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa' (Lenningrad, 1927) accompanied by his masterly introduction treating, in a historical manner, the interpretation of that highest ideal of the Buddhists in various schools such as Vaibhāṣikas and the like, Sautrāntikas, Madhyamakas and Yogācāras. In spite of this marvellous treatment, one cannot help remarking that as in his 'Central Conception of Buddhism' (Petrograd, 1923), here, too, the author does not show any signs of having used, at any rate fully, the Pali sources of information on the subject. But who can attain perfection in the treatment of that which has been universally recognised and acclaimed as 'indescribable, beyond the comprehension of worldly men'? Has it not been said :—

> Bhavarāgaparetehi bhavasotānusārihi
> Māradheyyānupannehi nāyaṁ dhammo su-sambudho
> (Sn. 764).

"This Dhamma (Nibbāṇa) is not easy to be understood by people, who are attached to worldly life, who are moving with the worldly stream and who are (still) within the sphere of Māra (the Evil Spirit)."

IX. Conclusion.

But we must stop. We cannot expect to exhaust the various aspects of Buddhism. There is a relieving feature, noted in recent days, of the bright prospect of a better understanding of Buddhism. Societies like the Mahābodhi Society of Calcutta, of Sarnath, and the Buddha Society of Bombay have sprung up. Interest in Buddhist studies is being increasingly taken by Indian Universities. Calcutta University is by far, the leading University in this field. Viśvabhāratī University and its newly-started branch of Chinese studies carried under the auspices of Cheena Bhavana have great possibilities. Though Bombay University could not do much in this field having no research Dept. connected with this branch of studies, its constituent colleges like the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, the College, Baroda, and Fergusson College, Poona, have been doing the work of Buddhist studies by maintaining the Department of Pali. Thanks are particularly due to the life-member-conductors of the Fergusson College, for being the first in the field of providing for the teaching of Pali and all credit of Buddhist studies in Bombay University really

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goes to that college, which has supplied teachers to the other two colleges, where they are carrying on their studies, each in his own way. Benares Hindu University has recently introduced the subject of Pali and Buddhist studies. Patna and Dacca have probably some arrangements. But other universities are sadly lagging behind, perhaps because they have not yet realised the importance and far-reaching character of the subject. Buddhist studies would no longer be capably handled by scholars who have attainments merely in the sphere of Sanskrit and Pali, but soon the knowledge of Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese will be considered as a *sine qua non* and Indian scholars will have to gird their loins to pick up their legitimate share in these studies. The Chinese and Indian Governments have decided upon an exchange of scholars and we are glad to learn that Rev. Bhikkhu Jagadīśa Kāśyapa has been requested by Chunking Government to organise the Department of Pali studies at Chunking. Let us hope that the Indian Government also will soon request some competent Chinese scholar to organise the study of Chinese in some central University-town in India and thus give an impetus to the Chinese Buddhist studies in India.[1]

[1] The writer of this paper acknowledges a debt of gratitude to Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta and Dr. B. C. Law who supplied to him several details of publications in Ceylon and Bengal, respectively; and to the editors of the 'Bibliographie Boudhique' (1930-37), which has been most useful to him in preparing this paper.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : PRAKRITS AND JAINISM

By

DR. H. L. JAIN, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt.,
Professor of Sanskrit, Marris College, Nagpur.

MY COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS,

If I were to confess that I did not deserve the honour done to me by my election as President of the Prakrit and Jainism Section of this Conference, it would mean a reflection on the judgement of those who made the choice. And if I say that their choice has been fit and proper, it may amount to self-conceit. Here is then a dilemma, and the way that suggests itself to me out of it is that I should not worry about the merits of the case now, but bow to the decision like a true soldier, thank you all for the very kind honour done to me and then proceed straight to discharge the duties of the office imposed upon me.

2. But as I begin to do so, my heart is pressed down with sorrow for the loss that we have sustained in the field of scholarship during the last two years by the cruel hand of death. Brahmachari Shitalprasadji renounced all his family interests at an early age and devoted himself to the service of the community with all his mite. He made extensive tours through out the country, edited the Jaina-Mitra and, in addition, wrote or translated some book every year till he passed away at the age of sixty-three on January 6th, 1942. Vidya Varidhi Barrister Champat Rai was well known through out the country as well as outside, as the author of the Key of Knowledge and many other books explaining the Jaina philosophy in its most universal form. He was the founder of the Digambara Jaina Parishad, the Rishabha Library in London and the Sohanlal Bankerai Jaina Academy of Wisdom and Culture at Delhi. He ended his career of great literary and social service at the age of sixty-nine on the 2nd June, 1942. We feel Dr. V. S. Sukthankar's loss particularly keenly because it was so sudden and untimely. We all know him as the great editor of the Mahābhārata, but what connected him with our sphere of studies was his thesis on Śākaṭāyana's grammar and his contribution on Bhāsa's Prakrit. Only the other day we received the shocking news of the death of a very great oriental scholar, Sir Aurel Stein. From amongst the most

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valuable contributions of that veteran scholar our branch of study was particularly indebted to him for his discovery of a large number of Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkistan, which have since been published and translated and have been proved to be written in a form of Prakrit. The latest shock that we have received is the most untimely and sudden death of Prof. H. B. Gandhi. He was a brilliant student and a very promising scholar. He was first a professor of Ardhamāgadhī at M. T. B. College, Surat, and later on joined the staff of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. He died on the 24th November, 1943 at the young age of 27. Even then he has left behind more than a dozen contributions to Prakrit studies such as *A Study of Ardha-Māgadhī Grammar* (Surat, 1938), *Rāya Pasenī Sutta* with English translation and introduction on the Jaina Agama (Surat, 1938), *Pāia-gajja-pajja-saṃgaha* (Limbdi, 1940) and *Pāia-kusuma-mālā*. Now all that we can do is to console ourselves in the thought that though these great scholars have departed from us in their body, they have left behind for us a brilliant record of work which should continue to guide and inspire us in the field of knowledge and research.

3. It is a matter of gratification to all of us that oriental studies, and amongst them the study of the languages and religions of our country, have taken great strides during the last one century. The Vedic and the Pauranic religions as well as the Brahmanic Sanskrit literature have been vastly studied and explored and facilities for this now exist in all our universities as well as in the important universities of the rest of the world. Buddhistic and Pali studies also caught the attention of scholars pretty early during this period, as a result of which most of that literature has been published and explored. But, unfortunately, the same has not been the case with Jainism and the Prakrit languages and literature which have been mostly associated with it. It is not necessary for me to dilate upon the importance of these studies on the one hand and the neglect from which they have suffered so far on the other, because that has been done quite adequately by my worthy predecessors in this office. In particular, my immediate predecessor Dr. A. N. Upadhye in his speech at the last session of the Conference had very thoroughly surveyed the position of the Prakrits and the work that had been carried out so far in the field. All that I find necessary today is to remind ourselves of the same. But consequent upon the redistribution of the sections of the Conference which has brought into existence an independent section for Prakrit and Jainism, it is necessary for me to emphasise the importance of the latter

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branch of our studies. Jainism has played a great part in the cultural development of our country and has produced an imperishable mark upon our religious and social institutions as well as our art and literature. The philosophy that it has given us is in many ways unique. As there is no Creator according to the Jaina philosophy to bring into existence life and universe or to direct the phenomenal world, it had to build up a very thorough and detailed doctrine of *Karma* such as no other philosophy that recognises it in principle has cared to work out. Since there was no personal God to look to for mercy and protection, the basic principle on which society had to be organised was 'Live and let live', and the principle had to be most carefully explained in order to make it practicable for the individual. Since individuals are bound to differ in their mental outlook and environments, a breadth of vision had to be promoted and a well defined but graded system of self purification had to be provided. It is in this way that Jainism at its earliest stages came to hold that doctrine of *Karma* which may be said to be perfect in its own way, preached Ahiṁsā in a manner that would enable the individual to live and grow without serious clashes and conflicts with his fellow beings, developed the wonderful system of *Syādvāda* and *Anekānta* that would harmonise seemingly warring ideas and views, and evolved a unique system of self purification in the form of *Guṇasthānas*. Unfortunately, these aspects of Jainism have not received that serious attention of the modern scholars which they deserve. The irony of the situation is that those who study the system deeply are as a rule ignorant of the present day methods of interpretation and exposition, while those who are conversant with these methods do not generally get the opportunity or have the will to make a thorough study of the system.

4. The result of this ignorance on the one hand and apathy on the other has been very calamitous. Even today we are not agreed as to what the original creed of *Mahāvīra*, who first preached the doctrine and organised the community, was. We do not exactly know why his original teachings as arranged in the *Twelve Angas* by his immediate disciple Gautama were gradually forgotten or became woefully mutilated. When and how the two great sections of the community—the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras—separated from each other is still a matter of controversy and wild imagination. The greatest teachers such as Bhadrabāhu and Kundakundācārya cannot yet be assigned to any definite period of time, and opinions on the point differ, not only within the limit of a century or two,

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but by several centuries. One would, for example, put Bhadrabāhu in the fourth century B.C., while another would place him in the fifth century A.D. How the various *Gaṇas* and *Gacchas* amongst the monks and the castes and communities among the laymen came into existence and on what differences they flourished for centuries is a matter of pure imagination and conjecture. What attempts, if any, were ever made to unify the community, we do not know. And the wonder of it is that all this darkness prevails, not because we possess no light in the form of the proper evidence, but only because, I am sure, we have not yet cared to examine our literary heritage in the right manner. Look at the condition of our records! No big attempt has so far been made to collect all the available inscriptions together, to say nothing of undertaking fresh explorations. A very large part of the literature is still locked up in out-of-the-way cellars and stores beyond the reach of an average aspirant. No serious effort has been made even to catalogue the manuscripts thoroughly. Whatever literature has been published is for the most part poorly edited, and numerous texts still appear without any kind of introduction or indexes, which makes their use for scholarly purposes difficult and sometimes valueless. Want of a good dictionary of the Jaina technical terms continues to be a serious handicap for one who may for the first time venture to study the literature. These defects could be rectified satisfactorily and soon only by the combined efforts of the society, and it is high time that a well organised effort should be made in the direction.

The Prakrit language of different periods and provinces, which is richly preserved in Jaina literature only, is most important from the point of view of its bearing upon our modern languages. But most of our Universities and Colleges have not been able to start teaching the Prakrits or make Prakrits available as a basic study for those who seek post-graduate degrees in modern Indian languages. I am glad to be able to say that the Benares Hindu University is not guilty of this crime, though the present position with regard to Prakrit studies needs improvement here also. Formerly, the Sanskrit courses in M. A. used to include a paper in Prakrits also, and even in the B. A. the Prakrit in the prescribed drama was taught as Prakrit. But unfortunately this sound practice has gradually disappeared from almost all the Universities with the result that our graduates in Sanskrit are practically blank about the Prakrits. I feel that the old practice deserves to be revived.

5. Thus, a big organised attempt has been lacking in many directions in the field of literature and education pertaining

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to Prakrits and Jainism. Individual efforts of a limited nature have, however, not been wanting. On the contrary, they have been growing during recent years, and when we co-ordinate them properly they reveal a remarkable progress all round. So, I shall now try to draw your kind attention to the work which our colleagues have carried out in various directions so far as it has come to my notice, since my predecessor in this office reported to you on the subject two years ago.

6. To begin with the texts and translations of the Jaina Āgamas, Pt. Bechardas in his *Mahāvīra Vāṇī* (Sastā Sāhitya Maṇḍal, Delhi, 1942) has presented to us 345 Prakrit verses from the Jaina Āgamas and has classified them under 22 heads according to their subject matter. A Hindi translation is given on the page opposite. The work is well designed to give an idea of the broad principles of Jainism. The chief defect of the work is that the source of each verse has not been indicated. The *Nandi Sūtra* text with Sanskrit *chāyā* and Hindi translation by Hastimalla Muni has become available in a neat and handy volume (Satara, 1942). Upādhyāya Ātmārāmji in the Punjab has translated many of the Prakrit Sūtras into Hindi and the second volume of the *Uttarādhyayana* was published during this period (V. S. 1998).

Outside the canonical literature, the *5th Karma Grantha* called *Sataka* has been very well presented with a comprehensive Hindi explanation by Pt. Kailashchandra Shastri (Agra, 1942). Points of contact and dissimilarity between the Digambara and Śvetāmbara writers on the subject of Karma philosophy have been drawn attention to, and the introduction is well designed to make the doctrine of Karma intelligible to all. I understand that the *6th Karma Grantha, Sattariā*, is being similarly translated by Pt. Phulchandra Shastri. *Die Lehre Vom Karman* by Dr. Glasenapp has been translated from German into English under the title *The Doctrine of Karman in Jaina Philosophy* by Mr. G. Barry Gifford and has been published under the editorship of Prof. H. R. Kapadia (Pannalal Charity Fund, Bombay, 1942). The work is mainly based upon the six Karma Granthas and is the first accurate and comprehensive presentation of the Jaina Karma philosophy in English.

7. Of the Digambara Jaina Āgama the publication of the first three volumes of *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali together with the commentary *Dhavalā* of Vīrasena with a Hindi translation under my editorship was already noticed by my predecessor. I have been able to complete

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three more volumes of the same work during this period, and thus the first of the six Khaṇḍas, *Jivaṭṭhāna* is now complete (Jaina Sāhitya Uddhāraka Fund, Amraoti, 1941, 42, 43). The *Kaṣāya Pāhuḍa* of Guṇadhara with *Cuṇṇi Sutta of* Yativṛṣabha and *Jayadhavalā* of Vīrasena is also now in the course of edition and translation, and its first volume edited by Pt. Phulchandra Shastri, Pt. Mahendrakumar Shastri and Pt. Kailashchandra Shastri has also gone through the press and may be published one of these days from Benares itself. The *Tiloya Paṇṇatti* of Yativṛṣabha has been edited by Dr. Upadhye and myself and its first volume containing the first four Mahādhikāras out of nine, with a Hindi translation by Pt. Balachandra Shastri has been published under the auspices of the newly started Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā. This is a very ancient and exhaustive work on Jaina cosmology. Volume second of this work is likely to go to press as soon as arrangements for the supply of the requisite quantity of paper are made. It may in this connection be noted that Brahmachari Jivaraj Gautamchand Doshi of Sholapur has now made a donation of seventy five thousand rupees under a registered trust deed to the Jaina Sanskṛti Samrakṣaka Saṁgha which he has himself founded, and one of the main activities of this organisation is to publish old texts in the Jivarāja Jaina Granthamālā. The *Samayasāra Pāhuḍa* of Kundakundācārya, with a Hindi paraphrase, has been published in a neat and handy volume by Mr. Nanakchand Jaina, Advocate, Rohtak (Vīra Saṁvat 2468), while Mr. Jagat Prasad has translated into English the *Eight Pāhuḍas* of Kundakundācārya (Delhi 1942).

8. Other Prakrit texts that have appeared are as follows: D. C. Sarkar's *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* Vol. I (Calcutta University) gives a good perspective of the early Prakrit records which deserve a careful study from the linguistic point of view. Hāla's *Sattasai* chapters IV-VII with the hitherto unpublished commentary of Haritāmra-Pītāmbara has been edited by Jagadishlal Shastri (Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, 1942). Dr. A. N. Upadhye has given to us some very interesting Prakrit works composed in South India. His edition of *Siricindha-kavvam* of Kṛṣṇalīlāsuka has been published in Bhāratīya Vidyā (Vol. III, part i) and of *Soricaritta* of Śrikaṇṭha, Chapter I, in the Bombay University Journal (XII, 2, Sept. 1943). Shri Jinavijayaji's edition of a very interesting work *Dhūrtākhyāna,* to which Dr. Upadhye has added a critical essay dealing, amongst many useful topics, with the Prakrit dialect and style of the work, is completely printed and may be expected to be published

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soon by Muni Jinavijayaji. Dr. Upadhye's edition of *Candralekhā* is sure to be eagerly looked forward to by all lovers of Prakrit literature, because it is a *Saṭṭaka*, the like of which is so far known to us only in Rajaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*. The printing of this most interesting and valuable work has started and let us hope that it will be completed soon by the efforts, again, of Muni Jinavijayaji. *Līlāvatī* is yet another work, the edition of which Dr. Upadhye has in hand. It is one of the best artistic poems in Prakrit and is repeatedly referred to in rhetorical works of Bhojadeva and Hemacandra. Several manuscripts of the work have been secured and collated by the skilled editor already, and arrangements have been made for its publication also. I am sure all my colleagues share with me the eagerness to get these works as quick as possible.

9. In the field of the Apabhraṁśas, Dr. Shahidullah has edited 32 *Dohās* of Siddha Kānūpā and translated the same into Bengali (Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā, Vol. 49, No. 1). *Kāmakandalī* published in the Gaekwar Oriental Series is an interesting work for the study of post Apabhraṁśa, and so also is *Cūnaḍia* consisting of 31 stanzas composed during the 16th century (V. S. 1576) by Vinayacandra, the pupil of Bālacandra of the Māthura Saṁgha at Giripura ruled by king Ajaya, and published by Pt. Dipacandra Pandya in his article on *Cūnadi Grantha* (Anekānta V, 6-7). Pt. Parmananda Shastri has brought to our notice a new work *Sāntināha-cariu* in 13 chapters composed by Mahindu son of Illarāja at Yoginipura (Delhi) during the reign of the Mughal emperor Babar in V. S. 1587 (Anekānta, V, 6-7). In another article the same writer makes mention of no less than 23 Apabhraṁśa works composed by the well known poet *Raidhū*, manuscripts of which exist at Delhi, Bombay and Nagaur. The period of the poet's literary activity is shown to be from V. S. 1497 to 1521 (Anekānta, V, 12). In my article on some recent finds of Apabhraṁśa Literature published in the Nagpur University Journal (No. 8, Dec. 1942) information has been given about five Apabhraṁśa poems, namely, *Pajjunna-kahā* of Siṁha (prob. 12th cent), *Sukumāla-cariu* of Sirihara (11th cent.), *Chakkammovaesa* of Amarakīrti (12th cent.) *Aṇuvaya-rayaṇa-Pāiu* of Lakkhaṇa (13th cent.), and *Nemindruha-cariu* of Lakhamadeo (earlier than 1453). Mr. A. S. Gopani in his article on Maheśvarasūri's *Jnānapancamīkahā* assigns that work to not later than the 11th century and has analysed its contents which consist of ten stories narrated in about two thousand verses (Bhārtīya Vidyā III, 2, May 1942).

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10. Let me now notice a few outstanding publications in Sanskrit. Close upon his excellent edition of the *Nyāya-kumuda-candrodaya* in two volumes, Pt. Mahendrakumar Nyāyācārya has given us a new edition of *Prameya-kamala-mārtaṇḍa* of Prabhācandra (Bombay, 1941), which is a great improvement upon the previous edition, and the introduction with a critical survey of the contents of the work in relation to the works of other logicians as well as the comparative footnotes and indexes are of immense value. *Jñānabindu-prakaraṇa* of Yaśovijaya Upādhyāya has been edited by Pt. Sukhalalji who in his excellent introduction focuses attention upon some of the most important features of the Jaina theory of knowledge in comparison with the Hindu and Buddhist systems. (Simghī Jaina Granthamālā No. 16, 1942). The *Bṛhat-kathākoṣa* of Hariṣena has been edited by Dr. Upadhye, whose introduction is a masterpiece of scholarship in the domain of the Jaina story literature (Simghī Jaina Granthamālā 1943). *Citrasena-Padmāvatī-caritra* is an interesting romance in Sanskrit published by the Jaina Vidyā Bhavana, Lahore. In the domain of technical literature Pt. Vardhamāna Pārśvanātha Shastri has published the text and Hindi translation of Ugrāditya's *Kalyāṇa-Kāraka* a work on medicine in Sanskrit verse belonging to the time of Nṛpatuṅga, who is identifiable with king Amoghavarṣa I of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty (Sholapur, 1940).

11. In Hindi the *Vardhamāna Purāṇa* of Navalaśāha, an 18th century poet of Bundelkhaṇḍa, has been edited by Pt. Pannalal Jaina Vasant (Dig. Jaina Pustakālaya, Surat, 1942). A work of special interest in Hindi is the *Ardha Kathānaka* of Banārasidāsa a well-known poet of the 16th century. It has been edited by Dr. Mātāprasad Gupta (Allahabad, 1943), but the editing here is very defective, chiefly for want of proper collation of manuscripts and application of the usual methods of rectifying scribal mistakes. But an ideal edition of the same work is given to us by Pt. Nathuramji Premi (Bombay, 1943), with a very informative introduction, notes and appendices. As a piece of autobiography in verse the work is unique in Hindi literature.

12. The following Kannaḍa works have lately been edited for the first time:—*Nemināṭha Purāṇam* of Karṇapārya (A.D. 1130-35) edited by H. Sesh Ayyangar (Madras University Kannada Series, 1940); *Khagendra-maṇi-darpaṇa* of Mangarāja (middle of the 14th century) a work on toxicology edited by A. Venkat Rao and H. Sesh Ayyangar (University of Madras, 1942); and *Pūrvapurāṇa* of Hastimalliṣenācārya edited from a single manuscript by Prof. K. G. Kundangar (Kolhapur, 1943).

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13. Having noticed the old texts that have seen the light of day in full or in part, I may here make mention of some lists of important works. Pt. Jugalkishore Mukhtar has given us a list of 10 important manuscripts deposited at Nagpur, 24 at Jaipur, 32 at Amer, 200 palmleaf manuscripts at Moodbidri, 125 at Śravaṇa Belgola and 27 at Sonipat (Anekānta, V), selected from long lists of about 200 manuscript stores which have been compiled by the Vīra Sewā Mandir at Sarsāwā under his direction, and before too long we may expect a very comprehensive catalogue to be issued from that Mandir. An important compilation of this Mandir, which is now running through the press, is a *Purātana-Jaina-Vākya-Sūcī* which contains sententious remarks collected from about 65 old works regarded as authoritative in the Jaina community, and arranged in an alphabetical order.

14. Let me now bring to your notice a series of contributions in the form of articles or books concerning the Prakrit languages. Pt. Mahendrakumar Shastri in his article *Śramaṇa Saṁskṛti Aura Bhāṣā* (Anekānta V, 5) has pointed out how the Śramaṇas came to differ from the Vedic followers and how they adopted languages other than Sanskrit for their literature and propaganda. I have in my article *Sanskrit meṁ Prakrit kā Prabhāva* (Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā 47, 2) pointed out how the phonetic tendencies of the Prakrits are also traceable in Sanskrit and how many Sanskrit synonyms can best be explained on the principle of those phonetics. Prof. H. R. Kapadia has given us a *History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas* (Bombay, 1941), while Dr. D. C. Sarkar gives us *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language* (Calcutta, 1943) which records some forms from the Inscriptions and is a good aid to understand Vararucī's Prakrit Prakāśa. Dr. Ghatage makes a *Survey of the Prakrit Studies* in the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkistan* by Dr. Burrow (London 1940) is a valuable contribution for the study of the language of those records with his companion volume on the *Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkistan* issued in 1937. In my article on *Paiśācī Traits in the language of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions from Chinese Turkistan* I have tried to show that the language of the records confirms to a remarkable extent to the peculiarities of the Paiśācī dialect of the Prakrit grammarians and that the name *Cūlikā Paiśācī* may be derived from *Sūlika* which was the ancient name of Kashgar where that dialect may have been developed, thus bringing the Cūlikā Paiśācī also in line with the other Prakrits which bear regional

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names (Nagpur University Journal, No. 7). Alfred Master in his article on the *Mysterious Paiśācī* (*JRAS*, 1943, 1-2) denies the view that the Paiśācas were a tribe of the North-Western India and their language was known as Paiśācī, and also the view that the Paiśācī spoken by the people of the Vindhyas was a form of Prakrit influenced by Dravidian. On the contrary, he propounds the view that Piśāca could not denote any particular tribe nor Paiśācī any particular language, but the Dravidian root from which the word Piśāca may have been formed points to the meaning 'confusion of the mind' and the term is likely to have been used in the past for people whose language was unintelligible.

15. I may now notice a number of articles throwing fresh light upon the contents of Jaina books or discussing the dates of authors. Pt. Sumerchand Divakar in his article on *Mahādhavala para Prakāśa* (Anekānta V, 12) has given a short survey with quotations of the contents of that rare work called *Mahābandha,* of which the only manuscript so far known existed at Moodbidri in South Kanara. Mr. Divakar has succeeded in obtaining a complete transcript of the same and he is trying to edit the text and publish it with a Hindi translation. Pt. Mahendrakumar Shastri and Pt. Darbarilal Kothia have discussed the question of the authorship of the benedictory verse found at the beginning of *Tattvārtha Sūtra* and valuable evidence has been advanced to prove on the one hand that it was added by one of the commentators, and on the other that it belongs to the author of the Sūtras himself. (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, IX, 1 ; Anekānta V). Pt. Phulchandra Shastri in an article on *Tattvārtha Sūtra kā Antaḥ-parīkṣaṇa* (Anekānta, IV, 11-12 ; V, 1-2) has laid his finger on many points in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* which correspond with the ideas of the Digambara School and differ from those of the Śvetāmbara School. Pt. Jugal Kishore Mukhtar in his article on *Sarvārthasiddhi para Samantabhadra kā Prabhāva* has shown how on many points the Sarvārthasiddhi Ṭīkā of Pūjyapāda bears clear influence of Samantabhadra's works. (Anekānta V, 10-11). Pt. Darbarilal Kothia in his article on *Samantabhadra aur Dignāga meṁ Pūrvavartī Kauna* (Anekānta V, 12) has, on the evidence of the views expressed in their works, made out a case for regarding Samantabhadra as a predecessor of Dignāga as well as of Bhartṛhari, Kumārila and Dharmakīrti. The same writer in another article on *Parīkṣāmukha Sūtra aura uskā Udgama* (Anekānta V, 3-4) has shown how Māṇekyanandi has based his work upon the works of Akalaṁka from which parallel passages are quoted. The heated controversy between Prof. Jagadishchandra and

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Pt. Jugalkishore Mukhtar ended during the period under review and valuable evidence on the question of the priority of *Tattvārthādhigama Bhāṣya* and *Rājavārttika* commentaries on the Tattvārtha Sūtra has accumulated. (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara VIII-IX; Anekānta IV-V). Pt. Parmananda Shastri in his *Paumacariya kā Antaḥ-parīkṣana* (Anekānta V, 10-11) has drawn attention to several points of correspondence between the statements in Vimalasūri's work and those in the works of Kundakunda and Umāsvāti, as well as to some points where they are found to be in agreement with the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara views in contrast with the other. The points that are of a dubious nature between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras are interesting, and still more interesting are the points which are peculiar to the work and have no correspondence in the works of either sect. Pt. Dipachand Pandya in his article on *Yaśastilaka kā Saṁśodhana* (Anekānta V, 1-2) has suggested numerous corrections and improvements of the published text of Yaśastilaka Champū of Somadeva on the basis of a good old manuscript of the work obtained by him from the Jaina temple at Ajmer. Dr. Upadhye in his article on *Padmaprabha and his commentary on the Niyamasāra* has assigned the author to about the close of the 12th century (Journal of Bombay University, XI, 1). Mr. P. K. Gode has fixed the date of Meghavijayagaṇi's commentary on Hastasanjīvana between 1680 and 1700 A.D. (Bhārtīya Vidyā III May, 1942). Dr. Banarsidas has published notes on the unpublished works *Vinayamdhara Caritra* of Śīladeva and *Bhīmakumāra Kathā* composed in Sanskrit and Prakrit (Jaina Vidyā 1942). Pt. Nemichandra Jain has given information about the contents of a work *Kevalajñāna-praśna-cūḍāmaṇi* on astrology in Sanskrit ascribed to Samantabhadra, a transcript of which has been acquired by Pt. K. Bhujabali Shastri for the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah, from Moodbidri (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, IX, 2). Mr. Kamtaprasad Jain has brought to light a *Virudāvalī* of the Mūla Saṁgha, Sarasvatī Gaccha, Balātkāra Gana, which ends with Bhaṭṭāraka Merucandra Guru of the Humvaḍa family. This has been translated from Sanskrit into Hindi by Pt. Kamalākānta Upādhyāya (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, IX, 2). Pt. K. Bhujabali Shastri has continued the good work of collecting together the authors' Praśastis from the manuscripts deposited at the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah (*JSB* VIII-IX). Pt. Ajitprasadji has through the Jaina Gazette, which he has been editing all these days, given us English translations of various small Sanskrit and Prakrit tracts and written articles explaining to the English reading public the broad features and principles of Jainism.

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Pt. Nathuram Premi's revised articles numbering 62 on Jaina authors and works as well as on the history of other Jaina institutions have now appeared collected in a book *Jaina Sāhitya aura Itihāsa* (Bombay, 1942). It is a mine of information for all those who wish to work further in the field. Mr. Agarachand Nāhaṭā has in an article on *Vīra Gāthā Kāla kā Jaina Bhāṣā Sāhitya* (Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, 46, 3) drawn attention to 16 poets and their works in Apabhraṁśa or Bhāṣā belonging to a period between the 10th and the 14th century and to 8 works of prose in old Hindi of the 13th and 14th century out of the *Prācīna Gujrātī Gadya Samgraha* compiled by Muni Jina Vijayaji. The same author in his *Gujrātī Bhāṣā meṁ Digambara Sāhitya* has given a brief survey of the Digambara Jaina literature produced in Gujrati during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

16. I may now be permitted to notice briefly a few articles interpreting the Jaina culture or discussing Jaina principles and doctrines. Pt. Sukhlalji in his Jaina *Samskṛti kā Hṛdaya* (Anekānta V, 8-9) has surveyed in a very thought-provoking manner the historical trend of ideas that characterised Jaina culture and how gradually the age of decadence set in. Dr. Devaraja in his *Jaina Dharma kā Mahatva* (*JSB* IX, 2) has tried to examine briefly the place of Jainism on the touchstone of history and reason. In my article on *Sāsādana Samyaktva ke Sambandha meṁ Śāsana-bheda* (Anekānta VI, 2-3) I have pointed out how the authors of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama Sūtras*, the *Cūrṇi Sūtras*, *Sarvārthasiddhi*, Sanskrit *Panca-samgraha*, *Gommaṭasāra Jīvakāṇḍa*, and *Karma Kānda*, the *Śvetāmbara Agamas*, *Karmagranthas* and Prakrit *Panca-samgraha* are in divergence with each other and cut across the sectarian boundaries on an important point of Siddhānta. I have also initiated a discussion in Jaina papers on some of the fundamental problems that have divided the Digambara and Śvetāmbara communities for centuries, with a view to induce a reconsideration of the whole position once again (Jaina Sandeśa VII, 29; *JSB* X, 2). Prof. K. C. Bhattacarya in his *Jaina Theory of Anekānta Vāda* has explained the Jaina system of manifoldness of truth in relation to European thought. Pt. Vansidhara Vyākaraṇācārya in his *Nayoṁ kā Viśleṣaṇa* (Anekānta VI, 3ff) has made an analytical study of the seven Nayas which constitute a very important part of the Jaina system of thought. Dr. Harisatya Bhattacarya in his *Nārāyaṇas, Pratinārāyaṇas and Balabhadras* (Jaina Antiquary VIII-IX) has discussed the Jaina Pauranic personalities in the light of the Hindu Purāṇas. Mr. Kalipada Mitra has contributed an article on *Magic and*

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Miracle in Jaina Literature (Jaina Antiquary VII, 1). Dr. P. L. Vaidya was, during the period under review, busy in arbitration over a dispute regarding the interpretation and application of an astronomical rule attributed to Umāsvāti. His award is now published both in Sanskrit and English and what interests us there are his observations about the several Jaina astronomical texts such as the *Sūryaprajñapti*, the *Candraprajñapti*, *Jyotiṣ Karaṇḍaka*, *Lokaprakāśa*, *Vidhimārgaprapā* of Jinaprabha Sūri (14th century) *Srāddha-vidhi-prakaraṇa* of Ratnaśekhara Sūri (16th century), *Tattva-taranginī* of Dharmasāgara Sūri (16th century) and above all the *Siddhānta ṭippaṇa* which is lost. (Palitana, 7-3-43). Prof. G. R. Jain has given us a volume on *Cosmology Old and New* in elucidation of the fifth chapter of Tattvārtha Sūtra of Umāsvāti (J. L. Jaini Trust Fund, 1942).

17. A few articles on Jaina Art are also noteworthy. Babu Jayabhagavan in his article on *Jaina Kalā aur uskā Mahatva* (Anekānta V, 4) has drawn attention to the characteristics of Jaina iconography and architecture and the symbolism associated with them. The *Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* have been reproduced and discussed by W. Norman Brown (Connecticut 1941). Mr. Kalipada Mitra has identified *an image from Pirpahar* in Monghyr district as that of the 1st Jaina Tīrthaṃkara Ṛṣabhadeva with chauri-bearers on either side, and has assigned the same to about the 11th century A.D., while Dr. V. S. Agrawal has given details of a *fragmentary sculpture of Neminātha*, the 22nd Tirthaṃkara, discovered from the Kankāli Tīlā at Mathura and has assigned it to the Gupta period. It has Baladeva serving him as one of his attendants (*JA*, VIII, 2).

18. Lastly, I have to bring to your notice a series of contributions on the most important subject of the history of Jainism. Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya has compiled *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* in four volumes in English (Ahmedabad, 1941-42). Vol. I is devoted to an account of the *Previous births of Lord Mahāvīra;* Vol. II presents us with text and interpretation of 116 *Sūtras of Kalpasūtra* giving us an account of the life and activities of Mahāvira. Vol. III treats of *Gaṇadhara Vāda*, and Vol. IV with *Sthavirāvalī* according to Śvetāmbara traditions. Pt. Kalyāṇa Vijayaji has given us *Śramaṇa Bhagavān* Mahāvīra in Hindi (Jalor, V.S. 1998) bringing together valuable material on the subject, though certain chapters such as the one on Jinakalpa and Sthavirakalpa could only be read with caution. Mr. Kamtaprasad in his *Jaina Chronology* has tabulated events of Jaina History covering the period between 573 B.C. and 321 B.C. (*JA* VIII, 1). Mr. Dhirendranath

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Mookerjee in his *Candragupta and Bhadrabāhu* (*IHQ* XX, 3) has expounded the view that Candragupta who, according to a Jaina tradition, abdicated the throne and retired to the South as a follower of Bhadrabāhu, was the Gupta monarch Vikramāditya Candragupta and not the founder of the Mauryan empire, while the sage was Bhadrabāhu II and not the Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu. Muni Puṇyavijayaji has written a note on *Bhadrabāhu in his Chedasūtrakāra ane Niryuktikāra* (in the Sri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Rajata Mahotsava Grantha, Bombay, 1941, 5). Mr. Nanakchand in his article *Kyā Bhadrabāhu Śrutakevalī the* (Jaina Sandeśa VII, 30) has drawn attention to a statement in Dhavalā (Vol. I, p. 66) according to which the five Śrutakevalis, including Bhadrabāhu who was the last of them, did not possess knowledge of the whole Jaina Śruta, but only of the 11 Aṅgas and 14 Pūrvas, so that the other four sections of *Diṭṭhivāda*, namely, *Parikamma*, *Sutta*, *Paḍhamānuoga* and *Cūlikā* were already forgotten in their time. Dr. H. C. Seth in his article on *Khāravela and Gardabhilla* (Nagpur University, No. 8) has suggested the identification of king Gardabhilla of the Kālakācarya story with king Khāravela of the Hāthigumphā cave inscription on no less than seven grounds. Pt. Bhujabali Shastri in his *Jainiyoṁ kī Dṛṣṭi meṁ Vikramāditya* (*JSB* X, 1) has briefly surveyed the Jaina traditions about king Vikrama. Mr. B. N. Puri has written an article on *Jaina religious orders in the Kushan Period* (Journal of the Indian History, Special number, April 1941). Dr. V. S. Agrawal in his article on *Jaina Sāhitya meṁ Prācīna Aitihāsika Sāmagrī* (Anekānta V, 12) has drawn attention to various Kāvyas, Prabandhas, Paṭṭāvalis, Praśastis, image-inscriptions, Vijñaptipatras, Tīrthamālās and Caritras that constitute a rich source of historical information. This article has been supplemented by Mr. Agarchand Nāhaṭā in his *Aitihāsika Sāmagrī para Viśeṣa Prakāśa* (Anekānta VI, 2). Pt. K. Bhujabali Shastri in his *Mandiroṁ evaṁ Mūrtiyoṁ kī Utpatti* has given the origin and development of the temples and images on the basis of Dr. P. K. Acarya's views (Prācīna Bhārata I, 8) and points out that though the history of temples and images is very old, the literature dealing with the installation ceremonies does not appear to go beyond the 11th or the 12th century A.D. as had been pointed out before by Pandit Udayalal Kaslival and Pandit Nathuram Premi (Jaina Heteṣī XII, 1). In my article on *Girinagara kī–Candraguphā* (Anekānta V, 1-2) I have tried to identify the cave at Girnar which is said to have been the residence of Dharasenācārya, who inspired the composition of the Saṭkhaṇḍāgama Sūtras. Pandit Dipchand Pandya in an article on *Varadatta kī Nirvāṇa Bhūmi*

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aur Varāṅga ke Nirvāṇa para Vicāra (Anekānta V, 1-2) has pointed out that the place mentioned in connection with Varadatta's salvation or departure to heaven was *Manimān* hill by the side of the river Saraswatī and in the vicinity of Ānartapur. Dr. Banarasidas Jaina in his article on *Panjab meṁ Upalabdha kucha Jaina Lekha* (Anekānta V, 1-2) has brought to light 19 Jaina inscriptions from the Punjab, throwing light upon the organisation and other conditions of the Jaina monks in the locality during the period from the 13th to the 17th century. Mr. Kalipada Mitra in his *Historical References in Jaina Poems* (*IHQ*, June 1942) has pointed out various mentions of historical personages of the Mughal period from the Apabhraṁśa, old Rajsthānī and old Hindi poems collected in the Aitihāsika Jaina Kāvya Saṁgraha of Mr. Agarchand Nāhaṭā and Bhanwar Lal Nāhaṭā (Calcutta, V.S. 1994). Mr. Nāhaṭā in his article on *Dharkaṭa Vaṁśa* (Anekānta V, 12) has collected a large number of references to the mention of this family from V.S. 1143 to 1607 in image-inscriptions and manuscript praśastis. This family name particularly interests us because Dhanavāla the author of the Bhavisayattakahā belonged to it. Mr. Prabhu Lal Jain in his *Gwaliar meṁ Jaina Śāsana* (Anekānta VI, 1) makes mention of the fact that Jainism received patronage of the Gwaliar kings Vīrasiṁhadeva, Dungarasiṁha, Karṇasiṁha and Mānasiṁha from 1398 to 1528 A.D. during a period of 13 years. Muni Kāntisāgar in his *Madhyapradeśa aur Berar meṁ Jaina Purātattva* (Anekānta V, 3-4) has drawn attention to ten different localities where old Jaina architectural and sculptural remains could be found. In my article on *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nareśa Amoghavarṣa kī Jaina Dīkṣā* (*JSB* IX, 1; Anekānta V, 5) I have tried to interpret the introductory verses in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha* of Mahāvīrācārya which seem to imply that the contemporary monarch Amoghavarṣa I became a Jaina monk towards the close of his career. Babu Kamtaprasad in his *Vijayanagar ke Jaina Śilālekha* (*JSB* X, 1) has reproduced two inscriptions in Sanskrit which throw light upon the progress of Jainism in that part of the country during the 14th century. Mr. B. V. Kṛṣṇarao has written an article on *Jainism in Andhradeśa* (Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, XIII, 3-4, 1942). Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi has in his article on *Jainism in Karnāṭaka and Bhāṭkal Finds* (Karnāṭaka Historical Review VI, 1-2) gives information about the discoveries made at Bhāṭkal Petha and its surroundings on the west coast of the Bombay Karnataka area, consisting of various objects of Jaina antiquity including bronze and stone images of the Jaina pantheon and lithic records, and on the basis of the same he gives an account of the state of Jainism obtaining in the area during

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that period. B. Kamtaprasad Jaina in his *Śravaṇa Belgola ke Śilālekhoṁ meṁ Bhaugolika Nāma* (*JSB* VIII-IX) has made an alphabetical list of the geographical names occurring in the inscriptions from Śravaṇa Belgola, while in his *Uttara Karnāṭaka aur Kolhapura Rājya ke kucha Śilālekha* (*JSB* IX, 1) he has made mention of those inscriptions in Prof. K. G. Kundangar's book of inscriptions which have an association with Jainism. Mr. Agarchand Nāhaṭā in his *Jaina Jātiyoṁ ke Prācīna Itihāsa kī Samasyā* (Anekānta VI, 8-9) has shown that there is no trace of the modern castes and communities of the Jainas in their literature previous to the 11th century A.D.

19. This is, dear colleagues, a brief record of the work carried out in the field of Prakrits and Jainism during the period since we met last two years ago. The record is by no means complete. During the whole of this period we have remained practically cut off from our co-workers in other countries, and my sources of information have been limited owing to the very poor library facilities available to me. Inquiries in such cases, as we all know, are generally ignored. I therefore beg to be excused if any noteworthy contributions have not found mention in my brief survey. One welcome feature that would be noticed from this short review is that scholars of the old school, who used to abstain from critical studies and looked upon all research with an air of suspicion, are now taking a substantial part in all important literary as well as historical investigations. It is with a view to attract them more and more to this kind of activity that I have made mention here even of some contributions that may not be considered to satisfy the requirements of the present day standard of research. The work that has been thus carried out in our field is quite substantial, specially when we take into account the fact that the difficulties of getting supplies of paper and other printing materials have been enormous, and have put serious restrictions on the work of publication. The stress of war and the consequent diversion of the mind have also been instrumental in curtailing our explorative and contemplative activities. But let us all hope that these difficulties and hindrances will soon vanish and we shall emerge free to carry on those investigations of the mind and matter which have always characterised our spiritual life and social existence. In the words of our great poet Rabindranath Tagore,

> Faith is the bird that feels the light
> And sings when the dawn is dark.

My colleagues and friends, I have done. I thank you all for the patient hearing that you have given me.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: INDIAN HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

By

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Professor and Head of the Department of History, University of Ceylon.

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My first duty is to express my sincere thanks to the Executive Council of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have done me by electing me President of the History, Geography, Ethnology and Folklore section of this Conference this session. It is perhaps interesting to recall that exactly a quarter of a century ago I was encouraged by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to join the newly-founded Post-Graduate Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture as a student. From that time onward I have followed the progress of this Conference with great interest and was one of the Assistant Secretaries of its Second Session held at Calcutta. I have attended most of the Sessions of the Conference mainly as a humble ordinary delegate and participated in its literary and academic activities. Sometimes I was privileged to have a peep into the administrative aspects of this All-India Conference. To-day I find myself President of one of its most important sections. I do not think that this honour is only due to the work I have done in the last twenty five years in the field covered by this section. Appreciation of this high honour does not make me blind to the fact that there are many amongst the devoted and loyal workers of this Conference, who could have borne the heavy responsibilities of my office far better than I. It is my firm conviction that my selection is largely due to the affection and friendship with which the delegates of this conference have always cherished me in spite of my many faults. I shall have to lean heavily on the friendly co-operation of my fellow-delegates and co-workers for the adequate discharge of my duties.

Emboldened by this kindly and sympathetic attitude of fellow-students, I now cordially welcome the many sincere and devoted scholars who are assembled here from every corner of this vast sub-continent of Bhāratavarṣa and of the island of Siṁhala. We meet today in Northern India in one of the

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most sacred and historic cities of the *Āryāvarta*—a city besprinkled with the holy waters of the Gaṅgā, Varanā and Asi—the ancient city of Vārāṇasī, the capital of the Kāśīs. From the age of the Vedic Saṁhitās, for more than 3000 years, the area round this city has played an important role in the political and cultural history of India. Nearly half the population of the entire world, professing various forms of Vedic and Paurānic religions, Buddhism and Jainism and their numerous branches, regard this city, whose hospitality we enjoy today, as one of the holiest of their *Tīrthakṣetras*. It is no exaggeration to say that nowhere in the world has any city retained its intellectual and spiritual eminence for such a long period. The Bharatas, the Brahmadattas, Pārśva, Gautama Siddhārtha, the Śaiśunāgas, the Nandas, the Guptas, the Śailas, the Pratihāras, the Candrātreyas, the Haihaya-Kalacuris, Vikramāditya Gāṅgeyadeva, the Yaminis, the Pālas, the Senas, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Ghurid Shansabanis, Sher Shah Sur, the Timurid Aurangzib, Chaitsingh and Warren Hastings have all left their mark on the history of this Eternal City. Politically, the princes of the *Viśveśvarakṣetra* had not only dreamt of becoming the lords of the whole of *Jambudvīpa*, but had actually dominated large areas of India extending from the Himalayas to the valley of the Godāvarī. In the age of the Jātakas, the city of the Kāśīs extending over 12 leagues, was regarded as the "chief city in all India". Its greatness and immense resources are alluded to in the Buddhist canons. More than a thousand and five hundred years later Vārānasī, with its thousands of magnificent temples is, described in Muslim chronicles as the "centre of Hind". In the 12th century A.D., for many years, its rulers had fought valiantly in defence of the priceless cultural heritage of India. In the intellectual field also the contributions of this city were not less remarkable. In the middle of the first millenium B.C. the court of the kings of Kāśī was thronged with the learned and the famous teachers of *Āryāvarta*, who took an active part in the philosophical and intellectual discussions of that age. The fact that the "sage of the Śākyas" came all the way from Magadha to Sarnath to expound his system of Dhamma shows that the land of the Kāśīs was an important centre of spiritual life in the 6th century B.C. But it would be a mistake to think that this city excelled only in religious learning. Muslim sources indicate that in the 9th century A.D. Arab scholars like Abū Ma'shar and others came from distant lands to study Mathematics and Astronomy at the feet of the Indian Professors of Vārānasī. Today after the lapse of more than two and a half milleniums this illustrious and sacred city of the Kāśīs, under the direction

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and guidance of the *Ṛṣi-kalpa* Mālaviyaji and *Darśanāchārya* Radhakrishnan is on its way to becoming once more the hub of intellectual and spiritual India. It is the fond hope of all of us that the University of Benares, whose guests we are all today, will soon establish a veritable *Ṛṣipattana*, where a new Buddha will turn the wheel of a new "Law of life" establishing concord, peace and joy in a world distracted by "ways" of murder and violence, which bid fair to exceed the horrors of a Mihirakula or Chenghiz Khān.

Before proceeding further I must refer to the irreparable loss that Indology has suffered by the tragic deaths of Sir Aurel Stein, Prof. L. Lüders, Ernst Mackay, Prof. Formichi, Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Mr. B. C. Majumdar, Rai Bahadur S. C. Ray, E. H. Johnston, Dr. Narayana Chandra Banerjee, Pandit Haradatt Sarma and, last of all of our beloved treasurer Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. Dr. Sukthankar by his monumental labour in connection with the Poona edition of the *Mahābhārata* had acquired the right to be regarded as the veritable Vyāsa of the Kali age (*Kalikāla-Vyāsa*). All of us will greatly miss the lovable and loving personalities of many of these scholars, who have for such a long time added zest and interest to the deliberation of this Conference. The services to Indology of Sir Aurel, Dr. Lüders and other European scholars mentioned above are too well-known to require any notice here. Their death will be universally regarded as an irreparable loss to Indian studies. We can only hope that India will soon produce scholars who would take up the interrupted work of exploration and excavation on the Indian border-land and in Central Asia, and also the objective analysis and synthesis of the many Sanskritic and archæological problems left unfinished by these foreign scholars. Let us follow in the footsteps of these illustrious dead and help to produce a school of Indology in India which by its industry, capacity to take pains and to confront dangers, by its detachment and penetrating analysis, and above all by its breadth of outlook will convert our claim to intellectual equality with the rest of the world from a mere slogan into a reality.

The school of Indology I have referred to above has been rapidly growing up in India since the last quarter of the last century. Since we last met at Hyderabad (Deccan), two years ago, a considerable amount of work has been done by Indian scholars in the various fields grouped together under this section, in spite of almost insuperable difficulties which hampered the normal activities of this school on account of the present emergency. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Swami Sankarānanda,

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Father Heras, Messrs. T. G. Aravamutham, A. D. Kusalkar and Kalyan Kumar Ganguly have discussed various aspects of the Indus valley civilisation of the Chalcolithic period. Drs. B. K. Ghosh and J. B. Chowdhary have discussed some interesting points of Indo-Aryan rituals and society. Messrs. D. R. Mankad and S. P. L. Narasihmaswami are engaged in the various problems of Paurāṇic and Epic chronology. The latter claims to have discovered and restored the *Purāṇasaṁhitā* of 4000 stanzas, divided into 4 *pādas* which he believes to have been "the nucleus of all genuine *Purāṇas* and the repository of the Ancient Indian Historical tradition." I understand that after a period of 30 years' hard work this text is now ready for publication. Another interesting work in the same field is "Some aspects of the Purāṇas" by Dr. R. C. Hazra. With reference to the post-Brāhmaṇa period up to the rise of the Mauryas Dr. B. C. Law has published a memoir on the Pañcālas and their capital Ahicchatra, while Dr. Shyam Behari Misra and Sukhadeva Bihari have jointly published in Hindi the results of their studies in pre-Buddhistic history (Buddhapūrvakā Bhāratīya Itihāsa). In connection with the same period Mr. Kamta Prasad Jain has discussed the Jaina chronology between c. 573 B.C. and 321 B.C., while Dr. V. Agarwala has tried to give us a picture of trade and commerce during the age of Pāṇini. In connection with the period of the First Magadhan Imperialism Prof. R. K. Mookerjee has recently published a book on the history and times of the first Maurya Emperor Candragupta. With reference to the Scytho-Sātavāhana period we have some articles on the Kuṣāṇas by Mr. B. N. Puri and also a fairly comprehensive bulletin by Mr. C. Sivaramamurti on the Amarāvati sculpture in the Madras Museum. Prof. A. S. Altekar has also made useful contributions on the coins and history of the Nāgas and the Mitra kings of this period. On the period of Second Magadhan Imperialism Mr. R. N. Saletore has published a detailed work with special reference to the political and the cultural life of the Gupta age, while Mr. K. M. Munshi has discussed the "Golden age of the Imperial Guptas". Prof. P. C. Sengupta has tried to fix more accurately the epoch of the Gupta era. Prof. Kunhan Raja has discussed the historical background of the works of Kālidāsa. B. V. Krishna Rao has written a book on the "History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa (200-625)." On the period of Kanauj Imperialism we have some interesting contributions from Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. Altekar. The former has drawn our attention to two new records of the Gauḍa prince Saśānka while the latter has edited 6 new copper grants from Kāthiawar throwing fresh light on the history of

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the Saindhavas. Also Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan has tried to fix the date of the Cola conquest of the Bāṇa country while Dr. N. K. Bhaṭṭaśālī has re-edited with valuable notes the Rājābāḍi or the Bhāwāl plate of the Sena king Lakṣmaṇasena. On the period of the Imperialism of the Turks and the Afghans Dr. A. B. M. Habibulla has made contributions with reference to the organisation of the fighting forces of the Sultanate of Delhi, while Messrs. Ibrahim Siblih and S. M. Jaffar have discussed certain aspects of the Arab invasion and administration of Sindh. Messrs. S. K. Banerji, N. B. Roy and S. N. Haider Rizvi have written on the different aspects of the history of the line of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. Sir. J. N. Sarkar has thrown some light on the correspondence of the Deccani Sultanates and Mīr Jumla with the court of Iran. Mr. Abdul Majed Khan has made some suggestions regarding the historicity of Ibn Batuta's account of the Bengal ruler Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh. Mr. Venkataramanayya has recently published a book on "Early Muslim Expansion in South India", Dr. H. K. Sherwani has written a book on the "Early Muslim Political Thought and Administration" while Dr. Qureshi has written on the "Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi". On the period of the Imperialism of the house of Bābur, Mr. Anil Banerjee has made valuable contributions with special reference to the history of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I, Prof. H. K. Sharwani has brought out a volume on the great Bahamanī Wazir Mahmūd Gāwān, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has published a work on 'the power in the South and Sahaji's contribution to the establishment of the Maratha empire', while Dr. S. K. Banerji has brought out the second volume of his work on "Humāyūn Bādshāh". Dr. A. P. Dasgupta in his "Studies in the history of the British in India" has collected various papers which he had published during the last ten years on the period 1757-1784 A.D., while Dr. P. Basu has written a very useful and critical work on the Relations of the East India Company with the Nawabs of Oudh (1785-1801). Mr. D. N. Banerjee has published the first volume of his work on the "Early administrative system of the East India Company in Bengal" (1756-1774) and Mr. Brojendra N. Mitra has written a book on "the Begams of Bengal" and Tej Singh has published a work on the 'Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism'. Prof. Sri Ram Sarma has made some interesting contributions on the administration of justice of the house of Bābur while Prof. R. K. Mukherjee has discussed the "Economic History of India from the 16th to the 18th century A.D.". Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently discussed the life and history of Mahārājā Rājballabh, an interesting personality of the middle of the 18th century in Bengal.

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Mr. S. C. Goswami has supplied some light on the religious policy of Aurangzīb by drawing our attention to an important grant of land to the Hindu temple of Umānanda by the emperor. Mr. Yashpal has discussed the causes which led to the Rajput war during the period 1679-81, while Mr. I. H. Baqui has written on some aspects of Tipu Sultan's relations with the British General Macleod. Lastly Mr. Brij Narain and Prof. Sri Ram Sharma have brought out some interesting data on the period extending from the reign of Humayun to that of Shah Jahan by translating an original Dutch record. On the period of the Imperialism of the British one of the most interesting publications is Mr. Anil Banerji's monograph on the "Eastern frontier of British India" based on hitherto unpublished materials in English, Assamese, Burmese and Bengali. Mr. N. B. Roy has written a book on 'Daulat Rao Sindhia's affairs (1804-9)'. Also Dr. N. K. Sinha has made some contributions on the North-west frontier tribes under Ranjit Singh's sway in 1837 and on the state of Education in Bengal in the first half of the 19th century.

In addition to this very brief and inadequate survey of the activities of the Indian School of History I must mention a few more works of a general character which came out during the last two years. Dr. R. S. Tripathi's "History of Ancient India" has been extremely useful to students at various Indian and foreign Universities. Its lucid style and excellent arrangement of the matter together with its comprehensive bibliography has made it invaluable to all lovers of Indian History. Two important works came out on the History of Bengal. One is by Dr. B. C. Sen; the other is edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Dr. Sen's book is based on a very careful analysis of the inscriptions of Bengal, while the work edited by Dr. Majumdar is a comprehensive survey of the political and cultural history of Bengal written by various scholars. Both the works come down to the end of the 12th century A.D. Messrs H. D. Sankalia and K. L. Daftari have produced works on "Pre-vedic times to Vijayanagar" and "Astronomical method and its application to the chronology of Ancient India" respectively. Another book which will be useful to the students of the early history of India is the "Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation" by Dr. D. C. Sarkar. Another work which has recently come out and will be of use to the student of Indian History is B. V. Krishna Rao's "Successors of the Sātavahana." Lastly I should mention the valuable work by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti on the "Art of War in Ancient India". The author has gone through an enormous mass of materials and

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has brought out a most interesting work bearing on the history of India. In conclusion I draw the attention of scholars to the Journal of Andhra History and Culture which has been recently published from Guntur.

Various groups in this rapidly growing school of Indian History are now trying to compile a critical and comprehensive history of India. But before this task can be adequately performed, the school must produce scholars who are properly equipped to tackle the problems of the Indus Valley Civilisation which appears to be so intimately connected with the cultures of the valleys of the Euphrates and of the Nile. Though the ancient history of the Near East forms a part of the syllabus of studies in some Indian Universities, the teaching and the study of this subject have been, so far, mainly from secondary publications. India has not yet produced any Egyptologists or Assyriologists of repute. Secondly we have very few scholars amongst us who can efficiently deal with the primary sources of Indian History and Culture which lie scattered and under the bowels of the earth in Central Asia, Tibet, China, Japan, Annam, Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, Thailand and the Malayan Peninsula. I am familiar with the work done by the "Greater Indian Society" and the record of the activities of Indian scholars like Drs. R. C. Majumdar, B. R. Chatterji, P. C. Bagchi, K. D. Nag, S. N. Sen (Nepal), U. N. Ghosal, N. R. Ray, Swami Sadananda and Prof. N. K. Sastri, but we must admit that we have made comparatively little progress in the study of this glorious chapter in the spread of Indian civilization in the various parts of Asia. Within India we must adopt a far more active policy of exploration and scientific excavation before we can solve many difficult problems of Indian History. Search for Mss. in India and in the various border lands should be organized on a regional basis and controlled by a central organization like the All-India Oriental Conference. The sudden discovery of a Ms. like that of the *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭilya can make a big difference to our present knowledge of India's past. The creation of a sub-committee by the Hyderabad session of this Conference to collect Mss. and other materials for Historical, Ethnological and Art studies in Nepal was, I think, a move in the right direction. The work of revising and bringing up to date Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* should be expedited. There should be much more co-operation between the Archæological Department of the Government of India and the various Indian States and the Indian Universities and other learned bodies in the field of History and Archæology. The relations which at present

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exist between the University of Calcutta and the Archæological Survey of India mark a beginning in this direction. But I plead for a more forward policy of active co-operation on an all-India basis. The Archæological Department should try to train University men and other willing workers in scientific excavations and archæological work so that the search for the sources of Indian History might be carried on far more vigorously than is possible at present. The Archæological Department should also, with more assistants from the Universities and other learned bodies, try to place before the public Corpuses of inscriptions on regional and chronological basis. The work of the Archæological Department in this direction at present is much too slow. The absence of such corpuses of inscriptions and omnibus Catalogues of Mss. acts as a serious brake on the round of activities of the students of the history of this vast subcontinent.

Another problem which confronts the compilers of a critical history of India is the introduction of that objective outlook on the evaluation of the various sources which alone leads to the deduction of right conclusions from them. It is undoubtedly a fact that a proper Indian history is still a desideratum. Foreigners have often consciously or unconsciously drawn wrong conclusions from Indian historical data. I think we should be on our guard against the introduction of what is sometimes wrongly understood to be a "national outlook". This might lead us unconsciously to convert History into mere propaganda. We cannot do better than constantly follow the ideal of the Kashmirian historian Kalhaṇa :

"*Slāghyaḥ sa eva guṇavān rāgadveṣavahiṣkṛtā*
bhūtārthakathane yasya stheyasyeva sarasvatī".

In our approach to Indian historical problems we must be entirely free from love or hate. We must not be swayed even a fraction of an inch from truth by any bias of family, caste, colour, religion or nation. The success of our proposed history of India will largely depend upon the realization of this ideal. We must avoid in our writings all effusiveness of style and introduce a healthy note of caution. Our language should exactly convey an impression of the strength or weakness of the data on which our conclusions are based. All sentimental matter must be strictly eschewed.

Another problem which confronts the writer of a critical history of India is the division of Indian History into suitable periods. History from certain points of view is like the mighty river Ganges. The sources of this sacred river are lost in the

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mysterious and impenetrable heights of the snow-capped Himalayas while it flows unceasingly into the "eternal seas". The beginnings of human history in India are also shrouded in myth and mystery while it flows continuously into the depths of *eternally receding tomorrows*. This dynamic character of history must be recognised in all our attempts to divide Indian history into well-marked divisions. Historical facts must constantly move forward in a chronological order. The usual division of Indian History into three communal compartments viz. (i) Hindu, (ii) Muslim, and (iii) Christian or British not only smacks of communalism but is also unscientific and goes against the above-mentioned fundamental characteristics of History. The "Hindu period" is often brought down to 1206 A.D. while the so-called "Muslim period" is said to have started from c. 711 A.D. and to have terminated in the 18th or the 19th century. The "Christian or the British period" is said to have begun from 1498 A.D. when Akbar had not yet ascended the throne! Following European examples we have been also dividing Indian History into (i) Ancient, (ii) Mediaeval and (iii) Modern. But as in Europe, the attempt to divide Indian History on these lines has led to controversies. In Europe some would begin the modern period with the Renaissance or the discovery of America, or the Reformation, some with the French Revolution while others might suggest the age of Lenin as really ushering in the modern epoch of European history. Similarly in Indian History some accept the death of Harṣa as the beginning of the mediaeval period in Indian history. Others think 711 A.D., the date of the conquest of the lower Indus valley by the Arabs, is the date which marks the beginning of medieaval age in India. A third group suggests that the mediaeval period begins with the rise of the Turks on the Indian frontier in the middle of the 10th century A.D. A better plan of division would be to accept a chronological scheme of division in which each period is marked by some outstanding cultural or political event. I suggest the following scheme of division for the contemplated critical history of India.

(i) *Introductory:* Geography: Peoples and Languages: Palæolithic, Neolithic, Chalcolithic and early Iron age (Pre-Dravidian, Dravidian & Indus Valley Civilization).

(ii) *Indo-Aryans and their civilization:* Early period—Age of the Ṛgveda (c. 2000 B. C. to 1500 B. C.); Later period—the Age of the Later *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* (c. 1500-600 B.C.).

(iii) *Post-Brāhmaṇa period up to the rise of the Mauryas:* The age of the *Upaniṣads* and the *Vedāṅgas:*

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Rise of the protestant Religions—Buddhism, Jainism, Ājivikism, etc., Rise of Magadha.

(iv) *Magadhan Imperialism* (c. 321 B.C. to 28 B.C.).

(v) *Scytho-Sātavāhana period* (c. 28 B.C. to 300 A.D.).

(vi) *Revival of Magadhan Imperialism* (c. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D.).

(vii) *Imperialism of Kanauj* (c. 600 to 1206 A.D.).

(viii) *Imperialism of Delhi under the Turks and Afghans* (c. 1206-1526).

(ix) *Imperialism of the House of Bābur* (c. 1526 to 1803 A.D.).

(x) *Imperialism of the British* (c. 1803-1945 A.D.).

An important branch of study which the Indian school of Indology has up till now failed to tackle properly is Historical Geography. As early as 1918 A.D. the University of Calcutta recognised its importance and introduced its teaching in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. But even after the lapse of 25 years a comprehensive work on Indian Historical Geography from the earliest times down to the modern age is still a desideratum. Such a work should note the fluctuations in the boundaries of the various areas indicated by geographical terms in different ages. Epigraphic materials should be utilized along with literary sources in the preparation of the work. By supplying maps on a chronological basis such a work will remove one of the chief difficulties of Indian historical studies. A comparison with the historical maps available for British, European and American history will at once convince us of the urgent need of a comprehensive work on this subject. During the last two years however some amount of work has been done by Indian scholars on Historical Geography. Dr. S. M. H. Nainar has produced a work on 'the Arab Geographers' knowledge of South India'. Dr. A. N. Bose has written on the "Oldest Indo-Aryan Cities" while Dr. D. C. Sircar has given an account of some 46 countries of India and also of the border lands. Dr. Bhattasali has supplied us with an interesting account of the "River Deltas of Bengal", while Dr. H. C. Raychoudhury has discussed identification and other kindred problems in connection with the river "Sarasvatī."

Much work has already been done on the social, administrative and economic history of India during the last 50 years and more. But a comprehensive survey of the whole of India from each and all of these aspects based on a thorough examination of archæological and literary sources has not yet

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been undertaken by any scholar in India. It is needless to say that without such works on cultural history real India cannot be properly understood.

The intimate relationship of History and Ethnology has been grasped only in recent times. Many problems of history cannot be properly solved without the assistance of this science. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the University of Calcutta and some other Indian Universities should have made provision for the study of this important branch of knowledge. Dr. J. H. Hutton has supplied us in his Census Reports of 1931 with some very valuable ethnological data. But it is high time that the Government of India undertook a properly conducted scientific Ethnological survey of the peoples of India. The last survey of this nature was completed by Sir Herbert Risley in 1901.

During the last two years some important and interesting contributions have been made by Indian scholars on Indian Ethnological topics. Prof. H. C. Chakladar and Mr. N. K. Bose are carrying on investigations on the pre-historic conditions of Bengal and the Mayurbhanj State. Mr. T. Padmanabhachari has contributed an interesting article on the games, sports and pastimes of pre-historic India, while Mr. K. K. Sen has studied some aspects of the Megalithic monuments of the Cochin state. Messrs. A. K. Mitra and B. K. Chatterjee have studied the blood group distribution of the Bengalis and have compared them with those of other Indian races. Dr. P. C. Biswas has investigated the finger and the palm prints of the Bengalis while Dr. R. N. Bose has worked on the Anthropometry and the blood types of the Kāyasthas of Bengal. Mr. M. B. Bhaduri has made a survey of the aboriginal tribes of the Udaipur state. Mr. Sitapati has written on the religious rites, festivals and magical ceremonies of the Soras and has compared them with those of the Oraons, Birhors, Mundas and other tribes of the central belt of India. Dr. D. N. Majumdar and Mr. Sudhir Ranjan Das are making a special study of the Hos of Chotanagpur. Mr. K. P. Chattopadhaya has investigated Vedic kinship and Dharma worship in Bengal. Many valuable contributions on Indian Ethnology have also been made by Indian scholars in the volume of essays on Anthropology presented in 1942 to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray.

The position of India in the domain of folklore is unique. Perhaps no country in the world is so rich in folklore. But unfortunately no attempt has been made to make a comprehensive survey of folklore in modern India. Some attempt,

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I understand, is being made to organize a Folklore Society in India. A few articles have also been published by Indian students with reference to various aspects of Indian folklore. Mr. N. Chowdhury has made some comments on the Sun as a folk God. Mr. S. C. Mitra has given us some notes on ghost lore from the Jalpaiguri district of Bengal, and on the folk worship of the river Tista by the Nepalese. Folk songs from Andhra and Malwa have been collected by D. Satyarthi. and Dr. G. Pradhan. The March (1943) issue of "Man in India" contains a valuable collection of materials on tribal folklore in India.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now bring my remarks to a close. History, Geography, Ethnology and Folklore are extensive fields and they seem to be discrete. But they have one common aim—the pursuit of truth; they all severally and collectively supply us with keys with which we can unlock the domain of truth about India's past. But as the Vedic *Ṛṣi* Aghamarṣana rightly says:

Ṛtaṁca satyaṁcābhīdhāttapaso' dhyajāyata.

[Truth (of thought) and truthfulness (of speech) were born of arduous austerity and penance].

Before we attain our goal we must all of us perform arduous *tapas*. Labourers in the fields and fellow-pilgrims as we all are, we must work together for the truthful reconstruction of the past history of our motherland forgetting all differences of caste and creed. Forgetting the things that separate us, let us press forward towards the goal. Let us take a leaf out of the book of an ancient Vedic singer who implores us in the following strain:—

"*Samānā va ākūtiḥ samānā hṛdayāni vaḥ*
Samānamastu vo mano yathā vaḥ susahāsati."

"Common be your intention; common be the wishes of your hearts; common be your thoughts, so that there may be thorough union among you." (Ṛgveda, X. 191. 4).

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

By

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Commenting on the pre-historic and proto-historic remains of India, Coggin Brown remarks that these primitive remains such as the dolmens, cromlechs, kistvæns and stone circles are of the same style as those found in Central Africa and parts of Western Asia, Europe, etc. This fact seems to establish the prevalence of a common culture and burial customs in India and the said countries. Though in the time of Bruce Foote and Brown no instances of primitive monuments common to India and the Far East were known, attention was drawn by me in about 1940 to the discovery in French Indo-China of the burial-urns of the character found in South India. This further fact seems to prove that a common culture prevailed both in India and the Far East at an early period. These common features are evidences of racial and cultural contacts between India and the neighbouring countries both in the East and the West. While such is the inference to be drawn from the Archæological remains, evidences are not wanting in literature and tradition to establish the fact of such contacts between India and the rest of the world.

A few of these evidences are noticed in the sequel and these go to prove the existence of Indo-Egyptian and Indo-Iranian contacts from very early times. Certain plants are supposed to have been introduced into Egypt from Asia in very early times. 'From Asia, Man has brought at different times wheat, barley, the olive, the apple, the white or pink almond, and twenty other species now acclamatised on the banks of the Nile. The plant tamarisk called in Egyptian 'asari' and 'asri' has the same name given to it in the Semitic languages, both ancient and modern. This would suggest the question whether the tamarisk did not originally come from Asia. In that case it must have been brought into Egypt in remote antiquity, for it figures in the Pyramid texts. Bricks of the Nile mud and the Memphitic and Theban tombs have yielded us twigs and even whole branches of the tamarisk'.

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Professor Maspero says that the origin of the name of the river Nile is uncertain. He says that 'the least likely etymology is still that which derives Neilos from the Hebrew *nakr*, a river, or Nakhal a torrent.' He also notices Groff's derivation of the word from Ne-ialu, the branches of the Nile in the delta. The professor does not appear to have considered the possibility of the intimate connection that exists between the name 'Nile' and its significance to the ancient Egyptians and the Greeks. Lempriere in his *Classical Dictionary* states that the river got the name from Nilus, the ancient king of Thebos, who gave the name to the river which had been previously called Aegyptus. Professor Rawlinson says that the word Nile in Egyptian means 'deep-blue.' The true origin of the name seems to be in the Sanskrit word 'Nīla' which must have been pronounced and understood in Egyptian as in Samskrit. We also know that the river is in a part of its course called by the redundant name 'Blue Nile'. This must have been the characteristic name of the whole river.

This is not the sole example of Sanskritic origin being traceable for Egyptian names. The names 'Aegyptus' by which the Nile was originally called and 'Aegyptu' the name of the inhabitants of Egypt evidently appear to have come from the Sanskrit word 'aja' which means a 'goat.' The word is traceable as the nucleus of several classical names. Jupiter was denoted by the surname 'Aegiochus' because he was brought up by a 'goat', called Amalthea, and used goatskin as his shield in the war of the Titans. Pan, the classical god of shepherds who resided in Arcadia, was also knowu by the name 'Aegypran' because he had goat's feet. It is interesting to recall here the Puranic name Ajaikapād. The town on the Corinthian coast where Jupiter is said to have been fed by a goat was called 'Aegium.' The name of the Thracian town 'Aegos Potamus' means 'the goat's river.' The name Macedonia is derived from two words which mean 'the valley of the goat.' This word is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Meshadrona.' The classical town of Aedessa was given the surname 'Aegeas' by the Macedonian king Caranus who took it by following goats. The modern Archipelago, that part of the Mediterranean which divides Greece from Asia Minor, was called 'Aegium Mare' in classical geography from the number of islands which it contains, which appear above the sea like goats (aiges). In the expression 'Cucupha-headed sceptre', which is applied to the staff of the Egyptian Pharaoh and which is considered a misnomer, we find the Sanskrit word 'kukkubha' which denotes a kind of bird. Maspero notes that 'from

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ancient evidence we know that *cucupha* was a bird, perhaps the hoopoe.'

The ancient Egyptians refer to a mysterious fluid called 'Sa', which was circulated throughout the members of the gods of Egypt and carried with it health, vigour and life. They were not all equally charged with it; some had more others had less, their energies being proportionate to the amount which they contained. This 'sa' very probably corresponds to the Amṛita of the Hindu Devas. In Sanskrit also the word 'sa' signifies the 'amṛita' (ambrosia).

The Hindu Purāṇic idea is that the earliest Hindu monarchs of the Sūryavaṁśa were descendants of the Sun. This has a parallel in Egyptian mythology and tradition that the Pharaohs were blood-relations of the Sun-god (Ra), through the father and others through the mother. In Hindu mythology we have the kings of the Somavaṁśa who descended from Soma and his son Budha and who were blood-relations of Sūrya on their mother's side, for Budha married Ilā, the daughter of Manu Vaivasvata, who was the son of Vivasvān, the Sun. Again the Egyptian name 'Ra' applied to the Sun is etymologically derived from the root 'ra' which means 'to give'. It is worth observing that in Samskrit the root 'rā' means 'to give.'. In Egyptian mythology the Sun is considered to be the Divine face, i.e., God Horus while the Moon was believed to be the left eye of the God. We should compare this belief with the Hindu belief embodied in the saying '*Candra-Sūryau cha netre.*' A stele or seal reproduced on page 1 of Maspero's '*Dawn of Civilisation*' represents a bearded old-looking person lying in a half-reclined posture with the trunk of his body resting on his left arm. He reclines on the body of a crocodile. He wears only an under-garment which looks very much like the Hindu *dhoti*. From near his waist (perhaps from his navel) rises up a wavy creeper and at the top of it is a human figure in a seated posture. Does this not suggest a strong and close parallel, despite its variations, to the figure of Nārāyaṇa reclining on a serpent with Brahmā shown seated on a lotus emerging from his navel? As regards the dress of the main figure in the stele, let me draw attention to the figure of Zeus (Jupiter), reproduced in *Classic Myth and Legend*, whose dress is typical of the Hindu orthodox *dhoti*. This suggests strong cultural and possibly racial affinity between the ancient Hindus and the Greeks.

Among the Pharaohs of the Fifth dynasty of Ancient Egypt is mentioned one by name Usirniri Anu whose reign is

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placed between the years 3900 and 3875 B.C. This name shows a remarkable correspondence to the name of the Purāṇic king Uśīnara of the family of Anu. Anu is probably the ancestor of a branch of the Somavaṁśa to which Uśīnara belonged. The descendants of the Egyptian king Usirniri Anu claimed for their previous generations matrimonial alliances with the daughters of the Solar race. The Purāṇas inform us that the Somavaṁśa kings were the descendants of Budha and his wife Ilā, a princess of the Vaivasvata (Solar) line. The names of three other Egyptian Pharaohs, viz., Usirtasen I, Usirtasen II and Uristasen III, strongly remind us of the Purāṇic Ārshṭiṣeṇa who is referred to as a *rājarṣhi*. From Maspero we learn that the Egyptian king Usirtasen III was ranked among the Pharaohs that had civilised the country and so had received divine honours even during his life-time. He was placed 'in triads' and temples were raised to him.

The Egyptian king Usirtasen III is stated to have humbled the Kush and conquered the tribes of Alaka and Turasu among others. Professor Maspero thinks these names outlandish from the standpoint of ancient Egyptian geography and finds it hard to locate them. It may be suggested here on this very ground that the names are outlandish, that Alaka may be identified with the Himalayan town Alakā, the capital of Kubera and Turasu must be the same as the Puranic Turvasu line.

The Purāṇas mention among the several early tribes, the Garuḍas in expressions like Yaksha-Garuḍo-Varga, etc. We are apt to take the Garuḍas as some imaginary tribe not having tangible entity or existence on this globe. This is an entirely mistaken idea since we have definite archæological evidence to establish the existence of an early community which we can safely identify with the Garuḍas. At Jebelet El Beda in Mesopotamia are the oldest monumental stone images in the world wearing flounced skirts and bearing bird-beak faces. These faces exhibit analogies to the most archaic Sumerian sculptures. The latter are, however, only small representations on cylinders or in small statuettes. But the Jebelet El Beda figures are amazingly gigantic images. Their bird-beak faces are exactly the same as in the terracotta statuettes discovered by Sir Leonard Woolley in the lowest stratum beneath the Sumerian level (*Ill. Lond. News.*, March 1, 1930). This type of face was therefore native to Southern Mesopotamia—a feature of the very oldest original stratum and not a characteristic of the Sumerian. Baron Max Von Oppenheim who observes these features opines that the enormous noses of the Sub-Aryan Hittite people correspond more to these faces than

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to the Sumerian ones. This fact confirms the Hindu tradition assigning these and other early Puranic tribes to the same Sub-Deva category; (Cf. *Amarakoṣa;* Piśācho Guhyakas-Siddho Bhutomī Deva-yonayaḥ). Oppenheim ascribes the Jebelet images to the fourth millennium before Christ (*Ill. Lond. News.*, 1931, May 16). We can very well therefore recognise not only the historicity but also the great antiquity of the Sub-Deva communities mentioned in the Purāṇas.

Coming to Archæology in India it must be observed that until recent years discoveries of importance were mostly matters of chance. The surveys carried out by General Cunningham and his colleagues and successors in the North and by Burgess and his colleagues and successors in the South, though well organised, were productive only of chance important discoveries. But recently it has been possible in the South to suggest and discover and explore pre-historic and proto-historic sites and remains on the strength of place-names and other data. Well-planned exploration could locate such remains definitely and with a fair amount of certitude. The indications in place-names are really varied and several and they could very profitably be utilised by an intelligent archæologist. It was evidently on this account that experienced antiquarians and archæologists in Europe and especially in Great Britain have instituted a scheme for the collection of data relating to place-names from all over the country. No detail is to be missed in recording the details as furnished by folk-lore and tradition. The data are to cover the hills, lakes, mounds, forts, valleys, etc. Such a scheme is a very great desideratum for India and we should plan to have an exhaustive record of this nature for our vast sub-continent. The Government departments, local bodies and learned societies must all co-operate in the compilation of this record, which would be a useful guide to the contemporary and future antiquarian and archæologist.

In the Himalayan regions we have places called Dakhtol, Rakhastol, etc. The first of these must evidently be connected with the Puranic Dakṣa, one of the Prjāpatis. Rakhastol is suggestive of Rākshasa associations. The exploration of these places and similar ones must bring to light some very early remains. Similarly in the South, especially in the Telugu country, we have remains called Rākshasa-guḷḷu, Rākshasa-gūḷḷu, Rākāsi-guṭṭalu, applied to dolmens, cromlechs, cairns, etc. and to hillocks containing pre-historic remains. An exhaustive list of these would be useful in determining the traditional tract of the Rākshasa tribes and exploration of these remains should yield data regarding these and other primitive communities.

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So too the exploration of sites connected with the name of the Pāṇḍavas must yield some remains to justify their association with their name. Here lies a vast and fruitful field for co-operative research and study by the anthropologist and the archæologist. The excavations of the latter must provide material for the study of the former.

I shall now go on to the other category of pre-historic sites in South India connected with name 'Vāli'. This is a very fascinating and suggestive name for the exploration of early sites in the Tamil country. Forests containing prehistoric burial sites are known as Vāliyan-kāḍu, the dolmens are called Vāliyan-vīḍu, Vāliyan-kūṇḍu, Vāliyan-kuḷi, etc. Besides these, wherever you find the Vālīśvara temples; you are sure to find primitive urn-burials in their vicinity. And I am glad to announce here my very recent discovery of a Vālīśvara temple in Mylapore (San Thome), a suburb of Madras. The temple is not of any pretentious architectural style, but the surroundings and the huge tank in its front suggest an important and prosperous past for it. I am almost certain that in the vicinity of the temple we are sure to find urn-burials and other primitive vestiges, if a careful exploration is made. It is moreover significant that the temple is within the limits of Mylapore, which is very famous in early Tamil literature under the name 'Mailārpil'.

From my explorations in the Tamil country I am now in a position to postulate the existence of such remains in association with all Vālīśvara temples. From out of this class of Vālīśvara temples floats up a unique and solitary instance of a Sugrīveśvara temple at Sarcar-Periyapalem in the Coimbatore district. Enquiries show that in the neighbourhood of this village urn-burials were dug up some years back. The temple as it now stands is medieval in style and architecture, but the name of the god is given in its inscriptions as 'Kurakku-taḷi-Nāyanār,' i.e., the Lord of the temple of the monkey (*kurakku*). This traditional origin of the temple is illustrated in relief sculpture on the main beam of the Mahāmandapa of the temple showing a Śivalinga under a sacred tree and a monkey going down on its fours in front of the *linga* in an attitude of adoration. It must be noted in this connection that several primitive burial sites in the Pudukkottai region are known as 'Kurakkup-paḍai' and 'Kurakku-paṭṭaḍai', i.e., 'the lying-place of the monkeys'. In addition to these examples we have interesting instances of place-names connected with the monkey in the Tamil country. Villages like Kuranganimuṭṭam, Vānara-muṭṭi, etc., have necessarily to be connected with the settlements

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of monkey-like aborginal tribes. We seem to have had, ethnically speaking, a Vānara period in the social evolution of South India, especially, the Tamil land. Attention may now be drawn to the instance of a *Vānara-datti* mentioned in an inscription at Nadendla in the Guntur District. The Village Nonchinipāḍu is herein referred to as an original Vānara-datti. While on this topic I have to bring in the several categories of *dattis* finding mention in South Indian inscriptions. Mostly these occur in the epigraphs of the Kannaḍa and Telugu countries and are variously termed as 'Hariśchandra-datti', 'Rāma-datti', 'Lakshmaṇa-datti', 'Janamejaya-datti', etc., so far as Puranic associations go, and some as 'Chālukya-Chakreśvara-datti' for historical times. For the antiquarians these *dattis* are of value for purposes of exploration as the terms suggest very early antiquity for these places. The appellation occurs in connection with the terms Agrahāra, Mahāgrahāra, Anādy-agrahāra, etc.

There is another indication of the existence of primitive relics in the place-names of the Tamil country. Villages bearing the prefix 'kḻī' (meaning east or low) in their names are always found to posses early remains. A still another class of village-names suggesting early and pre-historic associations in the Andhra, Tamil and Kannada countries is those containing the prefixes, 'Ara', 'Āra', 'Ari', 'Aru', etc. I venture to call the above categories as my axioms for the archæological exploration of the South. And by close study I think it will be possible to evolve a scheme or formula for tracing the early sites of North India also. If Sir John Marshall has left us a *Conservation Manual* we must try to compile an *Exploration Manual* for the country. The task will be of great interest and is well worth an intelligent attempt on our part.

The Call of the Hills.

Hills and hillocks have had a special appeal to the religious recluse from early times. Almost all the early cave-temples in India, whether Buddhist, Jaina or Brahmanical, testify to the existence of this sentiment from time immemorial. But I must draw attention to a peculiar feature in South India and to my knowledge not observed in the North. This relates to the class of natural caverns turned into permanent habitations or temporary resorts for religious purposes. Buddhist and Jaina monks repaired to these places for purposes of abstract meditation and pious devotees made these caverns habitable by fashioning beds with pillow lofts, smoothened out in the surface-rock of the caverns and securing the interior of the caverns from the trickling rain water by cutting a drip-line

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in the facade of the cavern. These are accompanied in several cases by inscriptions recording the names of the donors but sometimes not. The epigraphs are mostly in the Brāhmī characters of the Mauryan period. Till very recent years such caverns were known and believed to exist only in the Tamil country. But in the year 1937 I discovered such a cavern in the heart of the Telugu country, i.e., at Mālekoṇḍa *alias* Mālyādri in the Kandukur taluk of the Nellore District. This is so far the unique instance of a cavern with the drip-line and a Brāhmī inscription in Mauryan characters, in the Telugu land and its discovery has tempted us to look for links between the caverns of the Tamil country and this of the Telugu country. Luckily our recent explorations have brought to light caverns with beds but no inscriptions near Nagari in the Chittoor District.

Another group of such caverns with drip-line but no epigraphs was also discovered by me in 1937 in the hill called Siddhulakoṇḍa near Saidapuram, a village in the Rapur taluk of the Nellore District. As the crow flies this hill is about seventy miles from the Mālyādri hill on the south and the geological formation of the hill-rock in both cases is so identical that they may be called sister-hills. The Siddhulakoṇḍa caverns are definitely Jaina in character as is established by the early Jaina images installed in them and even now worshipped ignorantly under some Śaivite name by Jangamadevas.

From my observations in the Tamil country the sequence of religious and social settlements in this region was as follows :—

1. The period of pre-historic urn-burials, dolmens, cromlechs, etc.,
2. the period of natural caverns overlapping No. 1,
3. the period of rock-cut temples with deities installed in them, and
4. the period of structural temples.

The above-mentioned sequence has been established by the remains and monuments of Vīraśikhāmaṇi in the Ramnad District, Tirupparankunram in the Madura District, Trichinopoly in the Trichinopoly District, Kuḍumiyamalai and Ammāchtram in the Pudukkottai State and Māmandūr near Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District. It is not unlikely that early caverns may yet be found in the vicinity of the rock-cut temples at Pallāvaram, and Tirukkaḻukkunram in the Chingleput District and similar other centres in the Madras Presidency. There is a very great scope for intelligent exploration in this respect in the Tamil and Telugu districts. Hills bearing names with

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prefixes such as Deva, Siddha, Brahma, etc. in the fastnesses of the Kurnool and Chittoor districts should yield primitive remains. So too hills and hillocks connected with name of Añjanā (the mother of the monkey-god Hanumān) in Coorg Province and the Kannada and Konkan countries call for thorough exploration for pre-historic remains. In connection with the name of Mālyādri of the Nellore District referred to above I must draw attention to the existence of a hill called Mālyavanta in the Anantapur district near which are found several dolmens, cromlechs and other primitive remains. Again Maski, the site of an Asokan edict, has recently been explored by Mr. Yazdani and has yielded several pre-historic remains. So too Maskanhal in the Bijapur district, which boasts of a pre-historic site called 'Morimaṭṭinahaṇi' and connected with Moriyas (Mauryas) in local tradition must yield interesting primitive relics. It is a matter for regret that even though the site was discovered and reported on by me nearly fourteen years back, the Archæological Department has not yet given any attention to this promising and interesting site. Another site in the South which deserves further exploration is Adichchanallūr in the Tinnevelly District. Sir Leonard Woolley who inspected the site in the year 1939 thought that there were two distinct areas here, viz., one to the south of the road leading to Tiruchchendur from Tinnevelly and the other to the north of the same road abutting on the Tāmraparṇī river. The latter contains a temple of Pāṇḍyarāja at the top of the hillock and Sir Leonard thought that the area was the Early Iron Age Settlement, to which the area on the south served as a cemetery. After his inspection, at his special request, I explored the northern site and found that contrary to his expectation this site also was a vast cemetery. Even on the surface I noticed burial-urns of the type found already in the Adchchanallur area. It therefore remains for us to explore and locate the Iron Age Settlement referred to by Woolley.

The Great Desideratum of the South

So far back as 1908 the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya suggested the revision of Robert Sewell's *List of Antiquarian Remains of the Madras Presidency*. But owing to his sudden demise in 1911 the task was never taken up and still remains unfulfilled. Since the publication of Sewell's *Lists* a full Jupiter's cycle of sixty years has rolled by. It therefore behoves us to undertake this task and see to its completion. The intervening period has been fruitful in the yield of interesting remains both in Archæology and Epigraphy.

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Archæology in India, is, in my opinion, still in its infancy and calls for a great effort with sympathetic interest, to nurture and foster it. Before closing I call for this benediction on Indian Archæology in the words of the Vedic Ṛshi :—

'Śāntir-astu Tuṣṭir-astu Puṣṭir-astu Avighnam-astu'.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : LINGUISTIC SECTION

By

Dr. S. K. De,
Professor of Sanskrit, Dacca University.

To preside over the section of Philology and Indian Linguisitcs is an honour which I fully appreciate : but you will pardon me if I say that the choice in this case is neither happy nor wise. The Chair has been occupied before me by far renowned scholars who have, by their specialised knowledge and eminent contribution, attained well deserved reputation, and it would be futile for me to emulate them. For some years I have been occupied with other branches of study, which left me little leisure for any real work in the difficult and exacting sphere of purely linguisitc research ; but I must say that my deep interest in philological studies has never flagged, and I believe I can make a modest claim that my own specialised studies, particularly those connected with the Mahābhārata work, was never entirely divorced from linguistics. Most of you have, however, devoted long years of patient labour exclusively to philological work, and I can hardly pretend that I can tell you anything further than what you know so well ; on the contrary, I hope to learn a great deal from you. At the same time, I feel that as an onlooker in this great field, as one who stands a little outside the narrow group of specialists, I possess a certain advantage. I can bring to it a somewhat detached mind, and perhaps offer to you some personal observations, which may be of common interest, on the subject of Linguistics in general and Indian Linguistics in particular.

But before I proceed, I have to refer to a melancholy incident which is undoubtedly a matter of sorrow to all of us. It is exceedingly sad to miss here today the kindly and dignified figure of Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar, whose brilliant scholarly career was suddenly cut off by the hand of cruel death at a time when he had attained the maturity of his powers. Quiet and unassuming, he was a man of versatile gifts and charming manners. He was not only our Pathikṛt in the tangled complexities of Mahābhārata studies, but he was also a great scholar who vindicated, by a high standard of workmanship, the prestige of Indian scholarship in the eyes of the world. We all know what genuine interest he took in linguistic studies. He was twice elected President of this section, once at Mysore in 1935

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and again at Tirupati in 1940, a rare distinction which not many scholars have enjoyed. As a pupil of Professor Lüders of Berlin, he was trained in the severest school of scholarship; and his work, though left unfinished, will stand as a marvel of gigantic toil and philological accuracy. I had the privilege of knowing him intimately since 1926, and of working with him in close collaboration for five years, every day of which enhanced my appreciation of his many-sided scholarship and genial personality. That the way of research is not exactly the way of roses would have been clear to any one who had seen this silent scholar working, day after day, cheerfully through seventeen long years, with strenuous application, patient devotedness and enthusiastic singleness of purpose, from which nothing could ever divert him.

In the volume on the *Progress of Indic Studies 1917-1942*, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute only last year in January 1942, on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee celebration, my friend Suniti Kumar Chatterji gave an able and authoritative review of notable work in Indian Linguistics during the last twenty-five years. He has thereby lightened the task of review customarily imposed upon the Section President on this occasion. It is also not necessary for me to trace in detail the history or trend of linguistic studies in India and abroad for the last seventy years since its first start in 1872; for I find that some of my predecessors have, more or less, dealt with this aspect of the subject. But I may be permitted to note and emphasise certain outstanding features in the development of linguistic research in India, and dwell upon some of its deficiencies, needs and handicaps.

In 1872 there appeared simultaneously three pioneer works, namely, Beames' *Comparative Grammar of Indo-Aryan Languages* (second and third volumes in 1875 and 1879), Trumpp's *Sindhi Grammar* and Platts' *Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language*, which, as you know, made the first start in India of the study of the forms of individual New Indo-Aryan Languages. Then came a generation of brilliant scholars, Caldwell and Kittel, Vinson and Skrefsrud, in whose works the study of the languages of the Dravidian and Kol-Mundā families became broad-based; and it led on to a more systematic and comprehensive examination of Indian linguistic questions in the hands of Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, A. Rudolf Höernle, S. H. Kellog and George Abraham Grierson. But while these scholars were busy applying the principles of the newly developed science of Philology to stages and aspects of Indian languages, the school of Brugmann and the Jung-

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grammatikar and that of Meillet in France were establishing a new line of research in the comparative grammar of the greater Indo-European family of languages.

Thus, the foundation of linguistic studies in India was truly and firmly laid, but the progress was slow and recognition still slower. It was not until 1912 that Philology was given an independent place in the programme of University education, and not until 1914 that a Professor of Comparative Philology was appointed in India. The credit of doing all these for the first time goes to the University of Calcutta. But with the exception of stray works, papers and monographs on some special lexical and morphological aspects of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, nothing serious was achieved for some time by Indian scholars. In the meantime, Pischel and Geiger were studying the Middle Indo-Aryan Prakrit and Pali, and Wackernagel had begun his elaborate work on Old Indo-Aryan grammar, while in India the short-lived Italian scholar, L. P. Tessitori, was writing his brilliant notes on Old Western Rajsthani and Grierson was carrying on his vast scheme of a linguistic survey of India. Then came Jules Bloch of Paris with his study of the formation of Marathi and Ralph Lilley Turner with his studies in modern Indian languages, especially Nepali. It is not necessary to go in detail into this old history, which is undoubtedly familiar to you; but I refer to it to show the original trend, as well as the variety of interests, which marked linguistic research in India, and to indicate that the work was determined and guided by these great scholars, who had been our pathfinders and who had been, directly or indirectly, the Gurus of the present generation of Indian philologists.

But it is significant that from the beginning hardly any great contribution came from Indian scholars in the field of Indo-European linguistics, as distinguished from Indo-Aryan. Perhaps the circumstances peculiar to India made this quite natural, and almost inevitable. For intensive work in this much wider sphere, the Indian scholar lacked equipment, training, tradition, opportunity and inducement, in fact, everything which makes real research possible. An intimate and comprehensive acquaintance with the ancient Indo-European languages and their history was difficult, and systematic training unavailable, while a working knowledge of German and French, in which most of the researches done in this field, is enshrined, was also a necessity. The original initiative to linguistic studies in this country did not also incline towards this direction, and the urge was not felt deeply. In spite of these handicaps, however, there have been just a few workers in Indo-European

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in recent times, like Batakrishna Ghosh of Calcutta who had the best of philological training in Germany and France as well as in India, and C. R. Sankaran, some of whose articles on Indo-European problems deserve notice. In one direction, however, even in this non-Indian sphere, a section of Indian scholars have taken interest, namely, in the earlier phases of Iranian, in Pahlavi and Avestan, in which Parsi scholars like Dhalla, Unvala, Tavadia and Taraporewala have signalised themselves. But it is a matter of regret that outside the Parsi group, there has been only solitary and scattered interest in Iranian studies taken by Indian workers in general, although Iranian studies can by no means be ignored by the student of Old Indo-Aryan.

Perhaps the amount of general research in Middle Indo-Aryan, especially the Prakrits, has been much greater, although one would regret that specialised or scientific studies are still not much in evidence. While Pali studies, even if not side-tracked, have not yet progressed much in India, the pre-eminence of Gujarat and Maharastra in some aspects of Prakrit studies has been due to the living presence of Jainism ; but one should not be deemed hypercritical when one feels the lack of strict application of philological methods. The Prakrits have indeed been deeply studied with reference to the grammatical schools of Vararuci, Hemacandra, Caṇḍa and others, but here again the historical and comparative work of L. Nitti Dolci on the Prakrit grammarians is far outstanding. It has, however, been made quite plausible by Hillebrandt and Manomohan Ghosh that too great reliance on the grammarians to the exclusion of the direct testimony of authentic manuscripts would not give us a correct estimate of the Middle Indo-Aryan forms as such. With the exception of the very valuable work done by P. L. Vaidya, Hiralal Jain, A. N. Upadhye and others, it cannot be said that there is no scarcity of reliable editions of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa texts. Notwithstanding the example and inspiration of European critical edition of texts, textual criticism as such is little understood in India and less applied ; and the tendency has been either to amend, or to select what is called the *best* readings, and not the *most authentic* readings. The time is still distant when it would be possible either to check and supplement Pischel's *Grammatik* or to think of compiling a complete scientific dictionary of Prakrit ; but then, even in the sphere of Sanskrit where there is no dearth of works or workers, Böhtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch* has not yet been brought up to date since the publication of its last volume in 1875 !

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There are inherent difficulties also for research work in the Tibeto-Burman or the Indian Kol-Muṇḍā languages of the Austric family, and nothing serious appears to have been achieved by Indian workers in these subjects. It is a pity to think that we have little room or even encouragement for these studies in India, although there is plenty of materials in these almost unexplored fields. Although there is a long tradition of the study of Arabic in this country, it is sad to reflect that the work of Indian scholars in this sphere has not yet come up to the exacting scientific standard from the linguistic point of view. But what is more distressing to realise is that there appears to exist as much lack of interest in Semetic studies on the part of Hindus as there is on the part of Muslims in India for Sanskritic studies. The same is partially true of Iranian and Persian studies; but the attitude is perhaps more apparent in the case of the great Dravidian family of languages. Although the Dravidian speakers of the South, through the common medium of Sanskrit, perhaps take some interest in the Indo-Aryan languages of the North, they have no means nor inducement for proper study; and it is regrettable to realise that we in Northern India have similarly no proper facilities to know the Southern Dravidian speeches. The exclusiveness is perhaps a creation of circumstances, and not intentional; but Research Societies, as well as Universities, should devise means to remove the handicaps which lead to such reciprocal lack of interest.

It is not surprising, therefore, from what I have indicated that the present generation of Indian philologists, like their predecessors in India, have concentrated themselves chiefly on the New Indo-Aryan, on an intensive study of the modern languages of the North, as well as partially on the current Dravidian languages of the South. Grierson's monumental *Linguistic Survey* digests and classifies a mass of materials, clarifies the main problems and lays down bare and broad outlines, but it suffers from the defects common to all Government compilations made according to time-honoured routine; and it certainly does not exhaust the possibilities of specialised investigation of individual languages and dialects of the four great families of languages in India. Here is perhaps the proper field for Indian scholarship, and here it has certainly local advantages peculiar to itself. The modern Indian languages have found rather tardy recognition in the Universities, but outside the Universities, the ever growing national consciousness has brought into existence learned societies to foster them, such as the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pari-

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ṣad, the Gujarat Vernacular Society, the Tamil Sangham and similar other institutions. The need for a scientific investigation has been more deeply and intimately felt, and the opportunity of applying the newly acquired methods and principles of linguistic study and observation has been realised. The result has been a systematic attempt to examine the main Indian languages and their dialects in their descriptive, comparative or historical perspective, and to effect a real advance upon the pioneer efforts of Trumpp, Bhandarkar and Tessitori, Caldwell, Kittel and Gundert.

It would be worth while, therefore, if we pause for a while and take stock of our net achievement in this direction for the last two decades.. Such a review would show that even if the amount of work is not extensive, it is certainly not discouraging. Apart from isolated individual workers, we have now different centres of research crystallising themselves in different parts of the country. At Calcutta, for instances, mainly under the enthusiastic and inspiring guidance of S. K. Chatterji, his pupils and associates are establishing a tradition of sound philological work, which has already resulted in the publication of several remarkable books and monographs. Apart from the continuous and systematic works of Sukumar Sen on Indo-Aryan Syntax, on Iranian and Sanskrit, on Bengali language and literature, we have highly interesting studies on Prakrit and an edition of the *Karpūramañjarī* by Manomohan Ghosh ; on Noakhali Bengali by Gopal Haldar ; on the Mymensing dialect of Bengali by Krishnapada Goswami ; on Bhojpuri by Udaya Narayan Tiwari ; on Maithili by Subhadra Jha ; on the Phonetics and Phonology of Kumaoni by Hari Sankar Joshi ; and on Assamese by Banikanta Kakati ; while at Dacca, besides some work on English and Sanskrit Philology, Muhammad Shahidullah has published studies on the text of the proto-Bengali Buddhist Caryāpadas, in which connexion the contribution of Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of Calcutta on the same subject should also be mentioned. At Lahore, the passing away of A. C. Woolner perhaps brought a set back in philological studies, but we have a series of works on Nirukta by Lakshman Sarup ; on Vedic studies by Visvabandhu Sastri and his associates ; on Punjabi by Banarsi Das Jain ; on ancient Indian Phonetics, Lahndi and Kashmiri speeches (including the enigmatic Burushaski) by Siddheswar Varma ; as well as a variety of interesting work by Gauri Sankar, Suryakanta, Paramanda Bahl, Tej Ram Khajuria, and the versatile and indefatigable Raghu Vira. In South India, we have two chief centres at Mysore and at Madras. The first journal of Phonetics

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was published by the Mysore University; and one must mention the Linguistic Survey of Mysore, the work on Old Kanarese Inscriptions by A. N. Narasimhia of the Mysore University and the Vedic Studies of Venkata Subbia. Under the inspiration of Mark Collins, Madras has been for a long time the centre of research in Dravidian linguistics; and in this connexion one should mention the three parts of Madras University Dravidic Studies, as well as the works on Tamil-Telugu Linguistics and Dravidian culture generally by K. Ramakrishnayya, K. Amrita Rao, Nilkantha Sastri, Ramachandra Dikshitar and others. Among individual workers in the South, one must not omit mentioning the work of L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar of Ernaculam (Cochin) on Malayālam and S. Mohiuddin Quadri of Hyderabad-Deccan on Dakṇı Hindustani.

At Allahabad, we have the works of Baburam Saksena on Awadhi and of Dhirendra Varma on Brajbhākhā; and let us hope that the newly started Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, the first issue of whose journal is just published, will supply the needed impetus for organised work at this centre. In Orissa, a start had been made some time ago in the right direction; and it is a matter of congratulation that Gopal Chandra Praharaj of Cuttack has now been able to complete his quadrilingual Oḍiyā dictionary in seven big volumes. One must regret, however, that the Government of Orissa did not think it fit to grant a literary pension in recognition of his twenty years' devoted service for his mother tongue. At Poona, where linguistic studies have always found favour, the foundation of the Deccan College Research Institute, under the able and resourceful directorship of Sumitra Mangesh Katre, promises to make systematic and organised attempt at purely linguistic work regarding the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages of India, and to include in its scope phonetic recording, preparation of grammar, intensive study of vocabulary, dialectology, and even the making of dialect atlases. Apart from Katre's own contribution on the Konkani dialect, the several volumes of its Bulletin and monographs already published, especially E. D. Kulkarni's painstaking study of the verbs of movement in the Adi-parvan of the Mahābhārata and M. A. Mehendale's grammar of the Prakrit Inscriptions, are indeed noteworthy contributions, which raise high expectations regarding this new Institute.

With limited knowledge and limited time at my disposal, I have not been able to make anything more than bare, and perhaps imperfect, recital; but even this rapid and cursory survey will show that it is not a bad record of the linguistic

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work of some two decades. It is true that India offers very rich and diversified linguistic materials, and perhaps one would expect greater and more substantial contribution from Indian workers ; but it should not be forgotten that to produce mature and enduring results in the field of linguistics often takes long years of patient and devoted toil, and it would be foolish to force marches with scholarship. At the same time, one must frankly confess that, compared with the achievement of Modern India in, say, Mathematics or Physics, its linguistic achievement, in extent, importance, duration, and persistence of effort, and also in the standard of workmanship, falls far lower in the scale. It is not entirely the fault of the workers that this is so ; for even today the study has to make its headway against enormous odds, known only to workers in the field. It is sad indeed to reflect that earnest workers are so few when the field is so vast and rich. Not that every one is fitted or possesses the special aptitude, but it is remarkable that only a very inconsiderable fraction of the students who pass out of the Indian Universities every year ever think seriously of linguistic research. Those who frame University courses of study do not yet realise that the science of language forms the firm basis of the study of the various languages, English, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian or the modern Indian speeches, which they seek to teach ; and it is astonishing that the large majority of Indian Universities do not make adequate provision for it. It is not understood that the mere knowledge of a language or the cramming of grammars and lexicons alone will not enable one to apprehend and appreciate its inner mechanism, its history and development, its fundamental principles of expression. In order that the linguistic science may come within the orbit of wider popular understanding, and not be confined to a small group of learned men and specialists, one would suggest, not vulgarisation, but popularisation of the study, along with the continuation of specialised technical research.

In this connexion attention should be drawn to one small point of practical importance. Those who teach the subject always feel the need of standard text-books or books of an introductory character, written in English and adapted to the needs of our students in India. The works of Gune and Taraporewala had, until they were out of print, partly met this demand, but there is still room for more comprehensive treatises. While teaching the subject, for instance, I have myself often noticed the almost entire lack of knowledge of our students about general questions relating to Indo-European, for the

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authoritative German and French works on the subject are either inaccessible to them, or too extensive and abstruse. Coming to particular aspects of Indo-Aryan, we find that suitable text-books in English are also needed. Batakrishna Ghosh has recently given us an authorised and excellent translation of Gieger's well known work on Pali : but I have always felt that Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*, or even Pischel's *Prakrit Grammatik*, though now somewhat out of date but still valuable for its rich mass of material, should have been translated into English for the benefit of Indian students. Katre suggests the preparation of a series of grammatical manuals of the major Modern Indian Languages on the lines of the *Indo-Germanische Bibliothek*, and his scheme for organised effort in this direction is certainly worth serious consideration.

It is well known to you that regarding serious research work, there are many lines of investigation, large and small, which have not yet been properly taken upon by Indian scholars. I cannot dwell here upon detailed or specialised problems, but I can briefly touch upon certain broad and general questions, for which there are facilities for work in India. The Vedic and Iranian studies, especially on the linguistic side, have been mainly the gift of European scholars, but here, as also in Pali and Prakrit studies, much yet remains to be accomplished. Critical editions, according to modern standards of textual criticism and philological principles, form another essential desideratum. Another important line of work is suggested by the problem of Comparative Indo-Aryan and Dravidian linguistics, started by Kittel and Gundert, as well as by the question of Indo-Aryan and Austric linguistic and cultural contacts, on which Jean Przyluski has already published some brilliant studies. R. L. Turner has given us a list of nearly five hundred "Indo-European Reconstructions" in relation to words of uncertain or obscure, and presumably non-Indo-European, origin ; but few Indian scholars have yet taken upon this problem for serious consideration ; and until all this is accomplished, the Indian linguistic problems cannot be finally and satisfactorily solved.

Even with regard to Modern Indian languages as such, only preliminary and tentative work appears to have been so far done. The learned volumes, for instance, of Jules Bloch or Suniti Chatterji do not say the last word on Marathi or Bengali ; and this is amply shown by the detailed work on the Konkani dialect by Katre and on the various Bengali dialects by Chatterji's own pupils. The vast wealth of dialectological materials still remains unexplored, and Bloch himself referred

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to this fact fifteen years ago in his Furlong Lectures. But investigation in dialectology requires special training and strenuous field-work, while the tendency generally has been to become comfortable arm-chair philologists. For practical work, a proper training in practical Phonetics is also essential as an equipment; but facilities for such training are meagre in India. Lahore first started the study of Experimental Phonetics, and now Mysore and Poona appear to have taken it up; let us hope that ampler provision will now be made to meet adequately the needs of a vast country like India. For a modern language or dialect, Grammar, Etymology or Lexicography, which are aids to Linguistic Science, can never be completely studied until the rich dialectological material is also utilised. For older classical languages, I need only draw your attention to the method outlined by Katre in his suggestive paper on a Thesaurus Linguae Sanscritae.

Let me not be misunderstood when I say that our efforts so far, under great difficulties, have been quite laudable, but they are not yet adequate, nor do they permit indulgence in complacement optimism. You may legitimately say that it is all very well to criticise, and suggest that this or that thing should be done, but it is quite another case when one comes to the actual working out of a practical scheme. I humbly admit this, and only request this learned body of experts to devise adequate ways and means. I have one or two suggestions in this connexion which may not be out of place. The first is to make every effort to turn the Linguistic Society of India into a more live and active body. It was established at Lahore in 1928, and its headquarters were transferred to Calcutta in 1937; but since its membership is limited and resources small, it had been holding its meeting once in two years under the wings of this Conference, and had been rather languishing for want of wider support. In spite of its chequered and difficult existence, one notes with pleasure that it has succeeded in completing seven volumes of its Bulletin. But the Society, as Katre justly remarks, has not yet been able to formulate any definite practicable scheme, nor boldly tackled the question of organised effort, in which our Universities and Research Institutes might be induced to participate, and which should aim at co-ordinating isolated and scattered efforts of individual workers. I certainly appreciate the difficulties in a country like India, but at the same time I believe that it is the only body of experts who can effectively take the initiative. Some of the Universities, no doubt, have their own modest plans and efforts which have in most cases been successful,

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but these necessarily limited attempts can never serve the larger purpose of more extensive and comprehensive schemes. On the other hand, an established institution like the Deccan College Research Institute which, though in its infancy, has funds, resources and enthusiasm of its young Director at its disposal, and which takes Linguistics as one of its prime interests, can perhaps lend its active support towards the successful working out of such schemes. It is also up to this Oriental Conference to do what it can; for it has, ever since its inception in 1919, recognised Philology and Indian Linguistics as one or more of their sections and has provided a common meeting ground for workers in Indian languages and linguistics. The Conference has not yet taken upon itself responsibilities of such a character in all its implications, but if this is not possible, it can certainly supply an impetus and lend its weight of authority.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : TECHNICAL SCIENCES

By

PRABODH CHANDRA SENGUPTA, M.A.,

Late Professor of Mathematics, Bethune College, Calcutta, Sometime Lecturer in Indian Astronomy and Mathematics, Calcutta University.

GENTLEMEN,

To the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad (Deccan) in December, 1941, I offer my best thanks for having done me a great honour by electing me President of the Technical Sciences Section of the Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference. It is with a mixed feeling of pleasure and apprehension that I have accepted the situation—pleasure at the idea of a possible meeting of other researchers in my own field of work as also those brilliant men who have won great renown by their researches in other branches of Oriental Learning—and apprehension at the idea of my own limitations both physical and intellectual. There are indeed many branches of Technical Sciences in Oriental Learning and a modern Varāhamihira alone with encyclopædic education could do full justice to the responsibilities of the situation which I have been elected to occupy. In these days even in Orientalia, encyclopædic research is possible, if at all, for but few gifted persons. I shall accordingly confine my address only to the special branches of Hindu Mathematics, Hindu Astronomy and a new science which I should like to call Ancient Indian chronology treated astronomically.

HINDU MATHEMATICS

In Hindu Mathematics, the earliest researcher was Colebrooke whose work is now regarded as a classic in this subject. This work presented to the European scholars the whole content of Hindu Mathematics as contained in Bhāskara II's works, the *Līlāvatī* and the *Bījagaṇita* and the mathematical chapters of the *Brāhma-Sphuṭa Siddhānta*. Dr. Kern brought out his edition of the *Āryabhaṭīya* in 1874. Rodet translated and published one section, the *Gaṇita* of this work into French under the name "*Calcul du Āryabhaṭa*." Dr. Bühler published his work, *Indian Paleography* in the latter half of the last century. In this work he established from Subandhu's work dated about the sixth century A.D., the use of a symbol for a vacant notational place, viz., the cypher which was a dot in the poet's time

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as evidenced by the expression, शून्यविन्दवः or the *dots* to which the stars in the sky are compared. In the *Āryabhaṭīya* (499 A.D.), the notational places are found mentioned as स्थान which means none else than "*place.*" In this work are found the Indian rules for finding the square and cube roots of numbers, which show unmistakable use of notational places. The late Mr. Kaye, in his translation of the *Gaṇita* section of the *Arya-bhaṭīya* used the word "Order" in place of Āryabhaṭa's word "*sthāna*", and he created quite a diversion by asserting that the Decimal System of Notation was not an invention of the Indian Mathematicians but had a foreign origin derived from the practice of writing from the right to the left which obtained there. This view of Kaye has been successfully combated by the researchers Dr. B. B. Dutt, Dr. A. N. Singh and late Prof. Sarada Kanta Ganguly.

From the field of Orientalia, the Decimal System of Notation is the greatest gift of the Hindu Mathematicians to humanity. After the conquest of Sind by Mohamad Ibn Kasim, it travelled to the old centre of Mohamadan culture at Baghdad and with the rise and spread of Mohamadan power over the world it spread over Europe. It has immensely simplified the art of calculation all over the world. In India this system was confined to the learned circles alone for some centuries even after the time of Āryabhaṭa I, till it found a place also in Indian Epigraphy. Dr. B. B. Dutt published his *Science of Sulva* in 1932, in which we find that the beginnings of many topics in the later Hindu Mathematics, had been made in the *Sulva* period, i.e., about 600 B.C. In the solution of Indeterminate Equations of the first and second degrees, the achievements of the Hindu mathematicians is also very remarkable. The method employed in solving Indeterminate Equations of the first degree is called "*Kuṭṭaka*" or pulveriser. This method in the complete form is found in the *Āryabhaṭīya* (499 A.D.), while in Bhāskara II (1150 A.D.) we have a full treatment of all classes of Indeterminate Equations of the first degree. The lemma of Brahmagupta (628 A.D.), called by him *Vajrabadha* was rediscovered by Euler (1707-1783) and this method is used by Brahmagupta in solving Indeterminate Equations of the second degree, also by the later Hindu Mathematicians in solving comparatively easier problems. The Indian method of चक्रवाल or the "cyclic method" for the general solution of all Indeterminate Equations of the second degree follows as a corollary[1]

[1] P. C. Sengupta "Origin of the Indian Cyclic Method for the solution of $Nx^2+1=y^2$" in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, 1918.

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to the lemma of Brahmagupta. To whom the credit of its invention which is purely Indian, is to be ascribed has yet remained a riddle to many. The rules are found in Bhāskara II's work the *Bījagaṇita*, but the author lays no claim to originality, when he says चक्रवालमिदं जगुः "this has been sung (by others) as the cyclic rule." Thus far it can be said that the rules have not yet been found in any hitherto known previous authors. I hope that further researches may show that this achievement is to be ascribed to Padmanābha, if his work be ever brought to light. It is now a matter for research if it was also the Hindus who first used a symbolical notation in Algebra.

In Trigonometry, the Hindu mathematicians and astronomers used generally the functions of "sine", "cosine" and "versed sine" in analysis. The tabular differences of 24 "sines" in a quadrant are first found given in the *Āryabhaṭīya* (499 A.D.) calculated by the most elementary methods. The most accurate Hindu Value of π is also found in the same work as given $=\frac{104\times 8+62000}{20000}=3.1416$. The Hindus by their methods, though very elementary, could solve both plane and spherical triangles,[1] right angled and of other classes. Further in Hindu Mathematics we find the beginnings made of the Infinitesimal calculus. The researchers in this field have been Bāpudeva in *J.A.S.B.* 1858 and Sir B. N. Seal in his "*Positive Sciences of the Hindus.*" I have also contributed a paper in the Calcutta University *Journal of Letters*, vol. XXII, 1931, styled "Infinitesimal Calculus in Indian Mathematics and Astronomy." The idea of Differentiation developed from an attempt of the Hindu astronomers to find the instantaneous daily motion of planets, and the idea of Integration, to find the surface and volume of a sphere, etc. So far as we can see, in Differentiation the idea of limits was recognised by all authors from Brahmagupta (628 A.D.) to Bhāskara II (1150 A.D.). The idea of the real Differential Calculus thus seems to have originated in India. We have in Bhāskara II an equation which is equivalent to—

$$d(\sin\theta)=\cos\theta d\theta$$

While engaged in translating Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, the *Alarkand* or *Khaṇḍakaṭaka* of the Arab astronomers, I came across a passage which properly interpreted, makes it clear that Brahmagupta recommends the use of the Second Difference in Interpolation. On this topic a paper was published by me in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathe-*

[1] P. C. Sengupta, "Greek and Hindu Methods in Spherical Astronomy" in the Calcutta University *Journal of Letters*, vol. XXI, 1931.

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matical Society, vol. XXIII, 3, 1931. It will be clear from my paper under reference that of the Calculus of Finite Differences also, the first step was taken by the Hindu Mathematicians.

Drs. Dutt and Singh have undertaken to publish a complete anthology of Hindu Mathematics, of which up to now the first two volumes have been published, and the third volume will be published, I trust, when the times are more favourable. These volumes, it is expected, will give the reader a complete history of Hindu Mathematics and all researches thereon up-to-date. If such a private venture is to prove successful, liberal help from the public or a university is perhaps essential. From the very nature of such publications, the venture cannot be remunerative.

In this connection we should not forget to mention the name of Prof. Rangacharya, M.A. of Madras, the translator and publisher of the *Gaṇita-Sāra-Saṁgraha* of Mahāvīra. The work has thrown much light on Jaina Mathematics and has been of much help in the study of the history of Hindu Mathematics. The researches of Prof. A. A. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, M.A., of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, also deserve mention. I now pass on to the progress made in the study of the history of

Hindu Astronomy.

In this branch of Orientalia, the earliest writers were Bailly in his *Astronomie Indienne* and Delambre in his classical work *Astronomie Ancienne*. Next in point of time was probably Bentley whose work, "A Historical view of Hindu Astronomy", is well known. Then came the edition of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* by Bāpudeva and Wilkinson. Warren's *Kāla Saṁkalita* was perhaps next to appear in this field of research. In 1860 was published Burgess' Translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, in the *JAOS*. A more important work from the view point of the history of Hindu astronomy next appeared in the publication by Thibaut and Dvivedi of Varāha's *Panca-Siddhāntikā*, which threw much more light on the history of the *Siddhāntic* or scientific Hindu astronomy. About the end of the last century appeared the *Gaṇaka Taraṁginī* (1892) of Dvivedi in Sanskrit, Dīkṣita's *Bhāratīya Jyotiḥ-śāstra* (1896) in Marāṭhī and *Āmāder Jyotiṣa o Jyotiṣī* in Bengali by Prof. J. C. Ray, M.A., late of the Cuttack College, being mainly based on the works of Dvivedī and Dīkṣita. These works should all have been written either in Sanskrit or English and not in any of the provincial vernaculars.

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In the year 1918, Ancient Indian History and Culture was accepted as a subject for the M.A. degree of the Calcutta University at the instance of the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, and Indian Astronomy and Mathematics was formed into a group for special study for this final degree of the University. From this date both teaching and research were provided for in the Calcutta University. In 1925 appeared an edition by Pandit Babuaji Miśra of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta with Āmarāja's Commentary. This publication led me to get at the clear position of Āryabhaṭa I as the real maker of the Indian scientific astronomy in a publication of mine, "Āryabhaṭa the Father of Indian Epicyclic Astronomy", published in the Calcutta University *Journal of Letters*, vol. XVIII, 1928. The other publications by me have been the papers :—

(*a*) A Translation of the *Aryabhāṭīya* in the Calcutta Univ. *Journal of Letters*, vol. XVI, 1927; (*b*) *Aryabhaṭa's* method of determining the mean motions of planets, in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, vol. XII, 3; (*c*) Time by Altitude in Hindu Astronomy and (*d*) Hindu Luni-solar Astronomy, also in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society* in vols. XVIII & XXIV respectively. The Introduction to the Calcutta University reprint of Burgess' Translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, published in 1935, has been my last published contribution to the History of Hindu Astronomy.

As to the Hindu *Siddhāntic* astronomy, foreign influence is unquestionable as may be seen from the brief and meagre account of Greek Luni-solar Astronomy under the name *Romaka Siddhānta*, given in the *Panca-Siddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira. The *Vaśiṣṭha* and the *Pauliśa Siddhāntas*, of which a summary is given in the same work of Varāhamihira, also point to a foreign origin which may be Greek or Babylonian. Even the modern *Sūrya Siddhānta* has in it the unmistakable influence of Babylonian astronomy in its conception of the gods of *Manda*, *Śighra* and *Pāta*, as producers of planetary inequalities. Further, the tradition that it bears is, that it was of *Āsura* or Babylonian origin.

In spite of all these foreign influences *Aryabhaṭa* I (499 A.D.) the real maker of the Indian Scientific Astronomy shows great originality in a thorough revision of all the astronomical constants as they came from the foreign sources. These have been set forth in my paper "Hindu Luni-solar Astronomy" and in my Introduction to the Calcutta Univ. reprint of Burgess' Translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. The chief improvements made by Āryabhaṭa are given in the following tabular form ;—

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Astronomical constants	Aryabhata 499 A.D.	Ptolemy 150 A.D.	Moderns 500 A.D.	Aryabhata's Error	Difference from Ptolemy
Longitude of Sun's Apogee	78°	65°30′	77°19′	+0°41′	+ 12°30
Sun's maximum Equation of Apsis	2°9	2°30	1°59	+0°10′	— 0°18
Sid- per. of Moon's Node	6794.7495 da.	6796.4558 da.	6793.3911 da.	1.3584 da.	— 1.7063 da.
Long. of the Aphelia of					
(*a*) Saturn	236°	224°10	243°40	— 7°40′	+ 11°50
(*b*) Jupiter	180°	152°9	170°22	+ 9°38′	+ 27°51
(*c*) Mars	118°	106°40	128°28	—10°28′	+ 11°20
Long. of Nodes of					
(*a*) Saturn	100°	90°	100°32	— 0°32′	+ 10°
(*b*) Jupiter	80°	70°	85°13	— 5°13′	+ 10°
(*c*) Mars	40°	30°	37°49	+ 2°21′	+ 10°
(*d*) Venus	60°	55°	63°16	— 3°16′	+ 50°
(*e*) Mercury	20°	10°	30°35	—10°35′	+ 10°
Max. Equation of Apsis					
(*a*) Saturn	7°53	6°30	6°57	+ 1°4′	+ 1°23
(*b*) Jupiter	5°24	5°14	5°16	+ 0°8′	+ 0°10
(*c*) Mars	11°28	11°19	10°33	+ 0°55′	+ 0°9

Here the differences between the constants of Āryabhaṭa I and Ptolemy cannot be explained by the procession rate of Ptolemy of 1° per 100 years in the cases of the longitudes of aphelia and nodes of planets, while in the remaining cases independent determination by Āryabhaṭa I must be conceded. These facts ought to be enough proof of the claim for Āryabhaṭa I being held as the greatest of all the ancient Indian astronomers, as the real maker of the Indian *Siddhāntic* Astronomy, and not a mere borrower from any foreign system of astronomy.

Again the teaching in Hindu Astronomy that at starting point of the *Kali*-reckoning, the "mean planets" were at the very beginning of the Hindu sphere and that the longitudes of the moon's apogee and node were respectively 90° and 180° of the same sphere, is also to be ascribed to Āryabhaṭa I. The epoch of *Kali*-reckoning, viz., Feb. 17-18, 3102 B.C., Ujjayinī Mean Time, 0 hr. or 6 A.M. of Feb. 18, was most likely arrived at by him by an Indeterminate Analysis. Although at this epoch the "mean planets" did not exactly coincide with the

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1st point of the Hindu sphere (the mean vernal equinox of 21st March, 499 A.D.) and the lunar apogee and the node did not have the longitudes 90° and 180° of it, there was something approaching a general agreement with the hypothesis with which Āryabhaṭa I had started. This is borne out by the researches of Bailly, Bentley, Burgess and also by those of myself. It is thus seen that the *Kali*-reckoning was an astronomical fiction invented by Āryabhaṭa I to simplify his rules for stating his astronomical constants at this epoch. *It is also clear from the facts stated above that this epoch of 3102 B.C. cannot have any chronological significance.*

But as we come down by 3600 years from this Kali epoch to Āryabhaṭa's time using his constants, to the date, March 21, 499 A.D. Ujjayinī Mean Midday, (J.D. = 1903397), we have :—

Planet	Aryabhata's Mean Long. Audayika	Mean Trop. Longitudes Moderns	Error in Aryabhata's Mean longs.	Aryabhata's True Longitude	Moderns True Longitudes	Error in Aryabhata's True Places
Sun	0°0′ 0	359°42 5	+17′55″—	2°6′ 6″	1°37′ 48″	+0°28′ 18″
Moon	280°48 0	280°24 52	+23′ 8″—	— — —	— — —	— — —
Moon's Apogee	35°42 0	35°24 38	+17′22″—	—	— — —	— —
Moon's Node	352°12 0	352° 2 26	+ 9′34″—	— —	— —	— — —
Mercury	186° 0 0*	183° 9 51	+ 2°50″ 9*	352° 4′	349° 4′	+3°0′ [1]
Venus	356°24 0	356° 7 51	+ 0°16′ 9″	359°43′	359°18′	+0°25′
Mars	7°12 0	6°52 45	+0°19′ 15″	10°50	10°23′	+0°27′
Jupiter	187°12 0	187°10 47	+0° 1′ 13″	185°57′	186°40′	−0°47′
Saturn	49°12 0	48°21 13	+0°50′ 47″	40° 5′	40°56′	−0°51′

The above figures show to some extent how far Āryabhaṭa I was accurate as an observer.

Again Āryabhaṭa's year = 365da. 6hrs. 12min. 30secs.
and True Sid. year = 365da. 6hrs. 9min. 10secs.

His year was thus in error by about + 3min. 20secs. But the *Pauliśa Siddhānta* year $= \frac{43831}{120}$ days = 365da. 6hrs. 12min., which was more accurate but still Āryabhaṭa I perhaps did not find it to have been so. He did not accept any astronomical element transmitted from a foreign source as correct until and unless it was verified by his own observation or observation records accessible to him.

[1] Maximum error in Āryabhaṭa.

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As to the discovery of lunar inequalities, Āryabhaṭa I (499 A.D.), Brahmagupta (628 A.D.) and Lalla (748 A.D.), recognised only one. But on coming down to the time of Muñjāla (932 A.D.) we find that this astronomer first discovered the second inequality of the Moon[1] and Bhāskara II (1150 A.D.) the third inequality. The Hindu form of the "evection" equation is much better than that of Ptolemy and stands on par with that of Copernicus (1473-1543).

The other details of Hindu astronomy chiefly concerned with the Hindu astronomical methods of calculation, were improved upon and corrected by Brahmagupta and Bhāskara II. Periodical corrections to planetary positions as derived from the *Siddhāntas*, have been made by Lalla, Śrīpati, Bhāskara II, Ganeśa Satānanda and Makaranda and in Bengal by Raghavānanda. They have also derived simpler methods of calculation according to the *Siddhāntas*. The outstanding fact from all researches up to date is that the first Hindu scientific *Siddhānta The Āryabhaṭīya*, was started from the year 499 A.D. and by Āryabhaṭa I.

From the view point of the history of Hindu astronomy, there is a great gap from about 1400 B.C. to 499 A.D., which remains yet to be explored—I mean the period of transition from the astronomy of the *Vedāṁgas* to the age of the *Siddhāntas*. In this period lived the astronomers Garga, Kaśyapa, and others whose names and extracts from whose works are quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala (966 A.D.) in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira. There are works like the *Vṛddha Garga Saṁhitā* still extant, which should be rescued from the total oblivion into which they are fast sinking. These astronomers described *cāras* or courses of planets of which we get some idea from the *Panca-Siddhāntikā*, chapter XVII and also from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya. It is a very important point for research how far these *cāras* described in these earlier works, could have influenced the first formation of the scientific Hindu Astronomy by Āryabhaṭa I. I now pass on to another branch of study which has been lately encouraged by the Calcutta University—I mean the subject of

Ancient Indian Chronology

This is a science the development of which would be most helpful in a clear understanding of all the branches of Oriental

[1] On this topic two papers have been published in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, one in vol. XXII, 2 and 3 by Mr. Dhirendra Nath Mukhopadhyaya, and the other in vol. XXIV, 1, by me named "Hindu Luni-Solar Astronomy".

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Learning. It would attempt at providing land-marks of dates in the unwritten Ancient Indian History which is yet to be explored and should be illuminated by astronomy and other sciences. The sequence of the works in the whole of Sanskrit and Sanskritic literature can only be ascertained by an intensive research carried on by the methods of chronology which have emerged from the basis of Astronomy specially. Those of us who possess some knowledge of Astronomy necessary for research in this line, would naturally base their findings on this science, which is the oldest as developed by man and is the most perfect of all the sciences. The astronomical constants ascertained up to date, are almost final, and may be taken as correct for all times past, present or future.

In spite of the high degree of perfection that this science of Astronomy has attained now, the handicaps are many to a researcher using the methods of this science. There may be (*a*) want of astronomical data, (*b*) injudicious selection of data and (*c*) no absolute fixing of the date even in the case of a most careful selection of data—the accurate date only possible when the anchorage of a correct tradition is reached, and finally (*d*) in some cases we may get, in our research, statements or time-references in a work which are more or less traditional and not quite true for the time deduced, when the work came into existence. In the midst of all these handicaps we may have another anchorage in a peculiar solar (or lunar) eclipse mentioned in a work which is being chronologically surveyed.

The pioneers in this study of astronomical chronology as applicable to Vedic literature, were our illustrious countryman the late Mr. B. G. Tilak and late Prof. H. Jacobi of Germany. Their works and the results arrived at by them are known to all. The followers of Linguistic methods of study disbelieved their findings. The study received a set back, but it is time that this should be revived.

It was in 1929, that I first published in the Calcutta Univ. *Journal of Letters*, vol. XIX, a paper named "Date of Composition of the Modern *Rāmāyaṇa*" in which it was shown that the present recension must be dated about the middle of the 5th Century A.D. I then published another paper on the "Date of Kalidāsa" in the Bengali Journal, the *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* in the Bengali year 1341 or 1934 A.D., in which my finding came out that the great Sanskrit poet flourished about the middle of the 6th century A.D.; this has been corroborated by my further researches. I next took up about the year 1932, the problem of finding the year of the

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Bhārata Battle and in the year 1936 could arrive at the result that it was fought in 2449 B.C. My research was published in 1938, in a paper named "Some Astronomical References from the *Mahābhārata* and their Significance" in the *JRAS*, Bengal, Letters, vol. III, 1937. In 1939 were published in the same journal, vol. IV, 1938, by me the four following papers:

(1) *Bhārata* Battle Traditions,

(2) Solstice Days in *Vedic* Literature,

(3) *Madhu Vidyā* or Science of Spring,

(4) When Indra Became *Maghavan*.

These papers were noticed in "*Nature*" in its issue of Jan. 6, 1940. In the first of these four papers I established that, of the three traditions as to the Date of the Bhārata Battle, viz., (i) Āryabhaṭa tradition that it was fought in 3102 B.C., (ii) the Vṛddhagarga tradition that it was fought in —2526 of the Śaka era or 2449 B.C., and (iii) the Purāṇic tradition that the interval between the birth of Parīkṣit and the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, was either 1015, 1115, 1050 or even 1500 years, both the traditions (i) & (iii) are incorrect and (ii) alone appears to be correct being corroborated by the *Mahābhārata* incidental references. The *Kali-yuga* of which the *Mahābhārata* speaks, was started truly from Jan. 10, 2454 B.C.—the *Māgha*-full-moon day which was the winter solstice day of the year. In the next paper I showed that the Vedic Hindus knew of a method for accurately finding the solstice day of either description, and from the statements of days of the winter solstice in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (first quoted by Tilak in his *Orion*), I could arrive at the dates 3517 B.C., 2934 B.C. and 2378 B.C. Some other dates which I could find from other statements in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Srauta Sūtras*, I have had to give up when I took them up for closer scrutiny later on: these I shall detail presently. From the third of these papers, I could arrive at the Vedic antiquity of 4000 B.C., and from the fourth I got the same antiquity at 4170 B.C. These two dates are practically the same.

I was much encouraged in my researches by Professor Dr. M. N. Saha, D.SC., F.R.S., and I applied to the Calcutta University for assistance in research work in ancient Indian chronology, out of the Trust Fund created by the late Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar, for researches in Indian Astronomy and Mathematics. Our university chiefly through the influence of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., M.L.A., Bar-at-Law, President of the Councils of Post Graduate Teaching in Arts and Sciences, granted me

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the facilities for research prayed for in my application. I had already retired from Govt. service in Jan. 1934, and could thus pay undivided attention to research work in this field. I published three papers more in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, and one paper in "*Indian Culture*", viz. :

(1) "The Solar Eclipse in the *Ṛgveda* and the Date of Atri,"—*JRASBL*, VII, 1941

(2) "Time Indications in the *Baudhāyana Srauta Sūtra*", *JRASBL*, VII, 1941.

(3) "Gupta Era" *JRASBL*, Vol. VIII, 1942

(4) "Kaniṣka's Era" in '*Indian Culture*', 1941.

The first of these papers was reviewed in "*Sky and Telescope*" vol. I, 5, March, 1942 : Harvard College Observatory, Cambridge, Mass., under the caption "Eclipse of July 26, 3928 B.C." In this paper I showed that the eclipse spoken of in the *Ṛgveda*, which was seen by Atri, happened on a summer solstice day (in the period from 4000 B.C. to 2400 B.C.) and was finished in the fourth part of the day—observed from near a cave either in the Himalayas or the Karakoram range. The solar eclipse of July 26, 3928 B.C. was the unique solution of the problem. This gave me the third confirmation of the Vedic antiquity of about 4000 B.C. In the next paper, I examined the days for starting the *Rajasūya*, *Nakṣatreṣṭi* and the *Pancaśāradīya* sacrifices as given in the *Baudhāyana Srauta Sūtra*. Here the mean date came out as about the year 887-86 B.C. In the third paper on "Gupta Era", I verified from a set of eleven inscriptions using this era, that the Zero-year of this era was 319 A.D., and in times later than that of Āryabhaṭa I, in some of the above eleven inscriptions we have to take the zero year as 319-20 A.D. showing a change of the year beginning from the *Pauṣa Śuklādi* reckoning to that of the *Caitra Śuklādi* reckoning of Āryabhaṭa I. In the paper on "Kaniṣka's Era" my finding is that the regnal years of the king started most likely from 80 A.D., and that his real accession took place in 78 A.D., when king Kadaphisas II died.

By the middle of the year 1941, a complete work on Ancient Indian Chronology embodying my researches done at the instance of our university and all of my previous researches was submitted for publication, but owing to the war conditions which have produced a great shortage of paper, its publication is being delayed. I had no other alternative left to me but to announce the results only, of my researches on Vedic Antiquity and *Brāhmana* Chronology in the Bengali research journal

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"*Śrībhāratī*", as this came very handy. It would have been of course, far better, if I did this in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The sum total of my findings as to the Vedic antiquity may be thus briefly stated. The superior limit which I got in my published papers, viz., of 4000 B.C., has received further confirmation from (1) my ascertaining the date about which Yama's two dogs, *Canis majoris* and *Canis minoris*, had equality in right ascension as interpreted and inferred from the Vedic references, (2) Our traditional day of Indra's victory over the *Asuras* or clouds, on which it was usual to hoist Indra's flag (*Indradhvaja*), the mean date for the festival being the 15th September, 1929 of our time, which was the summer solstice day at this superior age limit of the Vedic antiquity, and (3) the statement in the *Atharva Veda*, that the winter solstitial colure passed through *Aja Ekapāt* or α *Pegasi*, all of which were true for 4000 B.C. In the *Atharva Veda* and the *Ṛgveda* I found other three references which respectively led to the dates of (*a*) 3385 B.C. from the phenomenon of the heliacal rising of λ and ν *Scorpionis* (*Vicṛtau nāma tarake*) spoken of in the *Atharva Veda* and (*b*) 3250 B.C. from the legend of *Prajāpati* and *Rohiṇī* in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, while (*c*) the rising from the annual sleep of the Ṛbhus, twelve days after the beginning of the rains, on the first heliacal visibility of the star *Canis majoris* led me to the date 2760 B.C. The inferior limit to the Vedic antiquity I have accepted as the time of the *Pāṇḍavas*, is 2449 B.C., which is traditional, and is also supported by the Ṛgvedic references of a non-astronomical nature.

In the chronology of the *Brāhmaṇas* if it be permissible to include the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, its date according to my finding is as stated already is a little later than that of the Pāṇḍavas, viz., about 2378 B.C. All the *Brāhmanas* and the *Śrauta Sūtras* do not give us time indications. The *Tāṇḍya* and the *Jiaminīya Brāhmaṇas*, have a time reference true for about 1600 B.C. The *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* is to be dated about 1000 B.C. The *Taittirīya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*, the *Kātyāyana* and the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtras*, all say that spring begins with the Phalguni full-moon day. From such a statement the superior limit to the date when this was true is about 600 B.C. In the case of these two *Brāhmaṇas* the superior limit may be raised to about 900 B.C. but it is doubtful if this can be maintained. Finally the *Brāhmaṇas* which teach that the two "wings" of the year are equal and that 31 lunations $=2\frac{1}{2}$ years must be dated between 1500 to 1000 B.C.; about

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1000 B.C. the sun's passage from the winter solstitice to the summer solstitice, took 185 days. $\{366 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ da. $= (365 \times 2 + 185)$ da.$\} = 915$ days$\}$.

In this field of ancient Indian chronology has appeared another book very lately by Dr. K. L. Daftari, D.Litt., of Nagpur of which the method and contents will, I hope, be discussed at this session of the All India Oriental Conference. Though published in 1942, the author seems to have been unaware of my publications in the *JRASB* Letters, before that date and bearing on the same topics.

As researchers we are all truth-seekers (*Satyadharma*) and I conclude with *Upaniṣadic* prayer :

हिरण्मयेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितं मुखम् ।
तत्त्वं पुषन्नपावृणु सत्यधर्माय दृष्टये ॥

"The face of Truth is hidden by a golden plate, O Puṣan, do thou remove that for the vision of us who are worshippers of Truth."

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

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अध्यक्षीय भाषण

हिन्दी विभाग

रायबहादुर डॉक्टर श्यामसुन्दर दास, बनारस

सज्जनो,

यह बड़े आनन्द और संतोष की बात है कि कई वर्षों के अनंतर प्राच्य-विद्या सम्मेलन के काशी के अधिवेशन में हिन्दी विभाग का भी संघटन किया गया है। पहले पहल इस विभाग की स्थापना प्रयाग के द्वितीय अधिवेशन में हुई थी। उस समय इस विभाग के अध्यक्ष स्वर्गीय बाबू जगन्नाथ दास रत्नाकर थे। आज वह सुयोग फिर काशी को प्राप्त हो रहा है कि इस विभाग का आयोजन किया गया है। मैं आप लोगों का अत्यंत अनुगृहीत हूं कि आपने मुझे इसका अध्यक्ष चुन कर सम्मानित किया है। मेरा विचार कोई लंबी चौड़ी वक्तृता देने का नहीं है। मैं थोड़े में दो चार मुख्य मुख्य बातें उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ।

हिन्दी साहित्य में इधर आशातीत उन्नति हुई है। एक समय वह था जब हिन्दी साहित्य बंगला, मराठी आदि उन्नत भाषाओं के साहित्य को अपना आदर्श मानकर उनका अनुकरण मात्र करनें में यत्नशील था, पर आज ऐसी अवस्था है कि इसने स्वतंत्र मार्गपर चल कर अपने लिये वह सम्मानित स्थान प्राप्त कर लिया है जो इसके लिये उचित था। सब विषयों के ग्रंथ प्रचुर संख्या में निरंतर निकलते जा रहे हैं। हिन्दी का प्राचीन साहित्य इतना संपन्न और महत्वपूर्ण है कि किसी अन्य आधुनिक आर्यभाषा से उसकी समता नहीं की जा सकती। इस साहित्य का प्रचार तथा प्रसार केवल मध्य देश में ही नहीं रहा है, वरन आसाम, बंगाल, महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात तक में उसका पुराना भांडार मिलता है। इसके लिये हम विशेष ऋणी उन महात्मा भक्तजनों के हैं जिन्होंने अपने शान्त शीतल भक्ति भावोंको देश की इस व्यापक भाषा द्वारा प्रचुर परिमाण में प्रगट किया है। सच बात तो यह है कि प्राचीन काल में जैसे शौरसेनी प्राकृत और शौरसेनी अपभ्रंश की व्यापकता थी उसी प्रकार ब्रजभाषा भी समय पाकर देश भर में फैल गई और एक प्रकार से सर्वमान्य हुई।

आधुनिक काल में हमारे साहित्य निर्माताओं नें अपनी साहित्यिक कृतियों से हिन्दी साहित्य के भांडार को भरा और भर रहे हैं। पर खेद का विषय है कि इन बिद्वानों ने अपनी भाषा के रहस्यों के उद्घाटन और उसके विकास की प्राचीन वास्तविक अवस्थाओं का पता लगाने की ओर अपेक्षाकृत बहुत कम ध्यान दिया है। भिन्न भिन्न विश्वविद्यालयों से डॉक्टरी की उपाधि के लिये विद्यार्थी जो विषय चुनते हैं वे भी प्रायः साहित्यिक ही होते हैं। मेरा कहने का यह तात्पर्य नहीं है कि साहित्यिक विषयों की उपेक्षा करनी चाहिए अथवा हिन्दी की इतनी अधिक छानबीन हो चुकी है कि अब आगे कुछ करने को नहीं रह गया है। साहित्य का संबंध उन भावों और विचारों से हैं जो भिन्न भिन्न समयों में देश में व्याप्त थे और जिनका प्रतिरुप तत्काल के साहित्य में मिलता है, पर भाषा का संबंध उन भावों और विचारों के प्रकट करने के ढंग से हैं। जैसे भाव और विचार सदा एक से नहीं रहते, उनमें समय समय पर काल की प्रकृति के अनुसार अनेक कारणों के संयोग से परिवर्तन होता रहता है, उसी प्रकार भावप्रकाशन के ढंग में भी साथ ही साथ, पर कुछ अन्तर के साथ, परिवर्तन होता रहता है। अतएव हमारा कर्तव्य होना चाहिए कि भिन्न-भिन्न कालों में भावों और विचारों के तथ्यों की जहाँ छानवीन करें वहाँ साथ ही भाषा सम्बन्धी तथ्यों की ओर भी ध्यान दें।

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दूसरी बात जिस पर मैं आप लोगों का ध्यान विशेष रूप से आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि हमारे प्राचीन साहित्य की अब तक पूरी पूरी खोज नहीं हो पाई है। जिस प्रकार संवत् १८९८ में लाहोर के पंडित राधाकृष्ण के अनुरोध पर संस्कृत पुस्तकों की खोज का कार्य आरम्भ हुआ उसी प्रकार काशी नागरीप्रचारिणी सभा के तत्वाधीन हिन्दी पुस्तकों की खोज का आरम्भ सन् १९०० में ही हुआ था। इस कार्य में जितनी सफलता अब तक प्राप्त हुई है उससे यह अनुमान करना कदाचित् अनुचित न होगा कि इस प्रान्त के साथ अन्य प्रान्तों में भी, विशेष कर राजपूताने में पूरी पूरी खोज की जाय तो बहुत से प्राचीन ग्रन्थों, उनके रचयिताओं तथा ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं के बहुत कुछ वास्तविक तत्व का पता लग जायगा। राजपूताने के प्रायः प्रत्येक दरबार में हस्त-लिखित पुस्तकों का संग्रहालय है। इनके अतिरिक्त अनेक स्थानों में जैन संग्रहालय भी हैं जिनमें अमूल्य ग्रन्थों के होने की बहुत कुछ संभावना है। क्या यह खेद की बात नहीं है कि जिसको हम हिन्दी का आदि कवि मानते चले आते हैं उसकी रचना, 'पृथ्वीराज रासो', का प्रमाणिक रूप कैसा था इसका अब तक निश्चित रूप से पता न लगे। क्या वह उसी भाषा में लिखा गया जिसमें उसका प्रकाशन हुआ है, अथवा अपभ्रंश मिश्रित डिंगल के प्राचीन रूप में उसका निर्माण हुआ। यदि राजपूताने में खोज का काम चलाया जाता और सम्यक् रूप से पुस्तकों की जाँच की जाती तो इसका पता लग जाना कोई कठिन बात न होती। क्या आप कृपा कर विचार करेंगे कि इस सम्बन्ध में इस सम्मेलन का कुछ कर्तव्य है या नहीं। यदि प्राच्य विद्या सम्मेलन का काम प्राचीन शोध करना है तो उसे इस ओर भी अवश्य ध्यान देना चाहिए।

तीसरी बात जिसपर मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ वह देवनागरी लिपि के संबंध में है। यह लिपि निर्विवाद रूप से संसार की सब लिपियों से उत्कृष्ट है। इसकी सबसे बड़ी विशेषता यह है कि इसकी ध्वनियों के सांकेतिक चिह्नों के नाम भी वही हैं जो उनकी सूचक ध्वनियों के। यह गुण संसार की किसी लिपि में नहीं है। फिर इनकी ध्वनियों का क्रम भी ऐसे वैज्ञानिक आधार पर निश्चित किया हुआ है कि वह आश्चर्य जनक रूप से भाषा विज्ञान के आधुनिक सिद्धांतो के सबसे निकट पहुँचता है। पर यह परिवर्तन का युग है और इस युग में परिवर्तन का ही बोलबाला है। परिवर्तन के आगे लोग इस बात पर कुछ भी विचार नहीं करते कि इस परिवर्तन से हमारे पूर्वजों द्वारा संचित अखिल निधि की कहाँ तक सुरक्षा और सुव्यवस्था होती है और कहाँ तक उसके क्रमशः नाश का सूत्रपात होता है। संसार की प्रायः समस्त भाषाओं में तीन मूल स्वर माने गए हैं वे अ, इ और उ हैं। हमारे वैयाकरणों ने भी यह माना है कि व्यंजनों के साथ जब स्वरों का संयोग होता है तब उनके सूचक संकेतों का भी निर्माण अथवा क्रमशः विकास होता है। पर परिवर्तनशीलता के अंधभक्तों नें हमारी स्वरसंकेत योजना में अद्भुत आविष्कार करने का उद्योग किया है। अ पूर्ण स्वर है, इस पर इ का या उ का सांकेतिक चिह्न लगा कर इ अि अथवा उ अु लिखने की प्रणाली का उपाहासास्पद प्रयास किया गया है। व्याकरण के अनुसार तो अ के साथ इ का संयोग होने से ए का उच्चारण होता है। फिर अ के साथ इ का संकेत जोड़ कर ह्रस्व इ बनाना क्या व्याकरण के सिद्धांतों पर अकारण कुठाराघात करना नहीं है। इसके अतिरिक्त यह भी सोचने की बात है कि मुद्रणयंत्र का आविष्कार हमारी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के लिये हुआ है और उसमें हमारी आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार सुधार होना चाहिए, या यंत्र की सुविधा के लिए हम अपनी लिपि प्रणाली को ही हवन करने को उद्यत हो जाय। अवश्य मैं यह मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि कुछ व्यंजनों के रूप लिखने में संदिग्ध हो जाते हैं जैसे ख और र व, रा, घ और घ, म और भ लिखने में। ऐसी त्रुटियों को दूर करने का अवश्य विचार करना चाहिए और इस पर इस समिति को अवश्य अपना सिद्धांत स्थिर करके मार्ग प्रदर्शन का कार्य करना चाहिए।

इसी संबंध में यह भी विचारणीय है कि हमारी देशी भाषाओं के लिए रोमन लिपि कहाँ तक उपयुक्त होगी। कुछ विद्वान् इसका समर्थन भी करते पाये जाते हैं। मेरी समझ

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में यह नहीं आता कि अपनी सर्वांगपूर्ण सुन्दर वैज्ञानिक लिपि के होते हुए क्यों दोषपूर्ण विदेशीय लिपि को स्वीकार करनेके लिए ये लोग उत्सुक हैं। देवनागरी लिपि में ४९ अक्षर हैं और रोमन में २६। २६ चिह्नों से ४९ भारतीय चिह्नों का उपयोग करना कहाँ तक सुविधाजनक हो सकता है। एक ही अक्षर को भिन्न भिन्न भारतीय उच्चारणों को सूचित करने योग्य बनाने में कुछ अतिरिक्त चिह्नों का प्रयोग करना आवश्यक होगा। जैसे ट के लिए टी का प्रयोग करने पर उससे त को सूचित करने के लिए टी पर कोई चिह्न लगा कर ही त और ट का भेद स्पष्ट किया जा सकेगा। मेरी समझ में यह उद्योग निरर्थक है। इससे लाभ की अपेक्षा हानि की ही अधिक संभावना जान पड़ती है। रोमन लिपि को ग्रहण करने में तुर्की जैसे उन्नत देशों का उदाहरण उपस्थित करना भी उचित नहीं, क्योंकि यदि तुर्की की अपनी लिपि देवनागरी की भांति संपूर्ण अथवा रोमन के समकक्ष भी होती तो वह देश रोमन लिपि को कदाचित् ही ग्रहण करता। रोमन लिपि देश में साक्षरता के प्रचार में भी नागरी से अधिक सुविधाजनक नहीं हो सकती। इसके अतिरिक्त जिन लिपियों में हमारे देश की शताब्दियों से संचित सांस्कृतिक निधि सुरक्षित है उससे हमारा कुछ आत्मीयता का भी संबंध है। क्या रोमन लिपि को बिना किसी प्रयोजन के स्वीकार कर, हम अपनी शताब्दियों की निधि को केवल संग्रहालय की वस्तु बना दें। इस पर विचार करना आपका कर्तव्य है।

चौथी बात का संबंध हिन्दी भाषा के स्वरूप और शैली से है। हिन्दी गद्य और पद्य दोनों में आज खड़ी बोली का मुक्त रूप से व्यवहार हो रहा है। कुछ दिन पहले एक आध हिन्दी विद्वानों का भी यह मत था उर्दू में से अरबी फारसी के शब्दों को निकाल कर उनके बदले संस्कृत शब्दों का प्रयोग करके आधुनिक खड़ी बोली का निर्माण हुआ। पर ऐसा विचार अब केवल भ्रांतिपूर्ण ही कहा जायगा। खड़ी बोली गद्य और पद्य की पुरानी रचनाओं से अब यह भली भाँति सिद्ध हो चुका है कि आज हिन्दी भाषा जिस विकसित अवस्था को प्राप्त हुई है वह उसके कई शताब्दियों के स्वाभाविक विकास का ही फल है। इसके विपरीत यह जाननें के लिये हम उर्दू लेखकों के ही कृतज्ञ हैं कि हिन्दी में से भारतीय शब्दों को निकाल कर फारसी आदि विदेशीय शब्दों के बाहुल्य से उर्दू तैयार की गई। फिर भी, जैसा कि आप लोगों को विदित है, हिन्दी की स्वाभाविक प्रगति तथा लोक की प्रवृत्ति के प्रतिकूल हिन्दी और उर्दू के विचित्र मेल से गढी हुई एक भाषा को प्रतिष्ठित करने का प्रयत्न लगभग सं० १९१४ के बाद से ही होता आ रहा है। जिन दिनों सर सैयद अहमद खां हिंदी के स्थान पर उर्दू को ही प्रतिष्ठित करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे थे उस समय हिन्दी की किसी तरह रक्षा करने के निमित्त ही कदाचित् राजा शिवप्रसाद ने आमफ़हम भाषा की आड़ ली थी, पर उनकी आमफ़हम भाषा जनता की भाषा न बन सकी, राजा लक्ष्मणसिंह और बाबू हरिश्चंद्र हिन्दी के प्रकृत स्वरूप पर डटे रहे, और वे जनता की भाषा का प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहे थे। इसका प्रमाण आज की हिन्दी है। सन् १८६६ ई० में बीम्स और ग्राउज़ ने भी हिन्दी उर्दू के इस झगड़े में भाग लिया था। बीम्स उर्दू के पक्षपाती थे और ग्राउज हिन्दी के तब से अब तक हिन्दी उर्दू के मेल से नई भाषा गढ़ने का प्रयत्न सदा विफल ही हुआ है और भविष्य में भी ऐसा ही होगा। इसका कारण प्रधानतः यही है कि यह प्रयत्न अस्वाभाविक है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि साहित्यिक हिन्दी और बोलचाल की हिन्दी में थोड़ा अंतर अवश्य है। पर ऐसा अंतर सभी भाषाओं में पाया जाता है, और उनमें बोल चाल की भाषा के लिये न अलग नामकरण की आवश्यकता पड़ती, न उच्चकोटि के साहित्य में उसके प्रयोग का असंभव उद्योग ही किया जाता। जिस हिंदुस्तानी का प्रचार किया जाता है वह न केवल साहित्य रचना के ही अयोग्य है, वरन् साधारण व्यवहार के लिये भी अनुपयुक्त है, क्योंकि वह कृत्रिम है। शैली का प्रश्न भाषा के स्वरूप के प्रश्न से कुछ भिन्न है। लेखकों के व्यक्तित्व की विशेषता और विषय की विविधता एवं गहनता के अनुसार भिन्न भिन्न शैलियाँ होना स्वाभाविक हैं, पर उस भिन्नता में भाषा का स्वरूप नहीं बदल जाता, वह एक ही रहता है। शैली की विशेषता एक ही प्रकृति के शब्दों और वाक्यों की विशेष प्रकार की योजना में

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रहती है, बेमेल शब्दों और रूपों के समुच्चय में नहीं। अतः हिंदुस्तानी के जो नमुने उपस्थित किए जाते हैं उन्हें हिन्दी की एक शैली कहना भी ठीक नहीं।

भारतीय आर्य भाषाओं की परंपरा में होने के कारण हिन्दी में स्वभावतः संस्कृत प्राकृत के शब्द अधिक हैं, पर इसी लिये वह हमारे साहित्य की उपयुक्त भाषा होने के साथ साथ भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा होने का गौरव भी प्राप्त कर रही है। अतः अपनी भाषा के वर्तमान स्वरूप के विषय में चिंतित होने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं। इतना अवश्य कहूँगा कि प्रयत्नपूर्वक भाषा को संस्कृत शब्दों के बोझ से दबाने की प्रवृत्ति प्रशंसनीय नहीं है।

अंत में मैं यह कह देना चाहता हूँ कि उर्दू से मेरा न कभी विरोध रहा, न है। उर्दू जिस क्रम से उन्नति कर रही है, करती रहे। उसमें हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं हो सकती, पर हिन्दी उर्दू के ऐक्य के लिये हिन्दी के स्वरूप को नष्ट होने देने की सम्मति में नहीं दे सकता। अपनी भाषा में नए नए शब्दों को आवश्यकतानुसार हम उर्दू क्या किसी भी भाषा से ले सकते हैं, सिद्धांततः मेरा इससे कोई विरोध नहीं। पर इसमें तीन बातों का ध्यान रखना आवश्यक है: एक तो अपनी भाषा में उपयुक्त शब्द न मिलनें पर ही अन्य भाषाओं की ओर देखना चाहिए, दूसरे उसका क्रम यह हो कि पहले देश भाषाएँ, फिर संस्कृत, फिर फ़ारसी, और इन सब से काम न चलने पर अंग्रेजी आदि भाषाओं से शब्द लेने चाहिए, तीसरे नए लिए जाने वाले शब्द अपनी भाषाके व्याकरण और ध्वनि नियमों के अनुकूल रूपों में ढल कर ही हमारी भाषा में आएं। ये ही कुछ बातें हैं जिनपर मैं आपका ध्यान विशेष रूप से दिलाना आवश्यक समझता हूँ। आशा है आप इन पर विचार करेंगे।

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॥ श्रीः ॥

अखिलभारतवर्षीयपण्डितपरिषदः सभापतेः

म० म० श्रीगिरिधरशर्मणश्चतुर्वेदस्याभिभाषणम् ।

सिन्दूरपूरारुणिताखिलाङ्गो यज्ञोपवीतीकृतनागराजः ।
उद्दामविघ्नौघविघातदक्षः पायादपायादनिशं गणेशः ॥१॥
सर्वात्मभूतः सकलार्थविद्भिर्मुनीन्द्रवृन्दैर्बहुधाभिगीतः ।
आम्नायवेद्यो वचसामगम्यः स मे शरण्यः पुरुषः पुराणः ॥२॥
शान्ते निःसीमधाम्नि स्वरचितमखिलं स्वान्तराधाय सुप्ते,
सीमानं कल्पयन्ती कलितगुणकला या प्रबोधं दधाति ।
ब्रह्माणं विष्णुमीशं सुरपतिमपि या स्वस्वकार्ये नियुङ्क्ते,
साद्या मायाभिधाना प्रदिशतु भविकं नित्यशक्तिः परा नः ॥३॥
यदीयकरुणाप्लुतस्फुटकटाक्षलक्ष्मीलवं
जनः सुखमुपाश्रितस्त्रिविधमेव तापं तरेत् ।
अशेषभुवनोद्भवस्थितिलयाश्च यल्लीलया,
वृतं कमलया मुदा कुवलयाक्षमीडे हरिम् ॥४॥
शान्तात्मभिरासेव्यं शीतकराकलितशेखरं शमिनम् ।
शङ्करमाश्रितसुखदं शैलसुताप्रणयिनं वन्दे ॥५॥
सकलदर्शनदर्शनलालसापरवशेन पदाब्जयुगं गुरोः ।
सुचिरमाश्रितमस्त्ववलम्बनं किमपि साहसमद्य चिकीर्षतः ॥६॥
नानागमोल्लसितभास्वरदिव्यमूर्त्तिर्मुक्ताभिरामबुधहंससुसेवनीया ।
वीणाविनोदनिरताऽखिलबोधदात्री, काशीपुरी विजयते खलु भारतीव ॥७॥
गङ्गातरङ्गविमला ज्ञानमयी भूतिभासुरा शिवदा ।
अधिवाराणसि विदुषां परिषदियं शाम्भवो मूर्त्तिः ॥८॥

माननीयाः ! सर्वशास्त्रविचक्षणाः ! विद्वत्प्रवराः ! सर्वस्यापि भारतस्य संस्कृतशिक्षायाः प्रधानकेन्द्रे श्रीविश्वनाथक्रीडाभवनेऽस्मिन् काशीक्षेत्रे समवेतामिमामभूतपूर्वां विविधशास्त्रपारङ्गतपण्डिततल्लजविभूषितां परिषदं पश्यतो हर्षोद्वेलमिवोल्लसति मम मानसम्, परमीदृशे विद्वत्समाजे प्रधानपदं भवद्भिः प्रसादीक्रियमाणमधिष्ठातुमत्यर्थमनर्हं बिभ्यत् संकुचति । श्रद्धेयमहाभागाः ! वाराणसीमधिवसतां करतलामलकीकृतशास्त्ररहस्यानां पण्डितप्रवराणां चरणसेवार्थमेव विदेशीया इहागत्यान्ते वसन्ति । तदत्र महत्यां सभायां विद्वन्मूर्धन्यानां चरणेषूपवेशनसौभाग्यं चेदहमलप्स्ये, नूनं कृतार्थतयात्मानमभ्यनन्दिष्यम्, सीमातिगं च कमपि प्रमोदमाप्स्यम् । परं करुणापूर्णान्तरङ्गैः श्रीमद्भिरुच्चस्थाने समारोप्यमाणोऽनधिकारचेष्टयाऽपत्रपे । यथा सर्वविरहात्मको बिन्दुर्वर्णानां शिरसि धार्यते, नूनमनवरतं तदभ्यासशीलैः श्रीमद्भिरयमपि जनः सर्वगुणविरहितोऽपि निवेशित उच्चतमे स्थाने । परं स तु तत्र निवेशितः स्वरमनुस्वनति मधुरम्, नासिकां च विस्फारयति, अत्र तु साप्याशा न पूर्त्तिमभिगच्छेत् । केवलं 'वसन्ति हि प्रेम्णि गुणा न वस्तुषु' इति महाकवेर्वच एवाद्य पण्डितपरिषदि चरितार्थीक्रियमाणं

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दृश्यते । विद्वज्जनवात्सल्यभाजनतयैव चात्मानमहमपि कृतार्थं मन्ये । यदीदृशपदोचितगुणगणावली वस्तुतो माममण्डयिष्यत्, नूनं परतरं मे सौभाग्यमुदलसिष्यत् । परं विद्वत्प्रवरैरारोप्यमाणा अपि गुणाः कमपि महिमानमादधत एवेति संतुष्यन् सौभाग्यमेवात्मनो मन्ये । 'अश्मापि याति देवत्वं महद्भिः सुप्रतिष्ठितः' इति हि नीतिकाराः स्मरन्ति । महतां निदेशातिक्रमणं च महत्पातकमिति मनसिकृत्य मयाप्याज्ञा शिरसि धार्यते । येन वात्सल्येन पूरितान्तरङ्गाः श्रीमन्तो मामनर्हमप्युच्चैः स्थापयन्ति, तदेव मे त्रुटीरपि पिधास्यति, कार्यनिर्वहणे चावलम्बं मे प्रदास्यतीति विश्वसन्निर्भीको भवामि । अनया च श्रीमतां कृपया आशैशवं सेविताया मातुः सुरभारत्या वार्धकेऽपि सेवावसरो दत्त इति कृतज्ञतां वहन्ननन्तान् धन्यवादान् श्रीमत्सेवायामुपहरामि । भूयो भूयश्च धाष्टर्यं क्षमापयन् स्वाभिप्रायं निवेदयितुमारभे ।

मान्या महाभागाः ! सर्वस्मिन् जगतीतले सर्वभाषाणामादिभूतेयमस्माकमाराध्या गीर्वाणवाणी कमपि महिमानं स्वतो बिभर्तीत्यत्र नास्ति स्तोकोऽपि संशयः । अनन्तशब्दकोशा, अपारग्रन्थसैन्यराशिः, महोन्नतव्याकृतिदुर्गा, सर्वजगत्यां शिष्टजनैः शिरसि क्रियमाणशासना, पाणिनिगौतमादिसर्वजनवन्द्यविशुद्धामात्या, पुरुषार्थचतुष्टये मैत्रीमादधती, सर्वनीतिनिधानं बलिष्ठसर्वप्रकृतिरियं सर्वासां भाषाणां साम्राज्यं श्रयत इत्यत्र को नाम विप्रतिपद्येत विचक्षणः ।

'स्वाम्यमात्या जनो दुर्गं कोशो दण्डस्तथैव च ।
मित्राण्येताः प्रकृतयो राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते' ॥

इति महर्षियाज्ञवल्क्योक्ताः सप्तापि प्रकृतयो यस्याः सर्वातिशायिन्यो विराजन्ते, तस्याः साम्राज्ये कः संशयीत ।

इयं हि पुरा न केवलं सर्वस्य भारतस्य, अपि तु सर्वस्यापि जगत एकैव भाषासीदित्यास्माकीनो विश्वासः । परम्—इतिहासगवेषकाः यूरोपीयभ्रातरः केचिदत्र विप्रतिपद्यन्ते । ते हि—पुरासीत् काचिद्भाषा, या संस्कृतप्राकृतयोर्जननी, वेदभाषाऽपि तस्या एव रूपान्तरम् । इयं संस्कृतभाषा तु कदापि व्यावहारिकी नासीत्, पण्डितानामेव परिष्कृतभाषेयमिति आतिष्ठन्ते । परं का सा भाषा ? कियत्यंशे च तस्या संस्कृतात्, प्राकृतात्, छन्दसो वा वैलक्षण्यम् ? कियत्यंशे वा साम्यमिति न केनाप्यद्यावधि निर्णीतम् । हन्त ! 'दृष्टं वरमदृष्टात्' इति सर्वजनादृतं सिद्धान्तं विस्मृत्यैव हठात्ते विप्रवदन्ते । इयं तु ननु तादृश्येव कथा, यथा मनुष्याणां पूर्वजा आसीत् काचन वानरसदृशी जातिः, सा त्वद्यत्वे विलुप्तेति केषांचन पाश्चात्यानामेव घण्टाघोषः ।

दृष्टं तिरस्कृत्यादृष्टानुधावनं ननु तेषां स्वभाव एव । मनुष्येषु मनुष्यपूर्वजत्वं न सह्यते, अदृष्टापरिचिता तु काचन जातिः पूर्वजत्वाय कल्प्यते । तथैवात्रापि व्यवह्रियमाणा भाषा सर्वभाषाजननीत्वेन नानुमन्यते, अपरिचिता तु काचिज्जनन्यन्विष्यते । मान्याः ! मन्मतौ तु सर्वमिदं कल्पनामात्रम्, इयमेवास्माकमाराध्या देवभारती सर्वभाषाणां जननीत्येव युक्तिमद्वचः । 'एकस्यैव गोशब्दस्य गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिकेत्यादयोऽपभ्रंशाः ।' 'सर्वे देशान्तरे-सर्वे चेमे शब्दा देशान्तरेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते । शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते, विकार एनमार्या भाषन्ते शव इति" इत्यादीनि भगवतः पतञ्जलेर्वचनानि अस्या एव संस्कृताया वाचः सर्वादिभूततां सुस्पष्टं ध्वनयन्ति । पितृ, पिदर, फादर । मातृ, मादर, मदर । दुहितृ, दुख़तर, डाटर । सूनु, सन् इत्यादिषु बहुतमेषु संबन्धिशब्देषु आङ्गलादिभाषाणां संस्कृतप्रतिबिम्बतां प्रदर्शयन्तः पाश्चात्यविद्वांसोऽपि नूनमस्मत्सिद्धान्तपोषणे साहाय्यमेवाचरन्ति । देशकृतः कालकृतः पात्रकृतश्च कियाँश्चिद्भेदो भाषासु भवतीत्यनुमन्यामहे, परमीदृशेनावान्तरभेदप्रयोजकेन वैलक्षण्येन भाषाया जातिभेदं न कथमपि सहामहे । कादम्बरीसदृशं गद्यं कदाचित् सर्वसाधारणे व्यवह्रियमाणमासीदिति न वयं ब्रूमः । पामरभाषातः शिष्टभाषायां वैलक्षण्यम्, ततोऽपि विद्वज्जनभाषायाम्, उच्यमानभाषापेक्षया च लेखभाषायां वैलक्षण्यम्, कालकृतं वक्तृबोद्धव्यप्रकृतिवैचित्र्यजनितं च वैलक्षण्यमित्यनेकविधं वैलक्षण्यं संभाव्यत एव, परं यद् व्यवह्रियमाणमासीत्तत् कादम्बर्यादिसजातीयमित्यत्र नास्ति स्तोकोऽप्यस्माकं संशयः । भाषान्तरेष्वपि ईदृशं वैलक्षण्यं भवत्येव । नहि पञ्चाशतो वर्षेभ्यः प्राग्

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व्यवहृता, अद्यत्वे व्यवह्रियमाणा च आङ्ग्लभाषा हिन्दीभाषा वैकविधा, नाप्यद्यत्वे सर्वेषु देशेषु व्यवह्रियमाणयोरनयोर्भाषयोर्न वैलक्षण्यम् । सत्यपि तादृशे वैलक्षण्ये यदि तत्ताद्भाषाणामैक्यमभिमन्यते, तर्हि सर्वादिभूताया भाषाया अस्याः संस्कृतभाषायाश्च कुत ऐक्यं नाभ्युपपत्तव्यम् ।

ननु संस्कृतमिति शब्द एवास्या अव्यवहार्यतां बोधयति, प्राकृतमेव सर्वजनभाषा, प्रकृतिसिद्धत्वात्, संस्कृतं तु कृतसंस्कारा अत एव कृत्रिमा केवलं विदुषां भाषेति, सोऽयमपि तेषां भ्रम एव । यतो हि प्राक्तने सूत्रादिवाङ्मये संस्कृतमिति भाषाया नाम प्रायेण नोपलभ्यत एव, भगवान् पाणिनिर्निरुक्तकृद्भगवान् यास्कश्च भाषाशब्देनैवेमां तत्र तत्र व्यवहरतः स्म—'भाषायां संदवसश्रुवः'' सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम्' 'नेति प्रतिषेधार्थीयो भाषायाम्, उभयमन्वध्यायम्' इत्यादिना । भवतु वा संस्कृतपदम्, तावताप्यव्यवहार्यता न सिद्ध्यति । अनेकधा हि संस्कारो भवति, पश्वाद्यव्यक्तशब्दापेक्षया सर्वापि मानुषी वाक् संस्कृता, सोऽयं संस्कारोऽर्थव्यक्तिप्रयोजकज्ञानशक्तेरधिष्ठात्रा भगवता इन्द्रेण कृतः । तदुक्तं श्रुतौ "वाग् वै पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्, तद्देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन् 'इमां नो वाचं व्याकुरु' इति । सोऽब्रवीत् 'वरं वृणै' मह्यं चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्याता इति, तस्मादैन्द्रवायवः सह गृह्यते । तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्, तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुद्यते" । इति । अयमत्राशयः 'वायुः खात्, शब्दस्तत्' इति भगवत्कात्यायनोक्तदिशा वायुनैव वागभिव्यज्यते, तत्रार्थबोधानुकूलः पदवाक्यविभागः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादिविभागश्च ज्ञानशक्त्यधिष्ठात्रा इन्द्रेण भगवता कृतः, अनेनैव संस्कारेण वाचोऽर्थप्रत्यायकत्वमागतम् । अत एवास्माकं संप्रदाये इन्द्र एव प्रथमो व्याकरणकर्त्ता स्मर्यते । वाल्मीकीये च रामायणे मनुष्यवाचः साधारण्येन संस्कृतत्वमाख्यायते—भगवतो हनूमत उक्तौ सुन्दरकाण्डे—'वाचं चोदाहरिष्यामि मानुषीमिह संस्कृताम्' इति । अनेन संस्कारेण भाषा रूपान्तरमापादिता, भाषापदव्यवहार्यतां नीतेति वा वक्तव्यम् । अथ यथाजातानामशिक्षितानां भाषापेक्षया शिष्टभाषायां यद्वैलक्षण्यं मयोक्तपूर्वम्, सोऽयमपरः संस्कारः शिक्षाकृतः । अयमप्युदाहृतः पूर्वोक्तादनन्तरमेव वाल्मीकीये रामायणे—'यदि वाचं प्रदास्यामि द्विजातिरिव संस्कृताम्' इति । एतेन द्विजातीनां शिष्टानां भाषा यथाजातपुरुषापेक्षया विलक्षणा भवतीत्येव सूचितम् । परमयं संस्कारो न भाषाणां जातिभेदप्रयोजकः क्वापि दृष्टः, न हि सैनिकानां 'गोरे'पदवाच्यानां सुशिक्षितानां चाङ्ग्लानां भाषा भिन्नजातीयेति कोऽप्यभ्युपगच्छति । आङ्ग्लभाषापदेनैव तु उभे व्यवह्रियेते । तथैव द्विजातिभिर्व्यवह्रियमाणा यथाजातैरुच्यमाना च संस्कृता वागप्येकैवेति नात्र विप्रतिपत्त्यवसरः । तदनु विशृङ्खलभाषापेक्षया हारलतावत्सूत्रानुस्यूतशब्दमौक्तिकगुम्फिता सुस्थानरचितप्रकृतिप्रत्ययाव्ययनिपातादिविन्यासा अनन्यादृशसौष्ठवभाजनं वाग् भवति पुनरपि संस्कृता । सोऽयमपरः संस्कारो वैयाकरणमूर्धन्यभगवत्पाणिन्यादिकृतः । अनेन संस्कृता वाग् बहुमूल्यवस्त्राभरणाद्यलङ्कृता सुन्दरीव भवत्यन्यादृशीव, परं वस्तुतो नान्येति न विस्मरणीयम । तदित्थं वैदिकी भाषा, लौकिकं संस्कृतं चेत्यपि न भाषाद्वयम्, जातिभेदविरहात् । एकस्यामेव भाषायामवान्तरमिदं वैलक्षण्यम्, न त्वेव भाषाभेदप्रयोजकं भवति, भाषास्वरूपसंपादकानां शब्दानां बाहुल्येन प्रत्यभिज्ञायमानत्वात् । अत एव भगवता पाणिनिना लोकवेदसाधारणमेकमेव व्याकरणं निबद्धम्, अवान्तरभेदमात्रं तु 'छन्दसि' इति 'भाषायाम्' इति च प्रस्फुटीकृतम् । आसन्नचतुःसहस्रेषु पाणिनीयेषु सूत्रेषु त्रिषष्ट्यधिकद्विशतसूत्राणि केवलच्छान्दसकार्यबोधकानि, श्रीमता भट्टोजिदीक्षितेन वैदिकप्रक्रियायां संगृहीतानि । केवलं षट्सु सूत्रेषु च भाषायामिति पदं दृश्यते, शिष्टानि तु उभयसाधारणानि । तावता केवलं पञ्चदशांशवैलक्षण्यम् सिद्ध्यति । अर्थतः प्रतिशतं त्रिनवत्यंशेषु साम्यम्, प्रतिशतं सप्तस्वंशेषु तु वैलक्षण्यम् । एतावति साम्ये जाग्रति कस्तावदनून्मत्तो भाषाजातिभेदं ब्रवीतु । 'एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवदिति' सर्वलोकसिद्धो न्यायश्च कुत्र चारितार्थ्यमेतु । तस्मादियमेवास्माकममरभारती जगति सर्वादिभूता भाषा, अस्या एव विकृतयोऽन्या भाषाः, अस्यामेव च प्रतिष्ठिता अस्माकं सर्वस्वभूता वेदा इति निष्प्रत्यूहमेतत्सिद्ध्यति ।

तथैवामरभारत्या अस्या मृतत्वमाचक्षाणाः केचिदाधुनिका अपि नूनं जात्यन्धेष्वेव परिगणनीयाः । नेयमद्यत्वे कुत्रापि देशे भाष्यत इत्येव मृतत्वसाधनयुक्तिः । परमेतत्तैर्न

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दृश्यते-यद्भारतस्य विभिन्नेषु प्रान्तेषु अस्या दुहितरो या भाषा अद्यत्वे प्रचरन्ति, ताभ्य इयमद्यापि पयः पाययति, अस्या एव शब्दसमूहमुपजीवन्त्यस्ता जीवन्ति । यदि तु देशकालकृतेन किञ्चिद्वैलक्षण्येन भाषाभेदो भवद्भिरभिमन्यते, तर्हि निःशङ्कं वयं वक्तुं शक्नुमो यदियममरभारती अद्यापि नवनवा भाषा उत्पादयति । तदित्थं स्तन्येन बालानां पोषणशक्तिः, प्रसवशक्तिश्च यस्यां जागर्ति, सा मृता, वृद्धा, युवतिर्वेति दरमुकुलितनेत्रं मनसि निध्यायद्भिस्तैर्मनागधोमुखैर्भाव्यम् । ये तु हिन्दयादिभाषाणां प्रभवं भाषान्तरमेवाभिमन्यन्ते, ते मया *हिन्दीनिबन्ध एव सम्यक् पराकृता इति विस्तरभयान्नात्र ता युक्तीराम्रेडयितुमिच्छामि । एतावद् अतिसंक्षेपेण निदर्शयामि—यद्यपि प्राकृतापभ्रंशक्रमेण हिन्दयादिभाषाः संस्कृतादुत्पन्नाः सन्ति, परमद्यत्वे प्रचलितासु तासु भाषासु अर्द्धाधिकानि नामपदानि शुद्धसंस्कृतरूप एव व्यवह्रियन्ते । ये चाभिनवान् विषयान् प्रचलितासु भाषासु निबध्नन्ति, ते संस्कृतादेव शब्दान् संगृह्णन्ति । प्रत्युत प्राकृतापभ्रंशक्रमेणागतान् शब्दान् ग्राम्यतया शिष्टाः सुलेखका नाद्रियन्ते, शुद्धानि संस्कृतरूपाणि तु बलादाकृष्टा इवोपयुञ्जते । वङ्गमहाराष्ट्रादिदेशभाषाणां संस्कृतशब्दप्राचुर्यं सुप्रसिद्धमेव, अतोऽस्माकं हिन्दीभाषाया एव कतिचिन्निदर्शनानि उपहरामि । शय्याशब्दः प्राकृते 'सेज्जा' भूतो हिन्दीभाषायां 'सेज' इति रूपं प्राप्तः, परं सोऽयं 'सेज' शब्दः प्रायेणाशिक्षितानां स्त्रीणां वा भाषायामद्यत्वे व्यवह्रियते, शिष्टास्तु शय्याशब्दमेव प्रयुञ्जते । वृक्षः, रुक्ख, रूंख इति विकृतिक्रमः, परं रूंख शब्दोऽद्यत्वे ग्राम्यभाषायामेव क्वचित् प्रयुज्यते । शिक्षिता वृक्षशब्दमेव व्यवहरन्ति । विद्याशब्दः प्राकृते 'विज्जा' रूपं गतोऽपि हिन्दयामद्य विद्येत्येव सर्वैर्भाष्यते । तथैव लक्ष्मीशब्दस्य प्राकृतं रूपं 'लच्छी'ति, तत्तु ग्राम्यमेव गण्यते, लक्ष्मीत्येव प्रयुञ्जतेऽद्य शिष्टाः । तीर्थं तेहं तूहं वा नाद्य कोऽपि वदति, तीर्थेत्येव प्रचलितासु भाषासु सर्वत्र दृश्यते । वृषभशब्दः प्राकृतक्रमेण 'वसह' रूपमापन्नः सर्वथा ग्राम्य एवाभवत्, वृषभस्त्वद्यापि रोरवीति । अतिप्रचुराण्येवंविधानि निदर्शनानि, दिङ्मात्रं तूदाहृतम् ।

मान्याः ! पश्यन्तु भवन्तः सुरभारत्या अलौकिकं महिमानम् , यदस्याः शब्देभ्य उत्पन्ना अर्वाञ्चोऽपि शब्दा जीर्णतां ग्राम्यतां वा गच्छन्ति, इयन्तु सर्वादिभूताप्यद्यापि तरुणायते । न ग्राम्यत्वादिदोषा एनां स्प्रष्टुमपि समर्थयन्ते । अहो ! संस्कृतादुत्पन्नं प्राकृतं ततोऽप्युत्पन्ना चापभ्रंशभाषाप्यद्यत्वेऽत्यन्तं दुर्बोधे, संस्कृतं त्वद्यापि सुबोधम् । यदि कश्चित् परिश्रम्य प्राकृतमपभ्रंशं वा वदेत्, तर्हि तद्बोद्धारो दशापि तेन न लप्स्यन्ते, संस्कृतबोद्धारस्तु प्रतिनगरमद्यापि परःशताः प्राप्यन्ते । तस्मान्नेयं जरसाभिभूयते, नापि सर्वकलनात्मकः काल एनां स्पृशतीति प्रत्यक्षमनुभूयते । तत एवेयममरभारतीत्यनुगतार्थेन नाम्ना सर्वत्र सुप्रसिद्धयति, इति कृतं प्रपञ्चेन ।

सोऽयं भाषास्वरूपगतो महिमा मनागनुवर्णितः । तथैव विषयगतोऽपि महिमाऽस्याः सुरभारत्याः परिच्छेदातीत एव । सर्वेऽपि विषया अस्याः क्रोडेऽसंबाधं क्रीडन्ति । नास्ति कोऽपि विषयोऽद्यावधि कुत्रापि केनापि आविष्कृतो यो नास्यां समुपलभ्येत । आध्यात्मिके तु विषये पाश्चात्या अप्येतस्या गौरवमुररीकुर्वन्त्येव । यथाविधानि दर्शनानि सुरभारत्याम् न तथाऽन्यासु भाषासु इति निष्पक्षपातिभिर्बहुभिः स्वीकृतम् । यत्रान्येषां दर्शनानि समाप्यन्ते, तत आर्याणां दर्शनानि प्रारभ्यन्ते, इत्यपि बहुभिरुद्घुष्टम् । केचित्तु अर्वाञ्च आर्यदर्शनानां मिथो विरोधमुद्भावयन्तस्तान्याक्षिपन्ति 'एकस्यापरेण खण्डयमानत्वाच्चालिनीन्यायेन नास्त्येषु कस्मिन्नपि सत्यम्' 'यदि प्राक्तना ऋषयः सर्वमज्ञास्यन्त, कुतस्तर्हि विरुद्धमभ्यधास्यन्त', इत्यादि चोद्घोषयन्ति । परमेतदप्यविचारितरमणीयमेव तेषामभिधानम् । विनेयबुद्धयपेक्षया हि सोपानारोहणक्रमेण दर्शनानि महर्षिभिः प्रतिपादितानि, न तु वास्तविकस्तत्र कोऽपि विरोध उल्लसति ।

* 'वर्तमान हिन्दीमें संस्कृतशब्दोंका ग्रहण' इति शीर्षके हिन्दी-साहित्यसंमेलनस्य द्वादशनिबन्धावल्याम् , नागरीप्रचारिण्याः सभायाः कोषसमाप्तसंग्रहग्रन्थे च प्रकाशिते निबन्धे ।

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अत्रापि निदर्शनरूपेण किंचिदुदाहरामि । आत्मा तावत् सर्वेषां दर्शनानां मुख्यो विचार्यविषय इति निर्विवादम् । तस्य यन्मुख्यं रूपं सत्तामात्रं निर्विशेषं गुणातीतम्, तत्तु न केनापि शक्यं निरूपयितुम् ।

'यस्यामतं तस्य मतं मतं यस्य न वेद सः ।
अविज्ञातं विजानतां विज्ञातमविजानताम् ।।'

'यतो वाचो निवर्त्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह'। 'अस्तीत्येवोपलब्धव्यस्तत्त्वभावेन चोभयोः ।।' इत्याद्येव तद्विषये श्रावयति भगवती श्रुतिः । तथा च सर्वैरपि परिग्रह (उपाधि) विशिष्टमेवात्मस्वरूपं निरूपणीयम् । परिग्रहश्चात्मनः षोढा—माया १ कला २ गुणः ३ विकारः ४ आवरणम् ५ अञ्जनम् ६ चेति । रसरूपो हि दिग्देशकालाऽनवच्छिन्न आत्मा, तत्रोद्भूतं तदात्मभूतमिव यद्बलं तत् स्वयं परिच्छिन्नत्वात् आत्मन्यपि परिच्छेदमादधातीव, सोऽयं प्रथमः परिग्रहो मितिसाधनत्वान्मायेत्युच्यते । मितिरियं न वास्तविकी, अमितस्य मितत्वानुपपत्तेः । अथाऽपि बले वर्तमाना मितिरात्मन्यपि प्रतिभासते, लहरीणां क्षोभपरिच्छेदौ जल इव, घटादीनां परिच्छेदश्च नभसीव इति प्रातिभासिकमेव मायारूपं वदन्ति शास्त्रज्ञाः । सत्यान्तु मितौ परिच्छेदात्पार्थक्यमपि प्रतिभासत एव, लहरीकलापकृतं जल इव पार्थक्यम्, तच्चेदं पार्थक्यं तत्रावयवबुद्धिमादधातीति द्वितीयोऽयं परिग्रहः 'कला' इत्युच्यते । सावयवत्व-बुद्धिमयं द्वितीयः परिग्रहः प्रयोजयति । सति हि परिच्छेदे दुर्वारा तावदनेकताबुद्धिः ।

परिच्छिन्ने चाशनायाबलोदयादपरं स्वात्मन्याधातुमुत्थितिः, परस्परं संघर्षश्चेति सर्वमपीदमुत्तुङ्गतरङ्गमालाकुलिते जल इव प्रवर्त्तते, ततश्च क्षोभजानां सत्त्वरजस्तमसां रूपरसादीनां च गुणानामभिव्यक्तिर्भवतीति सोऽयं तृतीयः परिग्रहो गुणो नाम । 'मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौन्तेय-शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः'। इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतादिवचनेषु रूपरसादीनां संयोगजत्वं व्यक्तमेव, इन्द्रियार्थसूर्यरश्मिसम्बन्धाद्रूपोत्पत्तिरित्याधुनिका वैज्ञानिका अपि तेषां संघर्षजत्वमनुमन्यन्त एव । क्षोभ एव गुणाः, क्षोभजा गुणाः, गुणानां क्षोभ इति भाषाभेदमात्रमिदम्, अन्योन्यतादात्म्येनैवानयोः स्वरूपाधानात् । क्रियैव धारावाहिकतां गता स्थिरेव प्रतीयमाना गुणरूपतां गच्छति, गुणसमष्टिरेव च द्रव्यमित्यन्योन्यतादात्म्येऽभियुक्तेऽपि द्रव्यगुणक्रियाणामाधाराधेयभावस्य व्यवहारे सुप्रतिपन्नत्वात् । बहु खल्वत्र वक्तव्यम्, समयाल्पता तु संक्षेपायानुरुन्धे । भवतु नाम, 'चलं हि गुणवृत्तम्' 'प्रतिक्षणपरिणामिनो हि गुणा न क्षणमप्यपरिणम्य तिष्ठन्ति' इत्यादिदार्शनिकमूर्धन्योक्तदिशा अभिव्यक्तेषु गुणेषु अन्यथाप्रथारूपो विकारोऽपि दुर्निवारः, जलक्षोभात्फेनबुद्बुदादिवत्; सोऽथ विकाररूपश्चतुर्थः परिग्रहः । सत्यां च विकृतिपरम्परायां वस्तुस्वरूपयाथार्थ्यं न प्रथते, तिर इव भवति फेनाद्यावृतस्य जलस्य रूपवत्, इति आवरणं नाम पञ्चमः परिग्रहः । आव्रियमाणं स्वरूपेणाप्रथमानं च मुख्यं वस्तु विकाररूपतामिवापद्य विकारात्मकमेव प्रथते, जलमिव फेनबुद्बुदादिरूपतयेति अञ्जनं नाम षष्ठः परिग्रहः । षड्भिरेभिः परिग्रहैः, शब्दान्तरेण षड्भिराभिरवस्थाभिरात्मा जगद्रूपतां गत इव प्रतीयते, इति आर्यदार्शनिकाः पश्यन्ति । तत्रैकैकपरिग्रहस्यावापोद्वापाभ्यां षडेवाध्वानो दर्शनस्य जायन्त इति तानीमानि षड् दर्शनानीत्युच्यन्ते । न दर्शनैः सप्तभिः शक्यते भवितुम्, न वा पञ्चभिरिति सुसूक्ष्ममिदमालोच्यतां विद्वत्प्रवरैः ।

तथा हि—अञ्जनपर्यन्तसर्वपरिग्रहविशिष्टमत एव स्थूलतममात्मानं लोकायतः प्रतिपेदे । दृश्यमानं स्थूलं शरीरमेवात्मा, दृश्यं जगदेव चेश्वर इति तेनाभ्युपगम्यमानत्वात् । तदनु द्वितीयो दार्शनिकः सर्वान्तिममञ्जनाख्यं परिग्रहं परित्यज्य पञ्चपरिग्रहविशिष्टमात्मानं मुख्यात्मतया आतिष्ठते । स्थूलं जगन्नात्मा, किन्तु तत्रानुस्यूतं सूक्ष्ममात्मतत्त्वमित्युपगम्य स्थौल्यं स आत्मनः पृथक् कुरुते । आवरणं तु तस्यात्मस्वरूपानुप्रविष्टमेवेति आवरणस्यान्तःकरणस्य बुद्धिप्रधानस्यात्मत्वं तन्मते भासते, न त्वातूनं मुख्यमात्मतत्त्वं प्रकाशते । सोऽयं बुद्धिमात्मतयाभ्युपगच्छन् बौद्ध इत्याख्यायते । बुद्धेः प्रतिक्षणपरिणामितया क्षणिक एव तस्यात्मा । तदनु तृतीय 'आर्हतः' आवरणमप्यात्मस्वरूपात् पृथक् कुरुते इति निरावरणस्य दिगम्बरतां गतस्य तस्यावरणाभावादा-

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त्मतत्त्वं कथंचित्प्रकाशते। परं विकारपर्यन्तं परिग्रहमात्मस्वरूपेऽन्तर्भावयन्नो विकारविशिष्ट एवात्मेति मुख्यात्मधर्मा विकारधर्माश्चोभयेऽपि तस्यात्मनि भासन्ते। ततश्च स स्यान्नित्यः, स्यादनित्यः, स्यादेकः स्यादनेक इत्युभयविधमात्मानं व्यवहरति। विकारानुविधायि च शरीरपरिच्छिन्नं स विक्रियमाणमेवात्मतत्त्वमभ्युपगच्छति। तत उपरि वैशेषिको विकारजातमप्यात्मनः पृथक् करोति, गुणपर्यन्तं तु परिग्रहमात्मस्वरूपेऽनुप्रवेशयत्येवेति सगुणोऽनेकश्च तस्यात्मा। ततोऽप्युपरितनकक्षायां सांख्येन गुणा अप्यात्मनः पृथक् कृताः, निर्गुणं तस्यात्मतत्त्वम्, गुणास्तु प्रकृतिनाम्ना पृथगेव परिगणिताः। परं कलारूपः परिग्रहोऽत्राप्यात्मस्वरूपानुप्रविष्ट इति पुरुषबहुत्वं तेनाप्युररीकृतम्। परिच्छेदादेव च प्रकृतिपुरुषयोर्द्वैतं रक्षितम्। षष्ठमन्तिमं वेदान्तदर्शनं तु परिग्रहपञ्चकं परित्यज्य केवलं मायाविशिष्टमेवात्मानं निरूपयति। मायोपहितन्तु वाङ्मनसातीतमुपलक्षयति—इति निरूपणधारा तत्र समाप्यते। वेद्यस्यान्तस्तत्र भवति, न ततः परं किमपि ज्ञातव्यमवशिष्यते। एष्वाद्यास्त्रयः श्रुतिप्रमाणं नोपगच्छन्ति, विकारपक्षपातितया प्रत्यक्षस्यैव प्रमाणस्य तत्र भूयसादृतत्वात्। निर्विकारस्त्वात्मा श्रुत्येकगम्य इति परे त्रयः श्रुतिप्रमाणोपासकाः। तत एव तु श्रुतौ श्रुतान् विभुत्वादीन् विशिष्टेऽप्यात्मनि कथंचिदिमे योजयन्ति। आद्या हि त्रयः परिग्रहा आत्मनः स्वरूपपोषका एवेत्यात्मस्वरूपं नात्राद्रियते। त्रय एवाद्या ईश्वरेण परिगृह्यन्ते, विकारावरणाञ्जनानि तु ईश्वरे न सन्त्येवेति तत्पक्षपातिनां लोकायतबौद्धार्हतानां निरीश्वरवादः, परे त्वीश्वरमभ्युपयन्त्येव। सांख्यस्येश्वरप्रतिषेधस्तु कारणान्तरादिति नेह प्रतन्यते। भवतु नाम, अनया दिशा एकमेव तत्त्वं स्थूलारुन्धतीन्यायेन क्रमेण सर्वाणि दर्शनानि उपदर्शयन्ति, न तु अन्योन्यविरुद्धं किमप्यभिनवमालपन्तीति विजानन्ति विद्वांसः। स्थूणानिखननन्यायेन पूर्वपक्षदाढर्याय तत्र तत्रेतरपक्षनिराकरणमिति न तत्राभिनिवेष्टव्यम्।

तथैव वेदान्तदर्शने योऽयं मायारूपः परिग्रहो निरूपणीयतानिर्वाहायावशेषितः, तस्य वस्तुगत्या जगति तथाविधसम्बन्धस्य बुद्ध्यनारूढत्वादनिर्वचनीय एवात्मना संबन्धः, बुद्ध्युपारोहायांशतस्तन्निर्वचनप्रवृत्त्या तु दृष्टिभेदेनैव तत्राऽपि विशिष्टाद्वैत–शुद्धाद्वैत, द्वैताद्वैतादिभेदाः प्रवर्तन्ते। पृथक्त्वेऽपि नित्यसम्बद्धताख्यापनाय शरीररूपेण मायातत्त्वस्य चिख्यापयिषायां विशिष्टाद्वैतवादः, शक्तिरूपतयाऽभ्युपगमे शक्तिशक्तिमतोश्च सर्वात्मनैक्याऽभ्युपगमे शुद्धाद्वैतवादः, शक्तिशक्तिमतोः सर्वात्मना भेददृष्ट्या द्वैतवादः, कथंचिद्भेदाभेदक्रोडीकारे तु द्वैताद्वैतवाद इति दृष्टिभेदेनैव सर्वेषां वादानामुपपत्तिसम्भवात्। शक्तिः शक्तिमतो भिन्ना, विद्यमानेऽपि शक्तिमति शक्तिविलयदर्शनात्। न भिन्ना, पृथक्त्वेन कदाऽप्यनुपलब्धेः, एककार्यदर्शनाच्च। पृथङ् नोपलभ्यते, सम्बद्धा तु कदाचिदुपलभ्यत एव इति भिन्नाभिन्ना। सत्यपि तु भेदे पृथगुपलब्धिर्नसम्भवतीति विशिष्टमेवैकं तत्त्वम्।

भेदाभेदयोः परस्परं विरोधेन सहैकत्र वक्तुमशक्यतया, एकस्य च कस्यचिदुपपादयितुमशक्यतया अनिर्वचनीयमिदमिति च पञ्चैव प्रकाराः शक्तिशक्तिमतोः संबन्धनिरूपणे सम्भवन्ति, त इमे यथाभिरुचि विनेयानामधिकारानुरूपं परिग्रहणायाचार्यैः परिष्कृत्योपपादिताः, नेतः परः शक्तिशक्तिमतोः सम्बन्धे कोऽपि प्रकारः संभवति। स्वस्वपक्षदाढर्याय चेतरनिराकरणं तत्र तत्रोपलभ्यते, स च प्रकारो विनेयानां व्युत्पत्तिवर्धने परं साहाय्यमादधातीति सफलोऽयमाचार्याणां प्रयत्नः। तथैव सगुणनिर्गुणवादेऽपि 'वाचारम्भणमेव' भेदो विरोधो वा। प्राकृतगुणरहितोऽप्राकृतानन्तकल्याणगुणगणो भगवानिति श्रीरामानुजादयो वैष्णवाः प्रतिपेदिरे। अस्माकं तु खलु व्यवहारे प्राकृतगुणा एव गुणपदेन परिचिता इति तादृशगुणानां भगवत्यभावादस्मद्दृष्ट्या निर्गुण एव भगवान् श्रीशंकराचार्यादिभिरुपगम्यते। सर्वथा गुणानामभावे कीर्तनस्मरणादिकं न भवतीति उपासनासिद्धये अप्राकृतकल्याणगुणगणस्वीकार आवश्यकः, ज्ञानाङ्गं निदिध्यासनं तु अभावबुद्धिसन्तत्यापि निर्वहतीति तादृशकल्पनाया नास्ति तत्र विशेषेणोपयोग इत्येव लक्ष्यभेदोऽत्र विचारभेदे हेतुर्भवति। तदेवं विषयाणामेवंविधानामतिगहनानां कार्त्स्न्येन साधकबाधकयुक्तिभिरंशतोऽप्यपरिहाणेन प्रतिपादनं नूनं सुरभारत्या महानुत्कर्षः। न ह्येवंविधा विषया एवं कार्त्स्न्येन क्वचिन्निरूपिता दृश्यन्ते, नापि शक्यन्ते निरूपयितुम्। एवंविधसूक्ष्मतमतत्त्वनिरूपणे सुरभारत्या एव शक्तिर्नान्यस्याः कस्या अपि भाषायाः।

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याश्च विद्या अतिमहत्त्वास्पदतयाद्यत्वे ख्याप्यन्ते, ताः सर्वाङ्गपूर्णाःसंस्कृतवाङमये समुपलभ्यन्त एव। कासांचिद्विस्तरेण प्रतिपादका ग्रन्था विलुप्ता इति सूत्ररूपेण संक्षिप्तं तासां स्वरूपमुपलभ्यते, काश्चित्तु विस्तरेण समुपलभ्यन्ते। परं संक्षेपेऽपि यावतामङ्गानामस्माकं वाङमये परिचयः, तावतामद्यत्वे परिचयोऽपि नास्ति। तथा हि–प्राणिशास्त्रस्याद्यत्वे विशिष्य विस्तरः, किन्तु चतुर्दशविधो भूतसर्गः सांख्ये उक्तः, पुराणेषु चोपबृंहितः, तत्र केवलं पशुमृगपक्षिसरीसृपस्थावराख्याः पञ्च तिर्यञ्चः, मनुष्यश्चेति षडेव विधा अद्य यावदस्याधुनिकविज्ञानस्य परिचिताः, अष्टविकल्पो देवसर्गस्तु नैषां परिचितः, इति चतुर्दशसु षण्णामेव परिचयादर्द्धपर्यन्तमध्यस्थां विद्यायां न गतिराधुनिकानाम्। एवं भूस्तरविद्याया (जियोलाजी) अप्याधुनिके विज्ञाने गौरवपूर्णो विस्तरः, परमस्माकं पुराणेषु अतलवितलादिनाम्ना सप्त स्तरा निरूपिताः। आधुनिकैस्तु त्रिचतुरा एव स्तरा अद्यावधि विज्ञाता इत्यत्रापि अर्द्धाधिका गतिर्नास्ति। मनोविज्ञानमाधुनिकं योगशास्त्रस्य भारतीयस्य कलामात्रमपि न स्पृशति, वनस्पतिविज्ञानं विततमायुर्वेदे, रासायनिकं विज्ञानं तन्त्रेषु वैशद्येन निरूपितम्। भौतिकं विज्ञानं च श्रुतौ दर्शनेषु च सुदूरपर्यन्तमालोचितम्। इतिहासशास्त्रमद्यत्वेऽत्यर्थं रुचिकरं विदुषाम्। परमेषामितिहासकालः सार्धसहस्रद्वयात्संवत्सराणां परतो न गच्छति, अस्माकं पुराणोपपुराणानि तु सृष्ट्यारम्भादितिहासं बोधयितुं कृतसन्नाहानि। प्रक्रियाऽवश्यं भिद्यते, परमेतावत्सुदीर्घकालेतिहासनिरूपणे सैव प्रक्रियोपयुज्यते, न तु तिथिनिर्देशप्रक्रिया तत्र संभवतीति विद्वद्भिरेव विचार्यम्। ये नन्वद्यत्वे प्रत्यहं भवन्ति नवनवा आविष्कारा:, तेषां सर्वेषां जनन्यस्माकं न्यायविद्या। 'प्रत्यक्षागमाश्रितमनुमानम्' इति हि न्यायो लक्षितो भाष्यकृता भगवता वात्स्यायनेन। यच्च नवनवं वस्तुजातमाविष्क्रियते वैज्ञानिकैः, तत्सर्वं प्रत्यक्षागमाश्रितानुमानसाध्यमेव। सर्वतो निरुद्धस्याग्नावधिश्रितस्य पात्रस्योत्पतनं प्रत्यक्षीकृत्य तेन वाष्पस्य महतीं शक्तिमनुमाय वाष्पयानं रेलशकटीत्याख्यमाविष्कृतं फ्रान्सदेशीयेन विदुषेति जानन्ति विद्वांसः। एवमेव दृष्ट्वा श्रुत्वा वा सर्वेऽप्याविष्काराः प्रवृत्ताः, प्रवर्तन्ते वा। 'एकोनामिक्स' पदेन या विद्या बहुतरमान्दोल्यते, साऽस्माकं वार्त्ताशास्त्रम्। अस्या वृत्त्युपायबोधिकायाः सुमहान् विस्तर आसीदिति पुराणवचनेभ्योऽनुमीयते, परं हन्त! ग्रन्था अद्यास्माभिर्नोपलभ्यन्ते, केवलं भग्नावशेषमात्रं कौटिलीयार्थशास्त्रादिषु प्राप्यते। राजनीतिशास्त्रं तु अद्यापि तादृशं यदाधुनिकान् युरोपीयविदुषोऽपि चकितयति। अस्माकं शास्त्रेषु विस्तृतान् व्यवहारनियमान् (कानून) आधुनिका विद्वांसः परिवर्तयितुं विचेष्टन्ते। परं हन्त! न ते विचारयन्ति-यदेभिर्नियमैरीश्वराज्ञानुविधायिभिः परोलक्षाणि वर्षाणि समाजस्य शृङ्खला सुरक्षिता, मनुष्यबुद्धिप्रसूतास्तु अद्यतना नियमाः शताब्दीपर्यन्तमपि न चलिष्यन्ति। पुत्रबद् दुहितरोऽपि पितुर्दायं गृह्णन्तु—इति आपाततो रम्या विभाति व्यवस्था। परं चतस्रः पञ्च सप्त वा दुहितरः सम्पत्तिमंशैर्विभज्य विभिन्नेषु देशेषु यदा नेष्यन्ति, तदा कोटयधीशान्यपि कुलानि दारिद्र्यमल्पेन कालेन यास्यन्ति, भूस्वामिनामेकपुरुषानन्तरमेव भूविक्रयो भविष्यति, अभ्रंलिहप्रासादनिर्मातॄणां सुताः कुटुम्बस्थितय आवासमात्रमपि न लप्स्यन्ते, इति कियती विशृङ्खला समाजे निपतिष्यतीति बत पश्यन्तोऽपि बुद्धिमन्त आविष्टा इव न पश्यन्ति। पुराणमित्येव हेयमिति तेषां मनीषा। किं च दायं गृह्णतीभिर्दुहितृभिर्ऋणमपि पैतृकं देयं नवेति पृच्छामः। यदि न देयं तर्हि पुत्राणां कृते महानयमन्यायः, साम्यवादभङ्गश्च। यदि तु देयम्—तर्हि निर्धनानां कुटुम्बिनां कन्या ऋणभीत्या कोऽपि न ग्रहीष्यतीति कन्यानां पक्षपातं कर्तुमुद्यतैर्वैपरीत्येन विपद्गिरिस्तच्छिरसि पात्यते। भ्रातॄणां समये समये पारस्परिकः कलह आपतति, भ्रातृभगिन्योस्तु सौहार्दमस्माकं समाजे आदर्शभूतं गण्यते, तदप्यनेन नवेन व्यवहारनियमेनोच्छिद्येत। परस्परं दानप्रतिदानचिन्ता चानयोः प्रवर्तेत। तथैव विवाहनियमपरिवर्तने भारतीयोऽयं समाजो युरोपीयतां नीयेतेति जातेरेव विनाशप्रसङ्गः।

मान्या महाभागाः! भारतीयानां सामाजिकेषु नियमेषु धर्मशास्त्रेष्वपि च यदित्थमनधिकारिणो मल्लायन्ते, तत्रास्माकं सुरभारतीसेवकानां संघटनाऽभावोऽपि मुख्यो हेतुः। सर्वगुणसंपन्नापि भगवती गीर्वाणभारती माता सुतानामस्माकमुपेक्षया देशकालानुकूलाचरणाभावेन च कदर्थनामनुभवतीति किं नेदमस्माकं लज्जाकरम्। कियतीं दुर्दशामद्यतनीं वर्णयामः प्राच्यभाषानाम्ना संस्कृतस्यैव या परिषत् महतायोजनेन संपाद्यते, तस्या अपि सर्वं

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

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कार्यं वैदेशिक्या आङ्ग्लभाषया प्रचलति । संस्कृतस्य महान्तः पण्डिताः संस्कृतपरिषदो दूरे तिष्ठन्ति । प्रकारान्तरेण शाखारूपेण कथंचित्सभां संपाद्याश्रूणि प्रोञ्छन्ति । ये तु संस्कृतां वाचं वक्तुं लेखितुं वा नांशतोऽपि समर्था लज्जमाना इव तद्भाषणं लेखनं वा दूरतस्त्यजन्ति, ते संस्कृतपरिषदां कार्यपरिचालकाः ! अनेकेषु विश्वविद्यालयेषु त एव संस्कृतपाठचक्रमव्यवस्थापकाः, ये संस्कृते दश पङ्क्तीरपि न लेखितुं प्रभवन्ति । हन्त ! अपरिचितानां हस्ते भाग्यविधातृत्वमस्मन्मातुः पतितम् । विशिष्टसंस्कृतविद्यालयव्यवस्थापका अप्याङ्गलभाषाविद एवाद्यत्वेऽन्विष्यन्ते, अवरकक्षाकाङ्गलविद्यालयाध्यक्षहस्ते संस्कृतविद्यालयप्रबन्धः समर्प्यते । संस्कृतज्ञेषु नास्ति प्रबन्धशक्तिरिति नूनं सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्ततया स्थिरीभूतम् । अहो ! यस्या एव प्रभावेण चाणक्यादिभिरापाटलिपुत्रमापुरुषपुरं (पेशावर) च सर्वमपि भारतं स्वशासनें रक्षितम्, येषां च शासनव्यवस्था चोनादिदेशेभ्य आगतैर्विशिष्टपुरुषैरप्यादर्शतयाभिगीता, तस्या एव सुरभारत्या उपासका अद्य लघुतमविद्यालयस्यापि प्रबन्धे असमर्था गण्यन्ते ! ! यद्धि भारतं जगद्गुरुतया मनुना समुद्घुष्टम्, तस्य च्छात्रा अद्यत्वे संस्कृतभाषामप्यध्येतुं भारताद्बहिर्युरोपादिदेशान् गच्छन्ति । अस्माकं वेदाङ्गानि निरुक्तादीनि च तत्र गत्वाधीयते, •उच्चतमाश्च पी. एच. डी. डो. लिट्, इत्याद्याः पदवीस्तत्रगतैरेव लभ्यन्ते । अस्मद्देशे महत्सु लघुषु च विद्यालयेषु संस्कृताध्यापका अध्याङ्गलभाषाविद एव ग्राह्या इति क्रमेण सर्वत्रैव स्थिरीभूतम् । संस्कृतस्य श्लोकमपि व्याख्यातुं न शक्नुवन्तु नाम । परं प्राप्ताङ्गलपदवीका इत्येव संस्कृताध्यापने नियुज्यन्ते । धर्मसंबन्धेऽपि प्राच्यदर्शनसंबन्धेऽपि आङ्गलभाषाभिज्ञो विद्वान् यद् ब्रवीति, तत्समाजे प्रमाणतयाभिमन्यते । ज्ञातसारैर्मार्मिकैः संस्कृतपण्डितैर्यदुच्यते, तत्तु अस्माकमेव समाजे उपेक्षणीयं भवति । सर्वस्यास्य व्यतिक्रमस्य मुख्यं कारणमस्माकं संघटनशक्तेरभाव एव । 'संघे शक्तिः कलौ युगे' इति हि भगवता व्यासेनोपदिष्टम्, स च संघोऽस्माकं न सम्पद्यत एव । संस्कृतसाहित्यसम्मेलनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य चिरं तद्भारमुद्वहता जनेनानेन बहुतरं संस्कृतज्ञानां संघशक्तिसम्पादनाय प्रयतितम् । परं हन्त, नासाद्यत यथेप्सितं साफल्यम् । चत्वारः पञ्च वा पण्डिता एकत्र विना कलहं स्थातुं न शक्नुवन्ति–इति अस्मद्विद्वेषिणां प्रसिद्ध्यति प्रवादः । संघशक्तिमन्तरेण च नाद्यत्वे कोऽपि अस्मद्वाचं शृणोति । शिक्षाक्रमश्चाप्यस्माकं तादृशो येन न वयं लोकानुकूलान् संघटननियमान् परिचिनुमः, नापि देशकालानुकूलं व्यवहर्त्तुं प्रभवामः । मान्या महाभागाः ! क्षम्यतां ममैतद्धार्ष्ट्यम्, निरुद्देश्येयं युगेऽस्मिन्नस्माकं शिक्षाप्रणाली । न किमपि लौकिकं पारलौकिकं वा उद्देश्यं लक्ष्यीकृत्येयं प्रवर्तते । वाद (शास्त्रार्थ) युगीयां पद्धतिमद्य परीक्षायुगाङ्गतायां बलादाकृष्य वयं प्रवर्तामहे ।

बहु खलु मयास्मिन् विषये समये समये जल्पितमिति न विस्तरेण समयं श्रीमतामपहर्तुमिच्छामि, परं यद्याकाङ्क्ष्यते वन्दनीयाया मातुः सुरभारत्याः प्रतिष्ठामयं जीवनम्, यदि चाभिलष्यते समाजे संस्कृतपण्डितानां शिक्षितेषु गणना, तर्हि सर्वमपि कार्यजातं विस्मृत्य आग्रहग्रहिलतां च दूरीकृत्य सुरभारतीसेवकैः संघीभूय देशकालानुकूलं परिष्क्रियतां संस्कृतशिक्षाप्रणालीति विद्वदग्रेसराणामग्रे सवांहूतक्षेपमुच्चैः क्रन्दामि । यदि न श्रोष्यते वृद्धस्यास्य वचोऽद्यापि, तर्हि पश्चात्तापमात्रमवशिष्येताचिरादित्यपि भाव्यतां भावुकैः । शिक्षाप्रणालीपरिवर्तनेन न ममायमभिप्रायःस्वप्नेऽपि संभावनीयो यद्वयमाङ्गलभाषाविद इव वैदेशिकसभ्यताभक्ता भवेम, आर्यसभ्यतायाश्चास्मत्सन्ततिर्दूरीभूता स्यात्, धर्मं चोपेक्ष्यार्थकामपरायणतास्मद्देशे प्रसृता स्यादिति । शान्तं पापम्, प्रतिहतममङ्गलम् । अहं तु वाञ्छामि, कालेऽस्मिन् परैः क्रियमाणानस्मद्धर्मेऽस्मत्सभ्यतायामस्मद्दर्शनेऽस्मद्विज्ञानेषु चाक्षेपान् वयं समाधातुं प्रभवेम । संस्कृतज्ञा आर्यसभ्यताया विजयिनः सैनिका भवेयुः । अद्याप्येत एवार्यसभ्यतायाः सैनिकाः सन्ति, परं यथा कश्चित्सैनिकः शताब्द्याःप्राग्व्यवहृतं खड्गं गुलिकास्त्रं वा प्राक्तनपरिपाटीनिर्मितं गृहीत्वाद्य वैज्ञानिके युद्धे विजयाभिलाषी गच्छेत्, तस्योत्साहः प्रशस्यतां नाम धीरैः, फलं तूपहासातिरिक्तं न किमपि तेन लभ्येत, वैज्ञानिकैरेवास्त्रैर्युद्ध्यमानेन जयोऽद्यावाप्तुं शक्यते, तथैव प्राक्तनीमेव पद्धतिमवलम्ब्य यद्वयं विचारसमरेऽवतरामः, न तेनास्माकं सभ्यतया विजयः शक्यतेऽवाप्तुम् । तत एव विद्यमानेष्वप्यस्मत्सभ्यताधुरंधरेषु पण्डितप्रकाण्डेषु अस्मत्सभ्यता ह्रसत्येव, न विजयते । पण्डितास्तु हठाविष्टा न स्वपद्धतेः पदमपि इतस्ततो गन्तुं वाञ्छन्ति । यस्तु कालानूकूल्येन किमपि वक्तृतादिकं विधातुं

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चेष्टते, स पण्डितसमाजाद्बहिर्निष्कास्यते। 'उपदेशकः स न पण्डितः' 'सभासु वक्तुं जानाति न विद्वत्सु गणनामर्हती'त्याद्या आलापा विदुषामनेकधा श्रोत्रगोचरीकृताः। पण्डितान् यदि कश्चिद् विचारार्थमाह्वयति, तर्हि पञ्चावयवप्रक्रिययैव वादो विधेयः, इति त आगृह्णन्ति। किमर्थोऽयमभिनिवेश इति पृच्छामि। किं प्रकारान्तरेण तत्प्रक्रियया ते नास्माभिः समाधातुं शक्यन्त इत्यस्मद्दौर्बल्यं केनचिद्व्याजेनास्माभिराच्छाद्यते, उत अस्माकं दर्शनेषु धर्मादिषु वा तादृशं दौर्बल्यम् यत्प्रकारान्तरेण परीक्ष्यमाणानि तानि मलिनीभवन्ति। मम तु दृढोऽयं विश्वासः, यत् शुद्धं स्वर्णमिवास्मद्धर्मदर्शनादिकं कथमपि परीक्ष्यतां नाम, सर्वथा तदुज्ज्वलमेव भासेत। ततश्च प्रक्रियामात्राग्रहेण किमिति स्वीया संस्कृतिः कदर्थनां नीयत इति नाहं विवेक्तुं प्रभवामि। अहं तु शिक्षापद्धतेरेव दोषमिमं कथयामि, यद्येन क्रमेणास्माकमभ्यासः, तेनैव क्रमेण वयं वक्तुं शक्ताः, नाध्वान्तरे गन्तुं प्रभविष्णवः। चिरादस्माकं पद्धतौ दोषाः प्रवृत्ताः, अद्य परीक्षायुगे तु तादृशी दुरवस्था संपादिता यद्वयं न गृहस्य न वा घट्टस्य वर्तामहे। आश्चर्यमिदम्—सहस्रशः पण्डिता वृत्तिकर्शिताः परिभ्रमन्ति, कार्यार्थन्तु यैरपेक्ष्यन्ते संस्कृतज्ञाः, न तैर्लभ्यन्ते। धर्मप्रतिपादका वक्तारो न लभ्यन्ते, याजकाः कर्मकाण्डविद्वांसो न लभ्यन्ते, पुराणवाचकाः कथाभट्टा न लभ्यन्ते, सामयिकपत्रसंपादका न लभ्यन्ते, अभिनवशैल्या ग्रन्थग्रन्थका न लभ्यन्ते, धर्मव्यवस्थापका न लभ्यन्ते। लभ्यन्ते केवलं कस्मिंश्चिदध्यापनासने समुपविश्य यथाघुष्टमुद्गिरतारः। लभ्यन्ते व्युत्पत्तिस्थाने केवलं योग्यतापत्रप्रदर्शकाः, लभ्यन्ते प्राक्तनटीकाक्षराणि—इतस्ततः कृत्वा केवलं वृत्त्यर्थं पुस्तकप्रणेतृषु नामलेखकाः, लभ्यन्ते वा पञ्च पङ्क्तीरपि शुद्धाः संस्कृते लेखितुमसमर्था अपि संस्कृतपत्रसम्पादकाः। कथमनेन प्रकारेण संस्कृतशिक्षा रक्षिता स्यात्। कियन्तं च कालमन्तर्निस्सारतां गतोऽयं शाखी पुष्पितः फलितः शक्नुयादवस्थातुम्।

तन्मान्याः! पुनरपीदं साभ्यर्थनं ब्रवीमि—विसृज्याभिनिवेशं पुरस्कृत्य दूरदर्शितां संघशक्तिं सम्पाद्य भूयोभूयो विचार्य आमूलचूडं परिवर्त्य तथा शिक्षापद्धतिः प्रकाश्यताम्—यथा नोपहस्येरन् समाजे संस्कृतपण्डिताः, नोदरदरीपूरणमप्यशक्यमेषां भवेत्, न ह्रासमुपेयाद् भगवान् सनातनो धर्मः, चिरञ्जीविनी भवेदार्यसभ्यता, कृतार्थतां च गता परिषदियम् युष्माकं युगानुयुगं यशो लभेत। बहुः कालो युष्माकं मया व्यतिगमित इति क्षमां याचमानो भवद्गिरामवसरप्रदानाय वाचं स्वीयामुपसंहरामीति। शुभं स्यात्॥

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DYĀVĀPṚTHIVĪ

By

The Late Dr. R. Shama Sastry, Mysore

Prof. H. J. Jacobi was the first to point out that the Dvādaśāha sacrifice at the close of the year at the beginning of the rainy season in what is even now called the Frog-hymn of the Ṛgveda (VII, 103, 1-9) indicated the adjustment of the lunar with the solar year when at the close of the hot season and the beginning of the rainy season the Vedic people celebrated their new year. Then it was that the sun's daughter Sūryā was given in marriage to the moon, as detailed in *Ṛ.V.*, X, 85. The year closed with the arrival of the sun in the Maghā asterism and the new year began with the sun at the Pūrvāphalgunīs after the Dvādaśāha sacrifice. It was in the Phalgunīs that what is called Dakshiṇāyana or summer solstice was located. Owing to precession of solstices it receded to the first half of Āśleṣā at the time of the Vedāṅgajyautiṣa and later on to the beginning of the Punarvasū. Thus he fixed the chronology of the Vedic people at about 4000 to 4500 B.C. At the same time Lokamānya B.G. Tilak took into his consideration the precession of the equinoxes from Mṛgaśiras to the Aśvinis and came to the same conclusion regarding the chronology of the Vedic age.

But distinguished Oriental scholars regarded the conclusions of both Prof. Jacobi and of the Lokamānya as vague surmises, not convincing, as there was nothing expressly stated in the Ṛgveda itself indicative of the situation of solstices and of equinoxes in those asterisms. None of these scholars went so far as to think that the word "Svaḥ" in the Vedāṅgajyautiṣa verse "*Svarākramate*" means "Dyauḥ", a Vedic technical term meaning winter solstice or Uttarāyaṇa and that in the compound Dyāvāpṛithvī the second term "Pṛthivī" means summer solstice or Dakṣiṇāyana. Other Vedic names of these two Ayanas are father and mother that are stated to be ever-youthful in the Ṛbhu hymns. The line joining these two points gives the celestial sphere or the sun's ecliptic a bow-like appearance. The bow is called Indra's bow, especially when it is cut asunder owing to precession of solstices. The other two Ayanas usually known in the Ṛgveda as Pitṛ-yāṇa and Deva-yāna are stated to lie in the midst

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of Father and Mother (*R.V.*, X. 88. 15). The verse runs as follows :—

"I have heard of two paths, the path of the fathers and the path of the gods and mortals : with these two paths the whole moving world turns between the two points called father or Uttarāyaṇa, and mother, Dakṣiṇāyana."

The semi-circle or bow from winter solstice to sumer solstice has these two Ayanas, Pitṛ-yāṇa and Deva-yāna, half and half each of the whole semicircle. The other bow from summer to winter solstice is equally divided into two Ayaṇas, the Pitṛ-yāṇa and the Deva-yāna. The Deva-yāna in the upper bow which is said to have begun with the Kṛttikās or Rohiṇī once is called Vasanta-viṣuva or vernal equinox and that in the other half of the bow it is called Tula-viṣuva or Śarad-viṣuva, autumnal equinox. The bow is called Viṣṇu's bow when winter solstice is meant to be referred and Rudra's bow when the other solstice is meant. It is also called Samyu's bow or Jupiter's bow, as the summer solstice was once situated in Pūrvāphalguni, which is known as the mother of Jupiter. From this it follows that the beginning of winter solstice was once at ths Pūrvābhādrapadā whose presiding deity is known as Aja-Ekapād. This situation of the solstitial colure is clearly referred to in the Rohita Sūkta of the Atharvaveda (A.V., XIII. 3. 6) :—

It says that "Rohita gave the earth and heaven their being. The Parameṣṭhin held a cord extended. There on reposeth Aja-Ekapād. He with his might hath established earth and heaven." The cord mentioned in the verse is the bow-string or diameter of the semicircular bow of Indra. When its string was cut off, Viṣṇu's head as well as Rudra's head, i. e., the loci of the two solstices would be cut off, due to precession of solstitial colure, causing the receding of the loci of the equinoctial colure at the same time. It is this change in the situation of the two colures that is meant when the Yajus-saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, and Āraṇyakas mention several asterisms as locus of Viṣṇu or Rudra, or Agni, Mitra, or Varuṇa.

The Mahābhārata gives expression to a dispute between Rohinī and Abhijit regarding the precedence of vernal equinox or of winter solstice in counting the Ayanas. Then it speaks of Rohinī as once being the place of equinox and then of the Kṛttikās, being the locus of vernal equinox. Both the Epic and the *Sūrya-prajñapti* of the Jainas include Abhijit among the constellations and make their number 28. The

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Sūrya-prajñapti divides the constellations into three classes and distributes them in the ecliptic giving them unequal spaces. Some are given fifteen Muhūrtas or 24′, some 30 Muhūrtas or 48′, and some 45 or 72′ for their place in the ecliptic. It places Abhijit before Śravaṇa and gives them 9 and 30 Muhūrtas or degrees in the list. This plan seems to have been in use among the Vedic astronomers also in those days. In course of time this clumsy plan seems to have been given up. This is what seems to have been meant when the Mahābhārata says that Abhijit went to the forest for performing penance with the hope of getting the first place Among the Ayanas. The *Vāyu-purāṇa* gives a clear definition of the equinoxes and of their loci.

The verses of the Mahābhārata run as follows :—

"Abhijit spardhamānā tu Rohiṇyāh kaniyasī svasā.
Icchantī jyeṣṭhatām devī tapastaptuṁ vanaṁ gatā.
Tatra mūḍho'smi bhadram te nakṣatraṁ gaganāccyutaṁ
Kālaṁ tvimaṁ paraṁ Skanda Brahmaṇā saha cintaye.
Dhaniṣṭhādistadā kālaḥ Brahmaṇā parikalpitaḥ.
Rohiṇi hyabhavatpūrvaṁ evaṁ saṁkhyā samā'bhavat.
Evamukte tu Śakreṇa Kṛttikāḥ tṛdivaṁ gatāḥ.
Nakṣatraṁ saptaśīrṣābham bhāti yadvahnidaivatam.

TRANSLATION :

Abhijit, the youngest sister, became jealous of Rohinī on account of her superiority and went to the forest to perform penance to acquire herself such superiority : I am bewildered at this; mayest thou be blest. The asterism Bhadrā fell down from the sky (gagana = vyoma = uttarāyaṇa). I shall, however, consider with Brahmā this matter concerning time. Just then time was made by Brahmā to begin with the asterism, Dhaniṣṭhā. The asterism of Rohiṇī was (a point of division) before. Thus the number of divisions was alike or even. When Indra said thus, the asterism of Kṛttikās which looks like seven-headed and which has Agni as her regent, went to heaven."

It is to be noted that when the number of asterisms was 28, each of the four divisions, two of the solstices and two of the equinoxes, had seven asterisms. But when the number was reduced to 27, by dropping Abhijit, the number of astersms for each division was also reduced to $6\frac{3}{4}$. Thus the number from Pūrvābhādrapada spoken of as Bhadrā in

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the verse above to Rohiṇī was seven. Then from that asterism to Pūrvāphalgunī, the place of Summer solstice was also seven. Then from that to Viśākhā, the locus of autumnal equinox, was also seven. Thus the number of asterisms from summer to winter solstice was 14. The same was the number from vernal to autumnal equinox. With 27 constellations, each division had 6¾ asterisms and the divisions from solstice to solstice as well as the divisions from one equinox to another had 13½ asterisms.

At present the locus of winter solstice is at the end of Mūla asterism and the sevaral asterisms that are stated to be solstitial or equinoctial asterisms in ancient works are as follows :—

W. Solstice	Ver. Equinox	S. Solstice	Autumnal Equinox
Pūrvābhādrapadā	Rohiṇi	P. Phalgunī	Anurādha
Śatabhiṣaj	Kṛttikā	Maghā	Viśākhā
Dhaniṣṭhā on the 7th Māgha when Bhīṣma expired.	Bharaṇi	Āśleṣā Do 1st half	Svātī 1st half
Dhaniṣṭhā 1st half on the 1st day of Māgha month.			
Śravaṇa with Abhijit, at the time of Mahāvīra.	Aśvinī	Puṣya	Citrā

The verses of the Vāyupurāṇa, with their translation, are as follows—

Yattadviṣuvataṁ śṛṅgaṁ tadarkaḥ pratipadyate.
Śaradvasantayormadhye madhyamāṁ gatimāśritaḥ
Āhastulyāṁ ahorātram karoti timirāpahaḥ.
Muhūrtā daśa pañcaiva aho rātriśca tāvatī.
Kṛttikānāṁ yadā sūryaḥ prathamāṁśagato bhavet
Viśākhānāṁ tadā jñeyaḥ caturthāmśe niśākaraḥ
Viśakhāyām yadā sūryaḥ carate'mśaṁ t tīyakaṁ
Tadā candram vijānīyāt Kṛttikāśirasi sthitaṁ.
Viṣuvaṁ taṁ tadā vidyāṭ evamāhurmaharṣayaḥ.
Sūryeṇa viṣuvaṁ vidyāt kālam somena lakṣayet.
Meshānte ca tulānte ca bhāskarodayataḥ smṛtaḥ.
Muhūrtā daśa pañcaiva ahorātriśca tāvatī.

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When the sun arrives with mean motion at what is known as the summit of *viṣuva* or *viṣuvan* at the time of autumnal or vernal season, then he makes day and night equal in length to day-time driving out darkness of winter. The number of *Muhūrtas* (48) are five and ten. Each of day and night is of the same length. When the sun reaches the first quarter of the Kṛttikās then the moon will be, it should be known at the 4th quarters of the Viśākā asterism. When the sun moves at the 3rd quarter of Viśākhā, then the moon should be known to be at the top end of the Kṛttikās ; then the day should be known to be *Viṣuva,* so say great sages. *Viṣuva* is caused by the sun, and the month kāla is due to the moon at the end of Meṣa (Aries) or of Tulā (Libra). Such is the tradition. The number of *Muhūrtas* is only five and ten. Day and night is each of the same length.

Now winter solstice is located at the end of Mūla. The number of asterisms from Pūrvābhādrapadā to the end of or beginning of Pūrvāṣāḍhā is six through which winter solstice has receded. Taking 960 years to pass through one asterism at the rate of 72 years per degree, the number of years that have elapsed from the beginning of counting the precession to the present day is $6 \times 960 = 5760$ years, which is about 718 years greater than the Kali era. This excess is evidently due to error of observation with naked eye, as stated by Swamikannu Pillae in his *Indian ephemeris*. (See also my *Vedāṅgajyautiṣa* Introduction).

As imagined by Western scholars who are accustomed to observe celestial phenomena with telescope and other precise scientific instruments, it was not difficult for the ancients to ascertain the arrival of solstices and equinoxes with rough means in use at the time. It was the shadow measure ascertained by the use of the gnoman and the recitation of Āśvina and other Śatrams or Vedic hymns. The day measure at summer solstice was 18 Muhūrtas and the length of night was 12 Muhūratas. The reverse was the case with the day in winter solstice.

It is a wonder that Western scholars with their characteristic keenness of observation and extra-ordinary detective capacity should miss to notice these plain statements about solstices and equinoxes and believe that the Vedic people had no conception of solstitial and equinoctial points and their precision.

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ĀPRĪ HYMNS IN THE ṚGVEDA

Stage of ritual development indicated therein and a theory as to how they came to be written.

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Mechanical character and systematic composition of the Āprī hymns in the Ṛgveda offer ample scope for intelligent study as well as speculation. Attempts by various scholars to understand their real character have almost been made in the light of their ritualistic interpretation by the Brāhmaṇas. According to the Brāhmanas, the hymns are to be employed at the time of making the Prayāja offerings in the animal sacrifice. This view has been accepted by all the modern scholars, who have written on Āprī hymns.[1] But this view can hardly be supported by the internal evidence of those unique hymns in the Vedic collection. A detailed study of those hymns[2] reveals the fact that these hymns must have been composed with a view to give a metaphorical representation of the general nature of the then existing sacrificial ritual.

The so called Āprī deities do not appear to stand for so many individually independent and clear-cut divinities and consequently they cannot be considered as so many deities, to be propitiated by the fore-offerings, as it has been popularly believed up till now. The deity of the first place, said to be Idhma is nowhere mentioned by name in the hymns themselves, where we find forms of past passive participle of the root sam-idh. Similar is the case with Īlas, where the forms of the root Īḍ have been used. The conception of Devī Ḍvāras cannot be interpreted to be either referring to the doors of the sacrificial chamber (सायण) or the gates of heaven (MaxMuller). The whole fabric of the connection of the Āprī hymns with the animal sacrifice has been woven on the slender evidence of the mention of Vanaspati, which is interpreted as referring to Yūpa and the word 'raśanā', (which happens to be mentioned

[1] *Max Muller Ancient S. Literature.*
Haug—*Inroduction to Aitaraye Brāhmaṇa*
Bloomfield—*Vediç repetition.*
Keith—*Religion of Veda.*

[2] I have prepared an article embodying a statement of the views of ancient and modern scholars and analysed the hymns for drawing relevant conclusions, this being the concluding portion of the same.

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in a couple of places). But the internal evidence does not support such a supposition. In general Vanaspati seems to stand for the fuel as it is in contact with fire while it is burning. The word raśanā does not appear to mean rope but the flame of fire. Mention of Uṣāsānaktā as separated from the rest of the deities of the Vedic pantheon also implies that they have been associated with the general sacrificial ritual in a metaphorical manner. The conception of Daivyā Hotārā is also a poetic fusion of the two priests, one divine (Agni), and the other mortal (the hotṛ priest), whose functions were poetically grasped to be similar ones. Mention of the offerings in general and the reference to all the gods who are said to be receiving oblations therein, also would indicate that the whole stands not for any specific aspect of a particular sacrifice but for the sacrificial ritual of a general character.

A detailed study of these hymns, given elsewhere, enables us to draw some relevant conclusions regarding the stage of ritual growth as represented by the Āprī hymns and to forward a theory as to how and when the first Āprī hymn must have come to be written. This study will further give us an idea as to how the pre-Brāhmaṇic ritual was a much different one than that of the Brāhmaṇas and when it will be supplemented by similar close study of the other hymns of the Ṛgveda, ample light will be thrown on the nature of the early Vedic sacrifice.

I

Stage of Ritual Development indicated by the Āprī Hymns

It should be noted at the outset that all the Āprī hymns have not been composed at the same time. This should be clear from the fact that those hymns have such a set pattern that their simultaneous composition can be ruled out of consideration altogether. For later hymns of that type to come to be composed, it is evident that the earlier ones must have come to excite some unusual interest and to occupy a very significant place in the family traditions of the people of those days. Enveloped in hoary antiquity as they are, it cannot quite clearly be ascertained nor emphatically asserted as to what evoked such unusual interest and desire to have a composition of this type for one's own family in the minds of the people of that age. But the hold that the idea had got on the minds of the families can become amply clear from the fact that excepting the families in the fourth and the sixth maṇḍalas, all other families and *maaṇḍlas* have Āprī hymns

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of their own. Even the Kaṇvas of the eighth maṇḍala have (I. 13) as a hymn of their family. About their absence in the two maṇḍalas and families, hardly any plausible conjecture can be forwarded. The only thing that we can say is that they were not very much fascinated with the idea of having a hymn of such a set pattern. Besides their absence in those maṇḍalas can hardly have any bearing either on the period of their composition or their place in the family ritual, the two things that constitute a part of the general problem of Āprī hymns. It is also possible that Vāmadevas and Bhāradvājas may have been using the Āprī hymns of some other older family in their family ritual. As contrasted with the absence of Āprīs in those families, it is interesting to note that Bhṛgus had a threefold tradition, viz., to choose either II. 3 or X. 70, or X. 110. In fact the remark "यथ ऋष्याप्रीणीयात् यद्यथाऋषि आप्रीणाति यजमानमेव तद् बंधुताया नोत्सृजति" in the *Ait. B.* indicates such a choice given to the members of different families even though it cannot definitely be said whether such a tradition had come to exist at the time of the composition and compilation of the Vedic hymns.

In the light of group or family affinities that must have been developed in the days of Ṛgveda, if we try to account for the unusual popularity of the Āprī hymns, it would seem that it must have been a kind of "family ritual" that must have been associated with them in their early stages. Hence with the material at our disposal, we have to make an attempt to ascertain with approximate exactness as to what it must have been.

If we look to the Vedic hymns, divested of their associations with the well-developed ritual in the days of the Brāhmaṇas, it should be clear that originally the hymns must have been composed for some self-contained rituals. We do not want to dispute the fact that the ritual was growing even while the hymns were being composed nor the fact that by the time the hymns came to be compiled, it must have attained a fairly important place ; but as MaxMuller points out at great length,[1] neither the collection of Vedic hymns has taken place with a ritualistic bias nor the ceremonial be considered as having attained its Brāhmanic growth even in those days, in spite of the fact that there have been scattered references to a variety of priests as well as materials and implements. The application of this conclusion, it appears, that he was not prepared to extend

[1] *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 243 and pp 255-60 "Rv. Saṁhitā belongs to a period previous to the complete ascendancy of Brāhmaṇas.

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to the ritual of Āprī hymns and hence has remarked that "each Āprī hymn was to be recited by the hotṛ priest previous to the immolation of certain victims." (*A.S.L.*, p. 245-6). It is significant that in this connection, he quotes Burnouf and Roth, apparently indicating that, in this respect, he was prepared to be guided by the popular tradition. He notices that the composition is clearly 'artificial', (p. 245), but as to how and why it could have happened, he has nothing to say. On the suggestion offered by Gāṇagari, he forwards a vague conjecture, about which, he himself does not seem to be very serious (p. 246).

Haug has recognised that in the earliest ritual, *hotṛ* alone must have been the officiating priest, who later on came to be associated with the *adhvaryu* (*Ait. B.*, Introduction, p. xxvi) ; but this conclusion he has not tried to apply to the Āprī hymns, where *hotṛ* is the predominant priest. In general he believes that the ritual was much advanced even in the days of the Vedas (*ibid*, p. xix).

Keith, like MaxMuller recognises the general principle that "the ritual of the Sūtras is not the ritual of the Veda",[1] that "in early days importance must have belonged to *hotṛ*"[2] that "a simple sacrifice must have been known in the beginning"[3] that "animal sacrifice is hardly noticed, save in the case of the important and rare *aśvamedha* sacrifice", that "Vedic hymns are a historical rather than a liturgical collection" and hence "the attempt of Hillebrandt to prove that (p. 15) Ṛgveda was a practical collection of hymns arranged according to their relation with the sacrificial ritual must be pronounced to have failed." (p. 1) He has further admitted that "The verses used by the priests for yājyās and anuvākyās are taken from Ṛgveda in a very far from natural way, showing only that the interest of the composers of the lists of offerings was to find some verse, which by connection of sound or sense might be thought appropriate." (p. 10). But the natural inference from those statements he does not apply to the Āprī hymns and hence makes that traditionally vague remark that they are for "fore-offerings of an animal sacrifice" which, as he thinks, "are preserved in the different family books of Ṛgveda and are an invaluable proof of the difference of family tradition, which is observed in the ritual text-books we have."

[1] *Religion and Philosophy of Veda* p. 252.

[2] *ibid* p. 253-4 (avesta 'zaotr')
'Description of ritual as in later days exposes us to a certain danger.'

[3] *ibid* p. 256.

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The vagueness of the conclusions of these scholars, as far as the Āprī hymns are concerned, is the result of the fact that even though they had recognised and admitted that "evidently they had been composed for some sacrificial ritual",[1] they have not tried to investigate more closely the internal evidence provided by the hymns themselves, being the only basis for arriving at some reasonable conclusion regarding their character, as all of them have admitted.[2]

Before we enter upon a discussion of the various arguments that would establish the early character of the Āprī hymns, it is necessary to appreciate an essential point of distinction between the common hymns of the Ṛgveda on the one hand and the Āprī hymns on the other. It is this. Even though, more or less all the hymns in the Ṛgveda have been composed for some sacrificial ritual or the other, the Āprī hymns clearly visualise a sacrificial ritual, with very strong family traditions and consequently a self-contained one, with a rather unprecedented appeal to the imagination as well as the sentiment of the Vedic poets and their patrons.

Now we shall present the various arguments that may reasonably help us in arriving at the conclusion that Āprī hymns must have been composed at a very early stage of the Vedic sacrifice.

(i) The Āprī deities :—With a detailed study of the Āprī deities,[3] it becomes clear that the view of Haug, viz., 'they are certain divine beings, who do not receive share in the principal part of the sacrifice', cannot stand at all. We can see that the number of stanzas does not stand for so many independent deities and also that all the deities are not such as do not receive share in the principal part of the sacrifice. In fact in connection with the description of '*svāhākṛtis*' almost all the important gods of the Vedic pantheon have been mentioned as coming and receiving their share of oblation offered. It is further extremely doubtful, rather well-nigh impossible, that these were the only deities of minor importance at a time, when as Haug would take it that the ritual was so much advanced to have Āprī hymns composed specially for the sake of the 'fore-offerings'. Again we can see that they cannot be said to be the various accessories of sacrifice that have been deified (in which case perhaps their use in the fore-offerings

[1] cf. Keith, pp. 254-5, where he describes the ritual in its early stages; and Haug, pp xvi-xxii, discussion on Rv X. 61.

[2] MaxMuller *A.S.L.*, p. 245; Keith—*Religion of Veda*, p. 255.

[3] This is ready for publication elsewhere.

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could have been explained), because no systematic attempt seems to have been made to include all the accessories of the ritual as would be evident from the non-inclusion of such an important part as the *vedī*.

Besides, if all these were only subordinately connected with the sacrifice, all of them ought to have been glorified and invoked in a similar manner. But as we can see, out of the whole lot, it is only Uṣāsā Naktā and Tisro Devīs, who are asked to come and sit on the sacred grass like all other regular divinities, while in the case of so many of the others, some distinctive functions are associated with them. Again we can see that no attempt has been made to deify the '*barhis*' and that '*samidh*' and '*īḷas*' can in no sense be considered as divinities at all, as in these two places, only adjectival forms from the roots '*samidh*' and '*iḍ*' have been used, with Agni as the clearly intended divinity. As in *barhis*, no attempt seems to have been made to glorify '*svāhākṛtis*'. As regards the divine doors, we can clearly see that it is essentially a metaphorical conception and the occurrence of it in the midst of Āprī group revolutionizes the old view, making it impossible to say that there can be a set number of clear cut divinities, glorified in the Āprī hymns. Out of the two divine hotṛs, we have seen that one is clearly Agni and the other the hotṛ priest. Tvaṣṭṛ has been referred to not because he can imaginably have any connection with the animal sacrifice; but as far as his function of scattering semen (firstly in the form of rain and then the real one) is concerned and which is most appropriately related with the ordinary sacrificial performances. There is no clear indication to say that *vanaspati* ought to refer to the sacrificial post; on the contrary we can see that he has almost been identified with Agni and appears to be closely associated with the kindled fire, wherein oblations have been offered. It is with reference to the cutting up of these oblations that Agni appears to have been referred to as '*daivyas śamitā;* there being nothing to point out that the animal-slaughterer has been referred to by that word.

Besides we have seen that Agni is clearly the deity in places 1-4 and 11, as also is indicated by the evidence of the 'praiṣa sūkta'. This fact as well as the very vivid description of fire (in *samidh* stanzas) can be well construed only on the assumption of the ritual intended thereby, centring round Agni in the main.

Thus the study of the so-called Āprī deities shows that no eleven deities were sought to be glorified there and consequently Āprī hymns can be relieved of their artificial connection

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with the '*prayāja* offerings'. In its turn this fact further indicates that Āprī hymns seek to glorify metaphorically a set sacrificial performance, which essentially centred round Agni and hence which must have been a very simple ritual, naturally belonging to the early stages of the Vedic sacrifice.

(ii) Sacrifice as it is referred to by the Āprī hymns does not appear to be a minor aspect of the principal sacrifice as the *prayāja* offerings theory would indicate. The expression 'this our sacrifice' is so frequently used that it very clearly implies the performance to be the main sacrificial performance and not a subordinate one like the *prayāja* offerings. (Cf. thus '*imam no yajñam* at I.13.8, I.188.7, I.142.8, III.4.8, V.5.7, IX.5.8; 'imam yajñam' at V.5.2, III.4.5; '*nas yajñam* at I.13.2, VII.2.7, X.110.7; '*asmin yajñe*' at I.13.3, X.70.0; '*nas iṣṭaye*' at X.70.11; '*yajñe yajñe*' at V.5.9). This sentimental expression further indicates close family affinity that had developed round the performance of this ritual. The expression '*yajñe yajñe*' at V.5.9 and '*yajñais*' at VII.2.2 further point out that these were common performances by family traditions and not any elaborate specialised performances of the later days. The reference to sacrificial priests also occurs in the most general terms and with regard to their functions in an ordinary sacrifice. Thus 'haviṣmat' at I.13.1, '*ṛtam yat*' at I.188.2, '*Śaśamāna*' at I.142.1 '*yatasruc*' at I.142.5; '*barhis stṛṇānās*' at I.142.5, '*barhis bharamāṇa*' at VII.2.4 '*saparyavas*' at VII.2.4 and '*ājuvhānās*' at VII.2.4.

(iii) This sacrifice is further said to be performed thrice a day at times at least. (I.142.3 *tris divā āmimikṣati;* and at III.4.2 *tris ahan āyajante*). It is said to be performed not in a specially constructed sacrificial hall but in the household of an ordinary householder. (*samiddho adya manuṣo duroṇe* X.110.1). This same is further supported by the fact that the sacred grass is said to be spread at the 'break of day' (X.110.4 *vṛjyate agre anhām*) and Agni is also referred to as enjoying the *samidh* that very time (*sudinatve ahnām* X.70.1). If any elaborate sacrifice were intended to be referred to, there was ample scope for doing so at these and such other places and hence it appears that at this stage, the sacrifices were so simple that the main activities therein were to kindle *samidh*, scatter sacrificial grass, pour ghee with a ladle and proclaim *svāhā* at the end.

(iv) In trying to establish the early character of the 'nābhānediṣṭha-sūkta' (x. 61),[1] Haug has employed the fact of reference to six priests therein as against sixteen of the later days to indicate its early character. He is of course right in doing so. Now if we apply the same argument to our hymns,

[1] *Ait. B.*, Introd., p. 16-22.

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which, it should specially be noted, are obviously equally sacrificial in character, then we get a very interesting result for our problem. If Āprīs really formed a part of the elaborate Soma ritual, here was an opportunity for clear reference to the priests. But we find here that there is only one priest that is referred to in very glorifying terms and that is 'hotṛ'. Side by side with him, '*adhvaryus*' have also been mentioned at VII.2.4, but clearly with reference to their subordinate status as assisting the scattering of the sacrificial grass (*barhis pravṛñjate*). The discussion in '*daivyā hotārā*' has indicated to us that this same *hotṛ* used to be the composer of the hymn as the adjectives like '*kāru*' would show. This state of affairs, viz., where the composer would act as the *hotṛ* priest must have belonged to the very early stages of the Vedic sacrifice. As Haug has remarked, the *adhvaryus* also belong to a very early stage of the institution of sacrifice (*Ait. B.*, intro., p. xvi). And hence a reference to them in the Āprī hymns with a predominant position to the *hotṛ* indicates a stage when the ritual though not in its infancy, had not developed any tendencies of growing to or attaining its later Brāhmaṇic proportions.

(v) The reference to the only technical expression '*svāhā*' is further significant in this connection; even the expressions '*iṣṭam*', '*vītam*', '*abhigūrtam*', '*vaṣaṭ kṛtam*' to be spoken by the priest on different occasions belong to a fairly early period of the Vedic sacrifice as Haug points out (p. xviii). Their non-mention in the Āprī hymns, where they could have been mentioned with propriety, can help us in justifiably concluding that Āprī hymns belong to a stage of ritual when '*svāhā*' was the only expression of religio-magical significance and hence could find a glorifying place in this metaphorical glorification of the then sacrificial ritual.

(vi) This same conclusion would further be suggested by the position of Āprī hymns in the midst of Agni group. As it is well known, that the Ṛgvedic collection of hymns has been done on a definite basis. Hence, the place of Āprī hymns in the early parts of the family *maṇḍalas* particularly (II.3, III.4, V.5, VII.2) indicates on the one hand that they belong to the earlier period of the composition of the Vedic hymns, and on the other that from the beginning they have been considered as Agni hymns, in spite of the so called variety of deities existing therein. This latter indication is more significant inasmuch as in the early period, so many Āprī deities were not considered as intended herein but only Agni, suggesting

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their connection with some predominantly fire-ritual. Agni is clearly the deity of the stanzas 1-4 and 11, is predominantly mentioned in the seventh and the tenth places and at other places as well the connection with Agni is pretty evident through the simple sacrificial ritual. A ritual in which Agni is the all-in-all deity can only have belonged to the rather early stage of the Vedic sacrifice.

(vii) The general tone of the Āprī hymns further shows that in the beginning, the Āprī hymns could have nothing to do with any well developed ritual as such. They describe a very simple occurrence : "O Agni, you are kindled with *samidh*, the sacred grass is scattered, your flames are spreading, bring the gods here, make our offerings sweet for them ; may the gods come, sit on the *barhis*, enjoy the oblations accompanied by *svāhā* and in return give us hero sons through Tvaṣṭṛ to continue the sacrificial tradition."

(viii) The offerings are referred to in the most general terms (I.13.11, etc.) and they are said to be enjoyed by all the gods, without any distinction. In order that they should be enjoyed, they are to be sweetened by Agni. At VII.2.2, they are said to be 'twofold' (ubhayāni), clearly excluding the remotest possibility of their referring to the sacrificial beast. At X.110.10, '*havya*' is said to be sweetened by '*madhu*' and '*ghṛta*'. This shows that Soma and butter were the two chief constituent parts of the sacrifice which was in prevalence then. Soma was apparently associated with sacrifice from very early times but, for want of more research into the matter, it cannot be said with any certainty as to when exactly animal slaughter came to be associated with the Soma sacrifice. But there can hardly be any two opinions as to the fact that animal sacrifice must have been a fairly late development and that originally the sacrifice with simpler offerings like milk, ghee, Soma juice, etc., must have been prevalent. Thus this fact combined with the simple notion of Agni bringing all the gods to the sacrifice and their receiving the oblations without any distinction indicates that the ritual implied in the Āprī hymns must have been a pretty simple one.

(ix) The apparently very close connection between the Āprī hymns on the one hand and the Āfringan prayers in Avestā

[1] The idea of Agni bringing the gods and sacrificing to them is so frequently repeated that it cannot be said to be just accidental. Thus 'Devān āvaha' (I.13.1,I.142.1,X.110.1, 'Devān āvakṣi' 1.188.3,II.3.3, III.4.1,X.70.3 'Devān yaja' (II.3.1,X.70.1,II.3.7) 'Devān yakṣi' (I.13.1,I.142.11, II.3.3,III.4.3, X.70.4, X.110. 3, 9) ; 'ūrdhvam adhvaram kṛṇu', VII.2.7, X.110,2 ('yajñam madhumantam kṛ I.13.2, I.142.8, V. 5. 2, III. 4. 2.)

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on the other also (as the discussion in an earlier section would show) indicates that the Āprīs must have belonged to a very early stage of Vedic sacrifice, because it was thought desirable to retain them in some form or other even by the dissenters from the older religion apparently as they were connected with an older rite and had come to develop essentially very strong family associations with them.

(x) The discussion on the word Āprī, given elsewhere, would also indicate that the hymns must have been written long before the name was applied to them, which in its turn would show that the hymns came to be written at a very early stage of the Vedic sacrifice.

In the light of the evidence, set forth above, it would be interesting to consider as to why the Āprī hymns must have come to be composed, which possibly out of them was the earliest one, and when and why the name Āprī was associated with them, and why later they came to be taken with the *prayāja* offerings. Lastly we may also attempt an approximate reconstruction of the ritual, intended therein.

II

A Theory as to why the first Āprī hymn came to be written

After the results of the previous discussion are borne in mind, viz., (i) the Āprī hymns must have some very clear sacrificial association, (ii) they must have been written at a fairly early period of Vedic sacrifice, (iii) the ritual they visualise must be a pretty simple one, there would not be much difficulty in understanding as to why the first hymn of that type came to be composed.

In the early days, as one can easily understand, sacrificial bias must have been subordinate to the poetic instinct and hence earlier hymns must have come to be written with a stronger poetic urge. Daily sacrifice had come to stay, where oblations must have been offered to a variety of deities. From the mention of practically all the important gods of the Vedic pantheon in the Āprī hymns, it is clear that by that time separate hymns had come to be written in honour of all those different deities. Ritual was not very much advanced except perhaps in some cases, where offerings were offered thrice a day. Agni was still the most important deity, being instrumental, in addition to his divinity, in bringing the gods to the sacrifice of the mortal. Hotṛ was still the most important priest, being assisted by a few *adhvaryus* at times, especially as the ritual had still

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not become a complicated one. The function of Agni in invoking the gods had already been grasped by the poet's imagination as being similar to that of the hotṛ priest and consequently Agni had come to be designated as the Hotṛ of the gods (I.13.1,4,8 ; I.142.8 ; II.3.1, III.4.3,4 ; X.70.3 ; X.110.3,9,11). He was however distinguished from the mortal priests of that name by describing that Agni was so from very ancient times ('*pradivas hotā*' II.3.1, X.110.11) or was the first *Hotā* priest (*iḷas prathamam hotāram* III.4.3 ; *yavhas hotā* X.110.3) or was the first Hotṛ priest established by Manu (*asi hotā manurhitas* I.13.4), the first mortal to offer sacrifice. This poetic idea of Agni being the hotṛ combined with the importance attached to the function of the mortal priest of that name found metaphorical glorification in the conception of 'Daivyā Hotārā' in the Āprī hymn. As a result of this metaphorical fusion of the two, they have been very aptly described as '*prathamā hotārā*', the first priests (I.188.7, II.3.7, III.4.7, X.110.7).

Imagery of fire rising up with smoke and flames had still very great appeal to the imagination of the poet (cf. VII.2.1); and hence he asks the fire to rise up with the oblations and go to the gods (X.70.1 *ūrdhvo bhava*). The sacred grass was poetically conceived as being soft like wool (*ūrṇammrada* V.5.4), because it was to be the seat of the gods. The result of the sacrifice, viz., favour of the gods, which would manifest through corn (which would help the birth of hero sons through semen) was clearly appreciated. This was naturally associated with Tvaṣṭṛ and in this way he was given a place in the metaphorical glorification of the sacrifice.

To appreciate the inclusion of the conception of 'divine doors' in the Āprī hymns, one thing should be very clearly noted. It is this. In these early days gods were not visualised so much with anthropomorphic details as with their original aspects as those particular phenomenon of nature. So when the poet is expecting the gods to come to the sacrifice and receive oblations, it is only in a metaphorical sense and not with reference to any actual arrival, as understood in the later days. And then the metaphorical arrival of the gods, combined with their association with Agni has given rise to the peculiar conception of the divine doors and it is for this reason that the description of the doors in the Āprī hymns does not agree with any other explanation.

Agni happened to be naturally the most favourite deity being the nearest one as well as easily approachable. At the same time his connection with the gods who were far away could not be forgotten and it is for this reason that the twofold

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conception of Agni as Narāśamsa and Tanūnapāt had come into existence. But as both were not considered as distinctly different from each other, we find them mentioned according to the family traditions. Thus these so called deities came to be included in this metaphorical glorification.

The tribe of Bharatas was clearly the most popular one while the sacrificial ritual was growing. This growth was apparently taking place on the banks of the great Ṛgvedic river Sarasvatī and its tributaries. Bharatas were the first to attain such predominance and hence their family deity or deities naturally came to be associated with the sacrificial ritual. The first offering to the gods was also poetically sought to be glorified like the first Hotṛ priest and it found expression in the conception of 'iḷā', thus enabling the poet to form a trinity of divinities, all having poetic association with the sacrifice.

The beginning and the end of the Āprī hymns both emphasize the poetic character of their composition. Thus whereas the hymn begins with the reference to *samidhs*, which also form the beginning of a sacrifice, it ends with the reference to '*svāhā*', which also mark the end of the sacrificial performance. Poetically the beginning and the end are perfectly faultless.

In this way with the development of these poetic associations, there naturally came into existence one poetic composition which combined all these together in one place. There were already different hymns, written in honour of different deities and hence it was not necessary to mention their characteristics in such a type of hymn. But at the same time such a hymn was not to characterize any specialised sacrifice in honour of any particular deity but one where all the divinities would receive their share without any distinction. The offerings of ghee and Soma juice were such that they could be enjoyed by all the gods. In the midst of divinities, the predominance of Agni can be easily understood and explained under these circumstances as we have seen above.

This universal character of the first Āprī hymn, must have distinctly appealed both to the imagination and the devotion of the people of one family in the first instance and then later to those of other families as well, who must have thought of adopting a similar course for their own families. In this way it appears that the different Āprī hymns came to be written.

This poetic effort must then have been associated with a ritual which of course would be a simple one, symbolic of all the variety of sacrifices offered in honour of the different deities.

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A FAMILY HYMN OF THE AGASTYAS

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1. I have attempted to prove elsewhere, that the Ṛgvedic families have in their collections a hymn or hymns which may be properly described as their Family Hymn or Hymns in view of the fact that they describe in them some unusual exploit of an early ancestor or rather, the Founder of the Family, trying to show his super-human character and powers. In some of these this early ancestor is represented as having the privilege of a direct contact with the great gods like Indra, while in others he is shown as performing some miracle, some unusual exploit which is impossible for ordinary men, with the help of the deities. Thus it was found how five of the six Family Maṇḍalas contained such Family Hymns, while one, namely, the Second did not appear to have any. A conjecture may be hazarded in this connection, though at present it does not seem to have any very sound foundation.

2. Among the Family Maṇḍalas, i.e., Maṇḍalas II to VII, the Maṇḍala of the Gṛtsamadas appears to have been first compiled and offered for inclusion in the Ṛk Saṃhitā. The idea of composing and putting such a hymn in their group did not possibly strike them and hence we do not find any hymn in it which may be properly described as a Family Hymn. The Viśvāmitras came next and probably set the ball rolling by putting two hymns in their collection of the Indra hymns, one which recounts how the great Viśvāmitra stopped two mighty rivers at their confluence so as to allow his followers, the Bharatas, to go beyond them with all their luggage and booty, and the other which describes how he officiated at the great Horse-sacrifice performed by his patron Sudās after his world-victory. One of the hymns is placed at the end of the Indra group perhaps by chance or considerations of arrangement, but without any intention of giving it greater prominence over others. The Vāmadevas took up the hint and put in the midst of their Indra hymns (its position being dictated by the number of its stanzas) a glorious hymn which declared how the ancient Vāmadeva was great and old enough to enjoy a conversation with deities like Indra and Aditi, on a basis of equality. The Atris followed them and brought at the end of their Indra group a hymn which gives a glowing description of how the great Atri delivered the sun from a calamity with the help of Indra and his own magical powers. The Bharadvājas similarly

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put a hymn at the end of their Indra Group, in which their ancestor is painted as the great magician-sage who with his magical chants protected Divodāsa's war-chariot and war-drums in his long-drawn battles with the Dāsa chiefs Śambara and Varcin. The Vasiṣṭhas came last and put in two such hymns one at the beginning and the other at the end of their Indra group ; in the first Vasiṣṭha's great influence with Indra is described, showing how on account of it, his patron Sudās, the Bharata king, could win the unbelieveable victory over the ten kings who opposed him, while in the other, Vasiṣṭha is glorified as an incarnation of the divine son of Mitrā-Varuṇā, born from the celestial nymph called Urvaśī.

3. I have presumed that the order in which these Family-collections appear in the Ṛk Saṃhitā is also the order in which they were compiled and introduced there ; and this is also borne out by the contiunally rising number of stanzas which are contained in them. Thus Maṇḍalas II to VII have respectively 429, 617, 589, 727, 765, and 841 stanzas in them. The ascending order of the stanzas is violated only by the Vāmadevas and it is possible that for some now unknown reason they yielded their second place among the Mādhyamikas to the Viśvāmitras. In all these cases, the Family Hymns find a place in the midst of the Indra hymns and this is quite natural, because Indra is the greatest and worthiest among the gods who may be associated with wonderful exploits.

4. Outside the Family Maṇḍalas, we find a similar hymn in the Agastya group in the 1st Maṇḍala. It is I.165. The Agastya group begins with the hymns to the Maruts, in which Indra also prominently figures now and then. The Agastyas appear to be specially favourable to the Maruts, and disclose a consciousness of having done something for these deities in connection with their share in a sacrifice. It is likely that the Agastyas were the first to offer a sacrifice jointly to Indra and the Maruts in view of the great and constant help which Indra derives from them. The Agastyas evidently regarded themselves as the great favourities of Indra and possibly on the strength of this assumption they proceeded to take this new move in favour of the Maruts. One Agastya poet actually says that the Agastyas are the great favourites of Indra both 'today and tomorrow' and this he significantly declares at the end of a Marut hymn namely I.167 (*vayaṃ adya indrasya preṣṭhā vayaṃ śvo*). This new move of some early Agastya seems to have been poetically represented by the later Agastyas as a glorious exploit of their early ancestor who secured for the Maruts an honourable share at the sacrifice as Indra's companions

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at the table, after appeasing Indra who was at first violently opposed to this proposal of the Agastya leader.

5. The hymn I.165 stands at the commencement of the group of hymns addressed to the Maruts by the Agastyas as said above. It contains 15 stanzas and is conceived as containing a dialogue between Indra and the Maruts, in which Indra first flatly refuses to recognise the Maruts as his table companions, but ultimately becomes reconciled to that position when his matchless and independent power is unwaveringly recognized by all concerned. As usual, all the events of the episode as conceived by the Agastya poet are not completely given in this hymn; some of them have to be found out from two other hymns namely, I.170 and I.171. Yet I.165 must be regarded as the chief exponent of this glorious episode, since it contains the chief dialogue between Indra and the Maruts and the final reconcilement resulting in the introduction of the latter to Agastya's special sacrifice. We may thus describe I.165 as the Family Hymn of the Agastyas in accordance with the view expressed above.

6. As a matter of fact, the part played by the ancient Agastya in the reconcilement and his talk with Indra on the one hand and with the Maruts on the other should have found a place in this Family Hymn, since this is the chief thing of which the later Agastyas could be proud; yet these are actually found in I.170 and 171. This would seem to militate against the view that such hymns were intentionally composed with a definite purpose and in emulation with each other. But whether consciously or unconsciously composed, these hymns do contain some unusual glorious exploit of the early ancestor or rather the Founder of the Family, and for that reason, may be described as the Family Hymns.

7. I propose to deal with this hymn along with its supplements namely, I.170 and 171, in the present article. I shall give a close translation of all the three with brief notes at the end; but first, I shall try to reconstruct the whole episode as it seems to me to have existed in the imagination of the Agastya poet. I shall of course stick to the actual words of the hymns as far as possible, in this attempt at reconstruction of the different events of this episode.

8. On one occasion, the ancient Agastya proposed to offer a sacrifice *jointly* to Indra and the Maruts and accordingly sent his invitations to both. Indra came and was waiting to receive his share; just then the whole host of the Maruts appears on the scene for the same purpose. Indra was wholly ignorant of this new move of the Agastyas and quite innocently

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as it would seem, accosts the Maruts about the purpose of their visit to that place (165.1 ; 2). In this question, Indra's tone is quite friendly and merely discolses his curiosity to know their destination. He of course has guessed that they had arrived to receive some one's hymns and sacrifice ; but he least suspected that they had come to share these with him at the same place. The Maruts on the other hand appear quite confident of their host's good will and sincerity in inviting them there and in a tone of self-exultation and in a jocular vein repeat the same question to Indra (165.3). The words *ekaḥ, satpatiḥ* and *māhinaḥ* in *ab* and the whole of the second half would seem to suggest that they thought Indra knew how he was to share the sacrifice along with them as his worthy companions and that he was merely joking in asking the question. Indra, however, did not know anything in the matter as the Agastyas had not informed him beforehand of their new move, depending upon the great favour of Indra which they enjoyed. So, suddenly and with a little impatience Indra replies that he had come there to receive hymns, Soma and other offerings at Agastya's sacrifice (165.4). The Maruts thereupon rejoin in that same jocular vein that they too had been there according to their *sweet will* for the same purpose (165.5). Indra now loses his temper and questions their right to be there, strongly objecting to their use of the word *svadhā* or *sweet will* and also wanting to know what had happened to that *svadhā* of theirs at the time of fighting with the Ahi ! He reminds them how at that time they had left him alone and how in spite of that he had come out successful. Indra meant to say that such deserters had no right to a sacrifice and much less as his table-companions (165.6). The Maruts now realise their mistake in misunderstanding Indra's attitude and request Agastya to explain the real situation to Indra. But Agastya too, was absolutely helpless at this juncture and could not even raise his voice to address Indra in the matter. Indra would not under any circumstances, allow Agastya to offer a sacrificial share to the Maruts even though it was designed and already set aside (171.4). On the other hand, Indra threatened to kill Agastya if he offered anything to the Maruts (170.2). Seeing this, the Maruts at once give up their jovial attitude, assume a serious expression and themselves try to pacify Indra by explaining to him how they claimed merely to be his companions and friends and not independent warriors like him, reminding him at the same time how he had performed many of his exploits in their company (165.7). Indra is still not inclined to cool down and says that he did not need anybody's assistance to perform his exploits (165.8). The Maruts then, in despair

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appeal to Agastya, charging him with insincerity (170.3); and Agastya makes his position clear to them (171.4). On this occasion, Agastya seems to have requested Indra to permit him to offer the sacrificial share to the Maruts as it was already promised to them, agreeing at the same time not to repeat such a folly in the future; but Indra is not inclined to grant the request owing to uncertainty of the future and unreliability of human nature and promise (170.1). Agastya makes one more attempt to appease Indra in favour of the Maruts explaining to him how they were like brothers to him and so how it would be proper for him to share the sacrifice with them (170.2; also cf. I.169.1; 6; 7). The Maruts pick up this suggestion and unreservedly acknowledge the matchless powers of Indra (165.9). Indra now once more repeats his possession of matchless powers (165.10) and then finally completely yields to the persuasions of the Maruts and Agastya. He willingly accepts the Maruts as his dear companions and beloved friends (165.11; 12). Agastya then invites the Maruts to accept his prayers and offerings as already promised (165.13) and orders his followers to make the necessary preparations for the grand sacrifice (170.4). The Maruts then decide to accept the sacrifice after mutual deliberation (165.14) and finally, Indra is urged once more to accept the sacrificial offerings in the company of the Maruts (170.5).

9. I shall now subjoin a translation of these hymns with brief explanatory notes.

Translation

I. 165. Indra Speaks:—(1) With what common beauty have the Maruts, who are of the same age and have a common abode, associated themselves? With what intention and whence have they come? The mighty ones sing a mighty song with a desire for treasures. (2) Whose hymns have the youthful gods liked? Who has attracted the Maruts at his sacrifice? With which admiring thought should we stop them who are flying like hawks in the mid-air? (3) The Maruts Speak:—From where have you come all alone, oh Indra, though you are great and a true commander? What do you want thus? Having met us who are well decorated, you greet us; you may therefore speak out what you desire from us. (4) Indra speaks: Hymns and prayers as also the pressed juices are very agreeable to me; (through them) my vigour, my raised Vajra, goes forth. (The sacrificers) long for me; the hymns lovingly approach us and these our bay horses carry us towards them. (5) The Maruts reply:—For this same reason, indeed, have we yoked our spotted deer, having adorned our persons

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and being associated with our own innermost, self-strong powers, oh Indra. You have indeed (only) imitated our self-will. (6) Indra speaks :—Where was that self-will of yours, oh Maruts, when you left me behind all alone to do the killing of Ahi? It is well known, how (at that time) I humbled (the pride) of every enemy with my weapons, being fierce, fiery and mighty. (7) The Maruts speak :—You have performed many (brave deeds) with our common powers as your companions, oh mighty Bull! And surely we shall perform many more by our power, if we so desire, oh most powerful Indra, oh Maruts! (8) Indra replies :—I killed Vṛtra, oh Maruts, becoming mighty by means of my own Indralike lustre. It was I who made these all-beautiful waters easily accessible to man, with my Vajra in my arms. (9) The Maruts speak :—Your (lustre) is surely resistless, oh Maghavan. None, indeed no one, is known to be like you among the gods. None who is born now or was born in the past is able to reach you; do perform those (deeds) which you will to do, oh mighty god. (10) Indra Speaks :—All-reaching must my power be considered, though I am all alone, (in all deeds) which I boldly propose to perform with determination. For, oh Maruts, I am famous as fierce; Indra alone is the master of all things which I move. (11) The hymn, the prise worth hearing, which you composed in person for myself, i.e., Indra, the powerful and mighty friend of yours, just here as my friends, has gladdened me, oh war-like Maruts. (12) You, oh Maruts, who are shining brightly thus by my side and who bestow (upon the sacrificer) lasting fame and nourishing food, have always delighted me in the past and may please me now and in future, when I look at you who are endowed with lovely forms. (13) Agastya speaks :—Who has indeed glorified you just here, oh Maruts? (It is I). Do come towards us who are your friends, oh friends. Rousing our prayers, oh beautiful ones, be the appreciators of these my sacrificial rites. (14) The Leader of the Maruts speaks :—Since the sacrificial prayer of this descendent of Māna has brought us here in order that he might serve us as a poet serves a helpful master, turn yourself, oh Maruts, willingly to that singer. The singer has sung these songs for you. (15) This hymn, this song of the poet Māndārya of the Māna family is for you, oh Maruts. May he win vigour with food for the body. May we obtain food and a host of followers whose liberality is quick.

I. 170. Indra Speaks :—(1) It is neither now nor to-morrow; who knows what has not yet happened? The mind of an ordinary person has to be waited upon and what is even well thought out by him completely vanishes away. (2) Agastya

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speaks :—Why do you seek to kill us oh Indra? The Maruts are your brothers. Arrange well with them; do not kill us in your clash (with the Maruts). (3) The Maruts speak :—Why do you disregard us, oh Brother Agastya, being our firend? We surely know what your will is; you do not desire to give us alone anything. (4) Agastya Speaks :—May they prepare the Vedi; may they enkindle the fire in front of it. Let us both perform a sacrifice for you, (oh Indra), where the immortal gods i.e., the Maruts, will feel animated. (5) You rule over all treasures, oh lord of riches; you are the best bestower of friends, oh lord of friends. Do agree with the Maruts, oh Indra; and then enjoy our offerings at the proper season.

I. 171. (1) I approach you with this prayer; with this well-sung hymn I beg the favour of the victorious ones. Strike down the feelings of hatred (of the foes) with a happy (mind), by means of your secret lores; do unyoke your horses. (2) This respectful prayer composed with mind and heart, is offered to you, oh divine Maruts. Because, you are the promoters of only a respectful prayer, come to this accepting it with your mind. (3) May the Maruts be gracious to us when praised; and may the Maghavan be the best bringer of bliss, when praised. May our lovely wooden tubs of Soma be always ready to start upwards (to the gods), with a desire to conquer. (4) Agastya explains to the Maruts :—Running away from this haughty Indra, (I stood) shaking with fear oh Maruts. The offerings were specially prepared for you; (but) we removed them away (for fear of Indra). Take pity on us. (5) Bestow on us fame by which the Mānas will become known as the Shining Ones by their power, at the breaks of the many Mornings, oh Bull, a fierce and firm-footed giver of strength as you are, along with the fierce Maruts. (6) Protect these brave men from a stronger enemy, oh Indra; in the company of the very wise Maruts, have your dislike for us completely removed. As the habitual victor, be the bestower of riches on us; may we obtain food and a host of followers of quick liberality.

Notes

I. 165. (1) *arcanti śuṣman*: Cf. III. 32. 3*ab*. *vasūyā*: The *vasu* is probably the expected sacrificial share. (2) *mahā manasā*: Cf. VI. 40. 4*ab*. (3) The word *eka* is contrasted with *māhina* and *satpati*; one who is a great and true commander ought not to be all alone, but should be surrounded by his faithful followers and friends like the Maruts. *sam pṛcchase*: cf. IV. 18.2*d*. (4) *śuṣmah* and *adriḥ* both subjects of *iyarti*; or, *śuṣma* as an adj. as at I.52.4*d* (*śuṣmāḥ marutaḥ*); IX.79.5 (*śuṣmaḥ madaḥ*). *prabhṛto adriḥ*: *pra bhṛ* is often used with the

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Vajra; cf. I.61.12*ab*; V.32.7*c*; II.30.3*b*. In *c*, the subject is *yajamānāḥ* supplied; cf. I.24.11*b*; 30.10*b*; IX.99.5*d*. *ukthā prati haryanti*: cf. V.57.1*c*. *me-naḥ*: Difference in number as at IV.42.1; also cf. X.86.8*c*. (5) *d*: 'Both of us, i.e., Indra and the Maruts, have followed their self-will in visiting the sacrifice of Agastya.' (6) In *d*, supply *svadhām* as the object of *anamam*, from *a*; *nam* used as a transitive root as at II.24.2 (*natvāni anamat*); VII.56.19*b* (*sahaḥ sahasa ā namanti*). (7) The stanza like the 14th, is addressed by the leader of the Maruts first to Indra and then to his followers (in *d*). (8) *d*: Cf. III.31.16*ab*. I take *suga* to mean 'easily accessible' and not 'easily fordable' as others take it. The waters were inaccessible to man as they were held up by Vṛtra; Indra killed Vṛtra and released them for man; *suga* is used only with *pathin* or *adhvan* in Ṛv. (9) *a*: Supply *vīryam* (I.80.7*b*), or *kṣatram* (VII.34.11; VIII.90.5). *ā* after *anuttam* is exclaimative, as at VIII.46.21*a* (*īvad ā*). *nakir*: *na*: Repetition of the negative for emphasis. *bc*: Cf. I.81.5; VII.32.23. *d*: Cf. VII.20.1*b*; also IV.30.23. *kariṣyā* is either equal to *kariṣyāh* or, a (future) passive participle like *kartvā*. (12) *anedyaḥ* is adj. of *śravas* and is a shortened form of *anedīyas* ('far off, lasting'). Or, supply *gaṇaḥ* (cf. I.87.4*ac*; V.61.13*ab*) referring to the Maruts. *c*: *sam cakṣyā*: Irregular use of the absolutive. (13) *a*: The expected answer is 'It is *I*, the singer'. Cf. similar questions at IV.25.1-3. *naveda* or *navedas* is 'appreciative patron'; cf. IV.27.4*c*; V.12.3*b*; 55.8*c*. (14) The words are spoken by the leader of the Maruts as in v.7. He addresses them to his followers to see if they agree with him as in the last case. Both *duvasyāt* and *cakre* are to be construed with *yat* as their accent shows. *duvase na kāruḥ*: *duvas* with this accent on the 2nd syllable is a noun of agency, meaning 'a helpful master or patron.' That *duvas* is here used of the deity is beyond doubt; cf. I.119.10*b*; III.51.3*b*; VI.36.5*a*. (15) *c*: Construe *iṣā tanve vayām ā yāsīṣṭa* where *vayām ā yāṣīṣṭa* is equivalent to *vayām adhikṛtya ā yāsīṣṭa*.

I. 170. (1) I construe this as Indra's reply to Agastya's request to permit him to offer to the Maruts, only on that day, since he had already invited them, though he should have consulted Indra before doing so. It is perhaps possible to construe *a* as a reference to the poet's claim that Indra belongs to him both 'to-day and to-morrow' (I.165.10*a*), and so he could assume Indra's permission in any act of his, as he was very dear to Indra. *cd* show how an ordinary man cannot be relied upon to carry out his promise without constant persuation (*c*: A man has to be waited upon or persuaded for carrying out his promise), and beside there is the danger of

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his forgetting what he has promised. (2) *naḥ* refers to Agastya in both the places. *samaraṇa* is 'the meeting', here 'a clash', of course of Indra and the Maruts; cf. I.165.3c (*śubhānaiḥ sam arāṇaḥ*). (3) *asmabhyam it:* 'you do not desire to give only to us; but you do desire to give to Indra.' (4) *te* in *d* refers to Indra. *amṛtasya cetanam:* Cf. *te devasya cetanam* (IV.7.2*ab*). Or, *cetanam* may be taken as an adjective of *yajñam* in *d* for which cf. III.12.2*b*; VIII.13.18*ab*, so that *amṛtasya cetanam yajñam* would mean 'a sacrifice which would animate the immortals, i.e., the Maruts.' *tanavāvahai:* Very likely, the other person intended by the dual is the same as is meant in *te*, namely, Indra himself. Indra's help was essential for performing the joint sacrifice to Indra and the Maruts. Geldner (Translation, p. 216) thinks that the other person is Agastya's son; not likely. Similarly Max Muller's or rather Grassmann's 'husband and wife' is to be rejected. (5) In *a* Indra is acknowledged as the uncontested ruler, but in *b*, he is also said to be the best 'friend-maker'; this suggests that even though Indra is all-powerful, yet he should allow the Maruts to be his friends and table-companions as desired by Agastya. *mitrāṇām dheṣṭhāḥ:* cf. *mitram enam dadhāma* (X.108.3); also expression like *mitre hite* (X.132.5), *mitradhiti* (I.120.9) and *mitradhitāni* (X.100.4). *mitrapate* occurs only here and perhaps is meant to explain Indra's position (Pati) with reference to the Mitras namely, the Maruts.

I. 171. (1) *c: rarāṇatā* is a very irregular form; according to the Pada Pātha, it seems to be an instrumental form of the present participle (which then must be supposed to have taken both the Atmane and Parasmai Pada terminations; or perhaps *rarāṇati* as a denom. verb) after which we must supply some word like *manasā* (cf. v. 2*c* below, and also expressions like *ahelatā manasā* II.32.3; VII.67.7 and *sumnāyatā manasā* at II.32.2). *vedyā* is 'some superior knowledge not possessed by ordinary men'; cf. VI.9.1; X.71.1. At VII.21.5 the word seems to be used in the sense of 'magical knowledge.' If this meaning is accepted here, construe *vedyābhiḥ heḷo ni dhatta* 'strike down feelings of hatred together with the *vedyās* of the enemy.' (2) *hṛdā manasā:* The double expression signifies the intensity of feelings; cf. I.61.2*c*; IV.58.6*b*; VI.28.5*d*; VII.98.2*c* and X.177.1*b*. *d: namasaḥ vṛdhāsaḥ:* cf. III.29.10 (*no vardhaya giraḥ*); VIII.6.32 (*pra vardhaya matim*); VIII.36.7. (*brahmāṇi vardhayan*); IX.40.5 (*jaritur vardhaya giraḥ*); also X.25.10*d*; 141.6*b*. (4) Cf. I.170.2. *niśitāni:* 'specially whetted, i.e., prepared for!' Cf. VII.18.2*d*; 6*b*. (6) *sahīyasaḥ*, i.e., *martāt*; cf. IV.55.1c. *avayātaheḷāḥ:* cf. IV.1.4*b*. *dadhāno*, i.e., *draviṇam*; cf. IX.96.12c.

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THE ṚGVEDIC THEORY OF POETRY

By

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Ṛgveda saṁhitā is primarily an anthology of beautiful poems devoted to the lyrical outbursts of the poets in those times. The compilation of this mighty volume marks the last phase of a great civilization and culture, and of a freeman's worship of Beauty. The seers sang of beauty of the familiar and the unfamiliar. The shining and lustrous dawn, the starry nights, the effulgent rays of the rising sun, the bright sun at noon, the sublime sunset, the thunder and the rain, and the tempestuous monsoon—are all endowed with beauty. They celebrated the beauty of the beneficient powers behind every aspect of nature, which blessed humanity and made life happy here and hereafter. They sang of the Beauty of their visions. They lived a beautiful life in the environments of ideal Beauty and they always sang of Beauty, Actual and Ideal.

In the vedic times, poetry was held as a thing of a very high order. The poets themselves speak about their art. They knew about the symmetry and artistic finish of their compositions. They regarded their compositions as works of art and not as having religious importance. Art itself was their religion. In the Rigveda there is no other religion than the worship of art-the worship of Beauty.

The vedic poets have settled and advanced convictions regarding the form and matter, unity of impression, conception and expression of their vision, and other details. Their whole theory can be epitomised under the verbs 'kṛ-', 'takṣ-', 'īr-' (including 'vac-', 'brū-', and 'bhar-'), 'jan-', and 'sṛj-'. These occur in the passages where they say they have composed the songs. The first two talk about the formal aspect of poetry, while the last two deal with matter. The third fuses and blends both. It does not follow from this that they had three different conceptions of poetry, for all these overlap and constitute only one theory. It is neither the form nor the matter that separately constitutes poetry, according to the vedic poets. Poetry is a spontaneous creation of an eternal value by the seer who has 'the blessed and serene mood', in which he looks into the inner life of things. It is there that

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he apprehends Reality. Artistic polish of the form, though insisted upon by many, automatically follows.

Poetry was cultivated as a regular profession, as we read in one of the last hymns of the ninth book—

"Kārur aham tato bhiṣag upalaprakṣiṇī nanā" (9.112.3). These bards formed a sort of society and often styled themselves as Kāravaḥ, Kīstāsaḥ and the like. The rivers style Viśvāmitra as a professional bard. And we also read that it is one of the most zealous poets that offers the songs (3.39.2, 7). These poets, as Geldner[1] has observed, seemed to have lived at the courts of the princes or the members of the royal family; and these were from all classes of society, both Aryan and non-Aryan.[2]

The poets were variously styled in the text. The term Muni occurs in one hymn (10.136) and here it denotes a spiritualist possessing superhuman powers and divine afflatus. 'Kīsta', 'Kiri' and 'Kāru' regularly denote a poet; but the last seems to be a derivative of 'Kṛ', to do, thus referring to the formal aspect of poetry. 'Ṛṣi' means a seer, a composer of the songs. Here the note of transcendentalism is clearly evident. 'Jaritṛ' implies one who composes musical songs. There was a section of panegyrists also who called themselves Vipanyavaḥ, Joguvānaḥ, and the like. There are also scholars (Vidvān), great intellectuals (Sūrayaḥ), pioneers or leaders (netāraḥ), and highly inspired ones (Viprāḥ). The intellectual note (Manīṣiṇaḥ) and the inspired tune are everywhere stressed firmly. Even their compositions were called in a similar way. They are utterances (vācaḥ), spells (Mantra), praises, songs and the creations of the mind (matī). They are called 'Chandas', from a root 'chand', originally meaning, to please. This term clearly shows that they have not ignored the aesthetic value of art in their considerations. That they are the creations of thought and of insight are always referred to, whenever the poet speaks of them as 'dhī', 'dhīti'. 'Nītha', a musical mode, and 'Nīthā', an artifice, are applied to their works to bring forth the musical and the artistic faculties underlying them. The descriptive note is well expressed in the terms 'Kadha' and 'Kāvya', while the ease of utternace and the melody therein are implied in 'sūkta' and 'śloka'. The song is even styled as the mind or thought (manas).

From these general thoughts, we can safely turn now to the passages speaking about the formal aspect of poetry. A

[1] See Vedische Studien, Band 3.

[2] See Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's article on "Vedic Authors" in Rangasvāmi Iyengar Commemoration volume.

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general idea of these passages can briefly be given as follows: Vasiṣṭha offers the new praise as if it were sacrificial food.[1] The seers have made the hymn, carved it as the 'Bhṛgus' did the chariot.[2]. A sort of artificial polish and a careful attention to the formal aspect of poetry is evident throughout. The seers are the makers of the hymns—Brahma Kṛts.[3] They worship with the new and solemn hymn; it is prabhṛti,[4] carried out after some effort. This polish and the chisselling of the form are not devoid of any art, for it is said,

"Haṁsā iva kṛṇutha Ślokam" (3.53.10).

They must make the holy song, and sing the strain aloud like the quacking swans; the musical tones are to be as fine, delicate, refined, and majestic as the gait of the swans. The poets have decked with ornaments the hymn addressed to the Aśvins amongst men, as if it had been a wife.[5] Intellect and inherent power are essential to give a colouring of art. Yet they did not greatly strive after the artistic effect, for the poet utters it easily as if he were yoking a chariot.[6] The very term Sūkta signifies that it is uttered or spoken well and easily. The glow of poesy is as free and easy as that of the gale.

Nodhas sends his hymn to Indra, as the constructor of a car drives it to its owner.[7] He has carved out a new hymn.[8] The clear understanding was given by the gods to the poet, and with it he was enabled to carve the hymn.[9] Gṛtsamada fabricated or erected praises like those who are desirous of travelling go to construct roads.[10] The institutor of the sacrifice calls upon the officiating priests to be diligent labourers, like the carpenter; and he exhorts, "Repeat the pious praise to Indra engaging yourselves jealously in the rites, like a carpenter who planes the wood."[11] Another poet observes that he has fabricated with his mouth unprecedented, comprehensive and gratifying praises.[12] Vasiṣṭha longs his pure and divine praise to proceed from him to the gods like a swift, well constructed chariot.[13] The seers construct the hymns as a clever and intelligent man prepares a chariot by himself.[14] Kumāra

[1] 7.36.2;
[2] 10.39.14;
[3] Cf. 7.29.2; 10.50.7; 54.6; 66.5;
[4] 2.24.1;
[5] 10.39.14.
[6] 1.61.4.
[7] 1.62.13.
[8] 1.109.1, cf. 3.38.1, 8.6.33; 10.80.7, etc.
[9] 2 19.8, cf. 5.73.10.
[10] 2.31.7.
[11] 4.16.20.
[12] 6.32.1.
[13] 7.34.1.
[14] 1.130.6.

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Ātreya composed the hymn for Agni as a steady dexterous artisan fabricates a car.[1] Gauravīti too fabricates acceptable and pious hymns like rich garments and like a chariot.[2] Nodhas combines the hymn with the instrument of invocation, as a man yokes a horse to a chariot.[3] Kutsa returns to Rudra the hymns derived from him as a shepherd returns his sheep to the owner.[4] And another observes,

> "Nāsatyābhyām barhir iva pravṛñje
> Stomān iyarmy abhriyeva vātaḥ."

Further, the hymn is devoid of all faults. It is delightful and pure as the clarified butter that has been filtered.[5] It is offered like consecrated butter.[6] It is the seers that have spread the language of poetry in all the directions through the seven metres.[7]

The chisselling of the phrase and of the line, the carving of a beautiful image out of the rough, harsh and granite rock, the making of a composition—all imply a keen sense of the artistic side of poetry. Beauty in execution,[8] and vigour born out of the fusion of intellect and imagination, without any trace of striving after the effect, bespeak of a rare gift of poetic faculty.

The poet is not only the shaper and the architect of all poetic things; he has a far more interesting and highly important station in the evolution of art. He is the medium of art, and the creator of it as well. The subject-object relation no longer exists between the two. He transcends these things, and it is almost a pleasure to him to execute the trust that is reposed in his hands. He never betrays, nor does he lag behind. The whole hymn is a spontenaous outburst; he brings it out, bears it cheerfully, and raises it aloft. The composition is uttered freely, as if it came into existence only in a casual way. The vision and the perception have made the poem complete, and the poet has only to speak it with ease. He speaks out the earnest and sacred hymn that glorifies the divinity.[9] The hymn is uttered bright tongued before Agni.[10] Men glorify the gods with various speeches and utterances.[11] The eulogy has been spoken with earnestness by the devout.[12] They speak

[1] 5.2.11.
[2] 5.29.15.
[3] 1.61.5.
[4] 1.114.9.
[5] 6.10.2.
[6] 8.12.4.
[7] Cf. 10.71.2, 3.
[8] 7.34.1.
[9] 1.74.1; 88.6; 114.6; 136.6.
[10] 1.142.4.
[11] 6.31.1.
[12] 6.34.5.

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the song they have made.[1] The seer, the poet speaks his mind greatly.[2] It is not uttered in a trivial way. The poet really felt it and speaks it out with all his mind. In short he speaks out his mind and nothing else; for inspiration does not affect the object alone, but also the manner of its appearance.

This product of inspiration comes out automatically at its own times and callings. The poet has to fetch outside what was within. Being the medium of revelation, he has a burden to carry. His utterance relieves him of the agitation that is going on in his mind. He carries it out easily and gracefully. It is the verb "bhar" that brings forth this significance aptly and precisely. He brings forth the earnest praise.[3] He bears forth with willing minds the unreluctant hymns.[4] The perfect praise of Vaśiṣṭha uttered with loosened tongue propitiates Indra with repeated invocations.[5] The poet bears the hymn as if it were a reward of his deep contemplation.[6] The expressions,

"Pra bharadhvam....matim" (7.4.1; 13.1; 72.1; 88.1, etc.)

"Pra bharadhvam giram" (7.5.1, etc.)

"Imā giraḥ....bharata" (7.46.1, etc.)

literally mean, 'bear aloft the mind, the speech.' They carry the active, invigorating and lively hymns. They are powerful and entirely new. Carrying out the hymn, communicating it, and uttering it are simultaneous processes and to a certain extent identical. The uttering and the thing uttered are one. Inspiration which is the master of the artist, engages him in all possible ways, and as a reward of his cool and calm acquiescence to its fold, it gives the hymn.

The seers were conscious of the variety of the types of hymns, corresponding to the varieties of the minds and of experience.[7] The attitudes and the outlook colour the perception and the imagination; and naturally enough, the presented experience varies. The poet translates the impression of the images, in accordance with the bent of his mind. He utters infinite and earnest praise.[8] The deity cries, as it were, repeatedly, and foretells what will come to pass, and gives due direction to the voice as a helmsman guides a boat.[9] The

[1] 7.28.5 cf 7.103.1.

[2] 10 35,7.

[3] 1.64.1, cf. 1.102.1; 114.1; 136.1; 151.8; 5.12.1; 1.148.2 5.60.1; 6.67.10.

[4] 1.126.1.

[5] 7.24.2.

[6] 8.66.11.

[7] 10.111.1.

[8] 2.23.8, cf. 3.34.2; 7.61.2; 8.12.31; 10.188.2.

[9] 2.42.1, cf. 10.116.9.

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hymner urges praise like the stone that presses the Soma juice.[1] The beverage inspires the speech, and this develops the desired intelligence.[2] Then, the sages offer their songs.

The poem together with the form and the matter is born and complete as soon as it is uttered. Till then the whole work remains in the melting pot. Often the poets say that they have brought forth, (rather generated) the hymn specially for the occasion. The poet gives birth to a new poem.[3] The poets engender the sacred song.[4] The chief praise proceeds from him copiously like rain from a cloud.[5] It is so fresh. His mind was heavy and laden with ripe fruit till that moment. The excellent praise which Aditi brought for the royal Indra is the product of the sacrifice.[6] The hymns raise themselves to Soma.[7] Vimadas have generated the unprecedented and most varied hymn.[8] The poet offers the graceful hymn with all his heart; he longs to be in the centre of Agni's heart to touch it like a loving, well attired wife in the heart of her husband.[9]

These passages make a slight advance over that of chisselling in the theory of poetry. When he gives birth to a hymn, the poet tries to give it some more polish to make it more appealing. Such a hymn is necessarily beautiful. There are other passages too that refer to the poem mainly as a creation, not as a communication, as it is implied in some of the passages above referred to. The poet creates (Sṛj-); and when once the creation is complete, communication *ipso facto* follows. The poet never struggles over other extraneous issues. He creates and in that creation there is neither repetition nor imitation. He creates the song.[10] The created song works marvels as soon as it enters the universe with a full fledged individuality. The new, pure and graceful song issues forth like the soma juice from the filter.[11] It is a spontaneous overflow, ever green and lively. It is a composition in heart, in mind and in understanding.[12] It is conceived in the heart,[13] and spoken from the soul.[14]

1 5.36.4, cf. 9.72.1.
2 6.47.3.
3 1.109.2 see also 6.18.15; 7.15 4; 7.22.9.
4 7.31 11.
5 7.94.1.
6 8.12.14, see 8.43.2; 95.5; 9.47.3; 73.2.
7 9.95.1.
8 10.23.6; 7.2.
9 10.91.14.
10 6.16.37; 2.35.1.
11 6.8.1.
12 1.62.2, see 1.105.15; 1 67.4; 171.2; 182.8; 3.39.1.
13 2.35.2.
14 10.47.7.

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Thus sincerity and intensity of utterances are the two essential characteristics of great poetry as conceived by the Ṛgvedic poets. It is earnest,[1] great,[2] grateful,[3] propitiating,[4] respectable,[5] gratifying and pious and emulous in earnestness,[6] devout, faultless and appropriate,[7] pleasant[8] and ample.[9] These songs are powerful and new, and abound in the choice phrases.[10] They are the sweetest of the sweetest,[11] unprecedented and comprehensive,[12] magnifying and wide-striding,[13] radiant[14] and auspicious,[15] excellent and pious.[16] These are some of the excellences that the poets demanded of any great work of art; and in all these they are eminently successful. Finally we are told that the poem is similar to a web, to weaving.

"asmā id u gnāścid devapatnīr
indrāyarkam ahihatya ūvuḥ"[17]

Gnāḥ are the courtezans of the Gods. It is the refined and delicate touch of the born aesthetician that is necessary in the creation of a song. All seemingly contrary things are woven here dexterously into a unitary whole-where the parts are no longer visible. We cannot remove it bit by bit and examine it. We have to enjoy and examine it as a single unit. Another poet observes,

"Mā tantuś chedi vayate dhiyam me"[18]

He requests Varuṇa not to sever the thread while he weaves the song. Poetic composition is made up of many fibres, threads or strings, with which a mighty poem is woven. To make the web complete, inspiration must linger till the very end. And in a hymn addressed to the dawns we observe—

"Syūmanā vāca udiyarti vahniḥ
Stavāno rebha uṣaso vibhātīḥ"[19]

The poet rises after praising the effulgent dawns with the song's webs. Music is an integral part of the doctrine of the Ṛg-vedic poetry which also stresses the importance of inspiration

1 3.33.5.
2 3.51.1; 5.51.8; 19.3; 6.49.4.
3 5.52.13.
4 8.11.7.
5 3.24.4.
6 7.18.3.
7 3.31.13.
8 6.15.7.
9 2.2.1.
10 1.143.1, etc.
11 1.114.6, cf. 5.11.5.
12 6.32.1.
13 7.99.6.
14 8.6.7.
15 10.67.9.
16 8.23.23.
17 1.61.8.
18 2.28.5.
19 1.113.17

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and imagination considered to be the essence of everything. A strong passion for the pursuit of the unknown enkindles the imaginative spirit which provokes an extraordinarily emotional life. The poets sought after Beauty and found it everywhere; but all seemed to be eternally fresh and new. Here is the "strangeness added to Beauty" which defines clearly the theory of poetry held and practised by the vedic seers. By his poetic faculties the poet fashions Beauty in the heaven—

"Kaviḥ kavitvā divirūpam ā sajat"[1]

Truth, Beauty and goodness are his realms, for he has to establish truth (5.52.13), visualise and express sweetness and Beauty (5.5.2; 9.25.3). They saw these things not with the bodily eye, but with the mental one (1.139.2). There is an inner urge—

"Vi me karṇā patayato vi cakṣur
Vīdam jyotir hṛdaya āhitam yat
Vi me manaś carati dūra ādhiḥ
Kiṃ svid vakṣyāmi kim u nū maniṣye." (6.9.6).

"Mine ears unclose to hear, mine eyes to see him; the light that harbours in my spirit broadens. Far roams my mind when thoughts are in the distance. What shall I speak, what shall I imagine now?"

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[1] 10.124.7

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THE LEGEND OF PRAJĀPATI'S ILLICIT PASSION FOR HIS DAUGHTER—THE SKY OR THE DAWN[1]

[*SBR* (Mādhyandina I-vii-4-1-8)]

By

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At *SBR* (Mādhyandina version) I-vii-4-1-8 there occurs a legend that speaks of Father Prajāpati's incestuous relationship with his own daughter Dyaus or Uṣas. We notice the versions of this legend in the Kānva recension of this Brāhmana (*SBR* Kāṇva II-vii-2-1-8) as well as in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* III-33-34. A reference to it also occurs at *SBR* (Mādhyandina) II-i-2-9 (Kāṇva) I-1-2-5-6 and the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* viii-ii-10-11. I regard, for practical purposes, the Mādhyandina version as the nucleus of this legend, which may be stated briefly as follows.

"Prajāpati once entertained a passion for his own Daughter —the Sky or the Dawn. He united with her, thinking of pairing with her. Now, this was the gravest sin in the eyes of the Gods when they saw their Father pairing with his own daughter. They were convinced of the moral depravity involved in this vile act of their father and they decided that his grave social crime should not be allowed to go unpunished. They, therefore, approached Rudra, the dreadful God who was the Lord of the Cattle, and requested him to pierce Prajāpati with his poisonous arrow. Rudra, aiming at Prajāpati, discharged an arrow at him and thereupon Prajāpati's germinal fluid fell upon this earth."

The latter part of the legend speaks of the device employed by the Gods to utilise this part, torn out of Prajāpati's body, in the sacrifice; for Prajāpati represents sacrifice itself and hence no part of his Body is to be thrown away without being properly utilised in the performance of the sacrifice. The Gods, thinking of making an offering out of it for a Divinity, first took it to Bhaga who sits on the southern side of the sacri-

[1] For this paper the author is much indebted to his *guru* Professor H. D. Velankar.

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ficial ground. They hoped that Bhaga would eat it as the fore-offering. Bhaga looked at it and at once his eyes were burned. So powerful the seed of Prajāpati was! Therefore Bhaga is blind.[1] The Gods realising that although the part from Prajāpati's body was offered to Bhaga as a fore-offering, it was not adequately appeased. They, therefore, took it to Pūṣan who, on tasting it, lost his teeth. It is for this reason that Pūṣan is toothless and when any offering is made to Pūṣan it is prepared from ground rice as is done for one having no teeth. Although the part was tasted by Pūṣan, the Gods still found that it was not appeased properly. They, therefore, took it to Bṛhaspati who immediately ran to Savitṛ with it and requested him to impel or influence it for him and make it palatable for him, as the latter was the *prasavitṛ* or the Impeller. When the offering was thus impelled by Savitṛ it did not harm Bṛhaspati when the latter partook of it. This same part is called *prāśitra*. This *prāśitra* the Brahman-priest receives as the representative of Bṛhaspati on earth in addition to his regular portion (*brahma-bhāga*) from Agni's cake.

The legend is exploited by the Brāhmaṇa to suit a purely sacrificial purpose inasmuch as it gives the origin of the word *prāśitra*.[2] It also explains the cutting of the *prāśitra* and accounts for its offering to Bṛhaspati as the fore-offering, which is actually given to the Brahman-priest as the latter is the representative of the former on earth. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* version is given in connection with the Agni-Māruta Śāstras. Agni Vaiśvānara, aided by the Maruts, stirred and heated the fallen seed of Prajāpati and out of it, as *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* III-34 says, sprang successively Āditya, Bhṛgu and the Ādityas. Whilst the coals became the Angiras; from those that blazed forth after being quenched Bṛhaspati came into being; the coal-dust, the burnt earth and ashes, etc., were changed into various kinds of animals. This version of the legend differs from the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva accounts of the story in other details as well. Thus (i) Prajāpati, entertaining an evil desire for his own daughter the Sky or the Dawn, approached her not as Prajāpati but as Ṛṣya, a species of a male deer. His daughter, at the time of co-habitation had assumed the form of Rohit, a female-deer.[3] The *SBR* versions do not speak of these transformations of Prajāpati and his daughter before

[1] Note how the Brāhmaṇa explains the blindness of Bhaga and the toothlessness of Pūṣan below.

[2] "*adhidaivajnānāya prāśitā prapto'sye ti prāśitram*" Sāyaṇa.

[3] See section 2 of the Text.

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the former co-habitated with the latter. This is purely an addition made by the author of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, perhaps with the intention of mitigating the sharpness of the offence. (ii) The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, again, does not state explicitly, as the *SBR* versions of the legend do, that the Sky or the Dawn, with whom Prajāpati co-habitated, was the sister of the Gods. We have to presume this relationship between the Dawn or the Sky and the Gods for we know that the latter are the Prajāpatyas or the sons of Prajāpati. Even this may be due to a desire of minimising the bluntness of the Gods which is apparent in the *SBR*. This bluntness of the Gods, however, shows their *moral soundness*. Anybody, even a father, must be punished for an immoral Act. See also No. iv which refers to the astronomical interpretation of the legend in this Brāhmaṇa. The attempt is clearly to absolve Prajāpati as a god from the hedious sin. (iii) The *A.B.* further refers to the origin of the God Bhūtavat who, as the legend itself points out, is nobody else but Rudra of the *SBR*. The Gods, finding that Prajāpati had done an act which was never done before,[1] began to search vigorously for a Divinity who would punish their father for this ignoble deed of his. Being unable to find such a deity amongst themselves, they put together their most fearful bodies and when the latter were massed together they assumed a terrific form which was subsequently named Bhūtavat. This Deity became the lord of the cattle as a result of a boon conferred on him by the Gods in return for his services to them. Rudra, also, is declared by the *SBR* version as the lord of the cattle.[2] Hence Bhūtavat and Rudra are one and the same Deity. The *SBR* versions, however, do not speak of the origin of the God Bhūtavat[3] from the most dreadful bodies of the Gods, as the *AB* version does. (iv) Proceeding further, this version of the legend alludes to the origin of the constellation of the Mṛga or the Orion. When Prajāpati was pierced by Rudra or Bhūtavat of this Brāhmaṇa, he shot up into the sky to become the constellation Mṛga or the Orion. Bhūtavat, who pierced him, became the star known as Vyādha or Mṛgavyādha in the constellation. The Sky or the Dawn, who had assumed the form of Rohit, the Brāhmaṇa says, is the constellation Rohiṇī. This constellation precedes the Orion in the firmament. The three stars in line in the nakṣatra, that

[1] "na kṛtam vai prajāpatiḥ karoti ti"—Text, section 3

[2] See Section 4 of the Text.

[3] With this epithet of Rudra we can compare "Bhava" of the Bāhīkas. Rudra was know as "bhava" amongst the Bāhīkas, See legend at *SBR.* I-vii-3-1-9.

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pierce through the body of the stars representing the Mṛga, are but the arrow which shot through the body of Prajāpati.[1] They appear exactly like an arrow piercing through the body of a deer. These stars representing the arrow of Bhūtavat and the one bright star in the Constellation, that represents the Mṛga-vyādha or the hunter, i.e., the God Bhūtavat himself, do appear in a straight line if an onlooker tries to connect them by drawing an imaginary line through the sky. The fancy thus, is quite justified. What the Brāhmana means in brief is that the Mṛga-nakṣatra following the constellation of Rohiṇī in the sky is but Prajāpati pursuing his daughter—the Sky or the Dawn. This application of the legend to an astronomical phenomenon we entirely miss in the other versions of the legend. (v) The germinal fluid of Prajāpati, that fell down after he was shot at by the God Bhūtavat, according to the *A.B.*, ran down on the earth and became a lake.[2] There is no reference to such a transformation of the seed of Prajāpati in the other versions of the legend. (vi) This seed, as the *A.B.* unlike the *SBR* declares, became the *mānuṣa*. The Gods, in their desire that the fallen sperm of Prajāpati should not be spoiled, said: *medam Prajāpate reto duṣad'iti* "Let not this seed of Prajāpati be spoiled."[3] Since the words that the Gods uttered with reference to the germinal fluid of Prajāpati were '*mā duṣad' iti*[4], the sperm itself became the *mānuṣa*. Here is evidently intended, by the Brāhmaṇa, a pun on the word *Māduṣa*. The expression consists of *mā* and *duṣad* and has a correspondence with *mānuṣa*. The latter expression is, therefore, identified by the Brāhmaṇa with the former and is then derived from it. Here then we get the fantastic derivation of the expression *mānuṣa* from *mā* and *duṣat*. Such fantastic derivations we often find in the Brāhmanas. (vii) The Gods then surrounded this seed of Prajāpati with Agni and Maruts amongst them shook it. Agni could not make it move. The Gods, thereupon, surrounded it with Agni Vaiśvānara, the Maruts shaking it this time also. Agni Vaiśvānara was able to move it,[5] and the Gods could produce the divinities and the creatures from this germinal fluid of Prajāpati. The other versions of the legend do not speak of such a creation from the seed of Prajāpati.

[1] See section 5 of the Text for this atmospheric representation of the legend.

[2] See section 6 of the Text

[3] See sections 9-11 of the Text.

[4] According to the *TMB* version these words were the words of Prajāpati himself. See text of this version, Section 4

[5] See sections 13-28 of the Text.

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Before I pass on to one or two more points in connection with the study of this legend I would like to refer to one passage in the text of the *A.B.* version of the legend in translating which, I honestly differ from Dr. Haug. The expression '*imam*' in the passage '*imam vidhyeti*'[1] is understood by Dr. Haug,[2] as referring to the incarnation of evil deeds, here of course of Prajāpati. By '*imam*' he means a kind of devil.' He seems to believe, if I understand him correctly, that the ghastly deed of Prajāpati had assumed a personal form and that this phantom, which was a *symbol of remorse*, (whose ?—Prajāpati's ?) the Gods desired to destroy. I feel that Dr. Haug has entirely missed the point which the legend wants to emphasise. It is needless to assume that Prajāpati's evil deed became incarnated in a phantom. This phantom or devil, as Dr. Haug himself says, was a personification of Remorse, evidently of Prajāpati himself, for the vile deed that he performed. Dr. Haug does not say explicitly personification of whose remorse the phantom or the devil was. I presume, and I hope correctly, that it was the personification of the remorse of Prajāpati, if at all it is to be understood as 'personification.' But, then, the question is 'why should the Gods think of destroying this 'personification of the remorse' of Prajāpati? Perhaps because, the gods thought Prajāpati himself was *too high* for punishment, he was the progenitor of all including gods themselves. But this is indeed the glory of the Brāhmaṇical code of morality that no one, howsoever great or highly placed he may be, was considered to be above the reach of law. A moral offender himself and not a substitute of him must suffer punishment, so the gods concluded : so that the expression '*imam*' in the passage under discussion has got to be understood as referring to Prajāpati himself. The *SBR* versions as well as the words of the Gods here in the *A.B.* version suggest that the Gods intended to punish the offender, i.e., Prajāpati himself rather than the embodiment of his offence. Sāyaṇa also refers this demonstrative pronoun to Prajāpati and not to anybody else. If Dr. Haug's interpretation of the pronoun is accepted, the words '*devānām āga āsa*' of the *SBR* versions and '*akṛtam akar iti*' of this version will lose their force altogether.

The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa-version is a very short one and has been introduced in the Brāhmaṇa in connection with the Śrāyantīya Brahma-sāman. This version does speak of

[1] See Section 4 of the Text

[2] See his Aitareya Brāhmana, vol. II, Foot-note 31, p. 218, Bombay 1863.

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Father Prajāpati's passion for his daughter Uṣas.[1] His seed fell upon this earth. Prajāpati himself propitiated it with cattle, thinking that it should not be spoiled. No further details of the legend are mentioned by the Brāhmaṇa. This Brāhmaṇa, applying the legend to the immediate sacerdotal purpose, observes that when the Śrāyantīya Brahma-sāman is. recited, the sacrificer propitiates and restores him, i.e., Prajāpati.

This rather important legend is no doubt an elaboration of the Ṛgvedic passage (X-61-7-Ṛks 5-7) which contains the first allusion to it. This legend in all its versions has been exploited by the Brāhmaṇas, as shown above, to explain a sacerdotal purpose but the legend undoubtedly contains more than mere fulfilment of a sacrificial necessity. It has been discussed by great orientalists like Weber and Muir, the latter of whom seems to be of the opinion that the legend refers to some atmospheric or astronomical phenomenon such as the Mṛga and the Rohiṇī-constellations. According to others the legend is merely an allegorical representation of the Mṛga-Nakṣatra following the Rohiṇī in the vast dome of the Sky. I am inclined to hold the view that the legend, though evidently an allegorical representation of some atmospheric or astronomical phenomenon, has yet an important bearing upon the moral attitude of the Vedic Aryans towards the immoral Act figuring in the story. We get in it, in strongest possible words, the condemnation of incestuous connections or illicit relationships between blood-relations. Mr. S. C. Sarkar, indeed, has attempted to prove on the so-called evidence of the Purāṇas and the other semi-historical works or on the basis of the (misunderstood) Epic-Purāṇic tradition that consanguinous marriages and instances of parental incest were of frequent occurrence (?) during the Post-vedic Age.[2] This author seems to hold the view that the vedic evidence also points to the presence of brother-sister marriages and indicates the prevalence of incestuous connections between Father and Daughter. Discussion as regards the legality or otherwise of consanguinous marriages in the Post-vedic Period is outside the scope of the present paper. I am here concerned with what is regarded as evidence from the Vedic Period. The dialogue of Yama and his sister Yamī, the present legend and its norm or germ

[1] The *TMB*-version does not mention the other name of Prajāpati's daughter, viz., the Sky as the other versions of the story do.

[2] See his "*Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*", Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. 116 ff.

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in the Ṛgveda are frequently quoted by theorists to found the theory of the prevalence of the social practice of marriages between blood-relations. I honestly feel that these isolated passages cannot be exploited to build a whole theory upon them. On the other hand, if these passages are correctly understood, they prove that the consanguinous marriages or cases of parental incest were regarded as extremely exceptional and revolting in the Vedic Age. The dialogue of Yama and his sister Yamī and the present legend definitely condemn, in no uncertain terms, the sexual connections with blood-relations. The Vedic people had a high conception and code of morals as has been shown by me elsewhere.[1] Any one, who was found going against the established code of matrimonial morals, was first of all dissuaded from violating it (dialogue of Yama and Yamī) or heavily punished for his crime in spite of his high and respectable position as the present legend indicates. The legend chiefly concerns itself with the illicit connection of Father Prajāpati with his own Daughter. This incest of Father Prajāpati was considered by the Gods as the gravest sin and it caused such a lot of flutter and tremendous commotion amongst them that they could not allow it to go unpunished.[2] No sooner did the Gods find that the established moral code was being violated than they decided to punish the offender without stopping to dwell upon the status of the offender or their own relationship with him. Prajāpati was their father and identical with sacrifice itself which they prized very much. Prajāpati therefore enjoyed a very high status in the Vedic Pantheon ,but when the Gods found him guilty of an offence they unhesitatingly punished him through Rudra. The fact that the offence of such great Deity as Father Prajāpati was at once punished by the Gods is the strongest possible condemnation of consanguinous marriages or parental incest in the Vedic Age and an equally powerful proof of the unwavering attitude of the Vedic Aryans towards the upholding of a moral principle or law against even the highest and otherwise most helpful and kindly divinity like the Prajāpati. Judged from this point of view the present legend appears to me to be a very important 'Moral Tale' and not merely an allegorical representation of atmospheric or astronomical or cosmogonical phenomenon.

[1] See my Thesis on "The Morals in the Brāhmaṇas" Introduction, Chapter VI.

[2] See Sections 3-5 of the Text.

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TEXT.

प्रजापतिर्ह वै स्वां दुहितरमभिदध्यौ दिवं वोषसं वा मिथुन्येनया स्यामिति ॥१॥ तां सम्बभव ॥२॥ तद्वै देवानामाग आस य इत्थं स्वां दुहितरमस्माकं स्वसारं करोतीति ॥३॥ ते ह देवा ऊचुः—योऽयं देवः पशूनामीष्टेऽतिसंधं वा अयं चरति य इत्थं स्वां दुहितरमस्माकं स्वसारं करोति विध्येममिति ॥४॥ तं रुद्रोऽभ्यायत्य विव्याध ॥५॥ तस्य सामि रेतः प्रचस्कन्द ॥६॥ तथेन्नूनं तदास ॥७॥ तस्मादेतदृषिणाभ्यनूक्तम्—पिता यत्स्वां दुहितरमधिष्कन् क्ष्मया रेतः संजग्मानो निषिञ्चदिति ॥८॥ तदाग्निमारुतमित्युक्थं तस्मिंस्तद्व्याख्यायते यथा तद्देवा रेतः प्राजनयन् ॥९॥

तेषां यदा देवानां क्रोधो व्यैदथ प्रजापतिमभिष्यंस्तस्य तं शल्यं निरकृन्तन् ॥१०॥ स वै यज्ञ एव प्रजापतिः ॥११॥ ते होचुः—उपजानीत यथेदं नामुयासत्कनीयो ह्याहुतेर्यथेदं स्यादिति ॥१२॥ ते होचुः—भगायैनद्दक्षिणत आसीनाय परिहरत, तद्भगः प्राशिष्यति, तद्यथाहुतमेवं भविष्यतीति ॥१३॥ तद्भगाय दक्षिणत आसीनाय पर्याजह्रुः ॥१४॥ तद्भगोऽवेक्षां चक्रे ॥१५॥ तस्याक्षिणी निर्ददाह ॥१६॥ तथेन्नूनं तदास ॥१७॥ तस्मादाहुरन्धो भग इति ॥१८॥ ते होचुः—नो न्वेवात्राशमत्पूष्णेऽएनत्परिहरतेति ॥१९॥ तत्पूष्णो पर्याजह्रुः ॥२०॥ तत्पूषा प्राश ॥२१॥ तस्य दन्तो निर्जघान, तथैन्नूनं तदास ॥२२॥ तस्मादाहुरदन्तकः पूषेति ॥२३॥ तस्माद्यं पूष्णे चरुं कुर्वन्ति प्रपिष्टानामेव कुर्वन्ति यथादन्तकायैवम् ॥२४॥ ते होचुः—नो न्वेवात्राशमद्बृहस्पतयऽएनतत्परिहरतेति ॥२५॥ तद्बृहस्पतये पयजह्रुः ॥२६॥ स बृहस्पतिः सवितारमेव प्रसवायोपाधावत्, (सविता वै देवानां प्रसविता), इदं मे प्रसुवेति ॥२७॥ तदस्मै सविता प्रसविता प्रासुवत्, तदेवं सवितृप्रसूतं नाहिनत्, ततोऽर्वाचीनं शान्तं, तदेतन्निदानेन यत्प्राशित्रम् ॥२८॥ श० ब्रा० (माध्यन्दिन) १–७–४–१–८

अथ यस्मान्न मृगशीर्ष आदधीत, प्रजापतेर्वाऽएतच्छरीरं यत्र वाऽएनं तदविध्यंस्तदिषुणा त्रिकांडेनेत्याहुः, स एतच्छरीरमजहाद्वास्तु वै शरीरमयज्ञियं निर्वीर्यं तस्मान्न मृगशीर्षऽ आदधीत ॥१॥ श० ब्रा० (माध्यन्दिन) २–१–२–९

मृगशिरस्यग्नी आदधीतेत्याहुः प्रजापतेर्वा एतच्छिरो यन्मृगशिरः श्रीर्वै शिरः, श्रीर्हं वै शिरोऽथ योऽर्धस्य श्रेष्ठी भवत्यसौ तस्यार्धस्य शिरः इत्याचक्षते, श्रियं गच्छति, श्रेष्ठो ह वै भवति य एवं विद्वान्मृगशिरस्याधत्ते ॥१॥ तदाहुर्न मृगशिरस्यादधीतास्त्यस्मिन्परिचक्षेति, प्रजापतेर्वा एतच्छरीरं यत्रैनमेष देव इषुणा 'त्रिकाण्डेनाविध्यत्तत एतद्विद्धोऽजहात्तदेतद्वास्तु निर्वीर्यमयज्ञियं कस्तस्मिन्नादधीतेति तद्वैव दधीत न वै तस्य देवस्य वास्तु न निर्वीर्यं नायज्ञियमस्ति यत्प्रजापतेस्तस्माद्वैव दधीत ॥२॥ श० ब्रा० (कण्व) १–१–२–५–६

(अ) ·············थुन्येनां स्यामिति ॥१॥ ·············॥२॥ तदु वै देवानामतथास यभेत्थं·········॥३॥ त ऊचुरिमं देवं योऽयं पशूनामीष्टे······रतीति य·········॥४॥ तथेति तमभ्यायत्य·········॥५॥ तस्य विद्धस्य सामि····॥६॥ ·············॥७॥ अथाप्येतदृ·········॥८॥ तद्वाग्निमारुरमित्युक्तं········ यते यथा यथा तद्देवा रेतः सिक्तं प्राजनयन् ॥९॥

त उ वै देवा यदैषां क्रोधो वीयायाथैनं ततोऽभि········· ॥१०॥······ ॥११॥ त ऊचुरुपजानीतेति कनीयो ह्याहुतेः कथमिदं नामुया स्यादुपजानीतेति ॥१२॥ त ऊचुर्भगायैव दक्षि°····°हरतेति,तद्भगः··········°ष्यति, तदेव यथा हुतमेवं भविष्यतीति ॥१३॥ ······ ॥१४॥ ········ ॥१५॥ तदस्या°········ ॥१६॥ ·········॥१७॥ अथाहुर°········ ॥१८॥ त ऊचुर्नो न्वा अत्राशमत्पूष्णे परि° ·········· ॥१९॥ ··········॥२०॥ ········ ॥२१॥ तदस्य दन्तान्निर्जघान :········ ॥२२॥ अथाहुर°·········॥२३॥ अथो यथैवादन्तकायैवं प्रपिष्टानां पौष्णं चरुं श्रपयन्ति ॥२४॥ त ऊचुर्नो न्वा अत्राशमद्बृहस्पतये परि° ········ ॥२५॥·········· ॥२६॥ स ह

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वहस्पतिः············°वायोपससारेदं मे प्रसुवेति त्वत्प्रसूतं मेदं मा हिंसीदिति ।।२७।।
तथेति तदस्मै सविता प्रासु°··········ततोऽर्वाक् शान्तं ········।।२८।।

श० ब्रा० (काण्व) २–७–२–१–८

(आ) प्रजापतिर्वै स्वां दुहितरमभ्यधायद्दिवमित्यन्य आहुरुषसमित्यन्ये ।।१।। तामृश्यो भूत्वा रोहितं भूतामभ्यैत् ।। २ ।। तं देवा अपश्यन् न कृतं वै प्रजापतिः करोतीति ।। ३ ।। ते तमैच्छन्य एनमारिष्यत्येतमन्योन्यस्मिन्नाविन्दन्, तेषां या एव घोरतमा तन्व आसंस्ता एकधा समभरंस्ता संभृता एष देवोऽभवत्तदस्यै तद्भूतवन्नाम भवति वै स योऽस्यै तदेवं नाम वेद; तं देवा अब्रुवन्नयं वै प्रजापतिरकृतमकरिमं विध्येति, स तथेत्यब्रवीत्स वै वरं वृणा इति वृणीष्वेति स एतमेव वरमवृणीत पशूनामाधिपत्यम् ; तदस्यैतत्पशुमन्नाम, पशुमान्भवति योऽस्यै तदेवं नाम वेद ।।४।। तमाभ्यायत्याविध्यत्; स विद्ध ऊर्ध्व उदप्रपततमेतं मृग इत्याचक्षते य उ एव मृगव्याधः स उ एव स या रोहित्सा रोहिणी य एवेषुस्त्रिकाण्डा स एवेषुस्त्रिकाण्डा ।। ५ ।। तद्वा इदं प्रजापतेः रेतः सिक्तमधावत्तत्सरोऽभवत् ।।६।।

ते देवा अब्रुवन्मेदं प्रजापते रेतो दुषदिति, यदब्रुवन्मेदं प्रजापते रेतो दुषदिति तन्मादुषमभवत्तन्मादुषस्य मादुषत्वम्, मादुषं ह वै नामैतद्यन्मानुषं तन्मादुषं सन्मानुषमित्याचक्षते परोक्षेण परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवाः ।। ९-११ ।। तदग्निना पर्यदधुस्तन्मरुतो धून्वंस्तदग्निर्न प्राच्यावयत्तदग्निना वैश्वानरेण पर्यदधुस्तन्मरुतो धून्वंस्तदग्निर्वैश्वानरः प्राच्यावयत्······

।। १३-२८ ।। ऐ० ब्रा० ३-३३-३४।

The passages in the following version are marked independently :—

(इ) प्रजापतिरुषसमध्यैत्स्वां दुहितरम् ।। १ ।। तस्य रेतः परापतत् ।। २ ।। तदस्यां न्यषिच्यत ।।३।। तदश्रीणादिदं मे माऽदुषदिति ।। ४ ।। तत्सदकरोत्पशुनेव ।। ५।। यच्छ्रायन्तीयं ब्रह्म साम भवति श्रीणाति चैवेनं सच्च करोति ।।६।। ताण्डयमहाब्राह्मण ८-२-१०-११.

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THE PROBLEM OF MĀDHAVA IN THE ṚGVEDIC COMMENTARIES

By

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This article is a tentative endeavour to adduce the evidence possibly available to shed some definite light on the long-discussed so-called Mādhava-problem concerning the commentators on the Ṛgveda. We have now, at our disposal two more commentaries of the ṚK-Samhitā, besides that of Sāyana-Mādhava, ascribed to two separate individuals both of which bear the same name, i.e. Mādhava. Of these two Mādhavas, one is the son of Venkaṭārya, whom we generally designate as Venkaṭa-Mādhava, and the other is known to us as the Aṇukramaṇīkāra Mādhava. We possess definite knowledge about the age and works of Sāyana-Mādhava, whose great commentary on the Ṛgveda came to be written in the latter half of the fourteenth century at the Court of Bukka and Harihara kings of the great Vijayanagara Empire. In order to get this great commentary in print Max Muller worked for 25 years i.e. from 1849 to 1874. Venkata-Mādhava's commentary on the Ṛgveda has also been available to the scholars, though not in its entirety, yet fairly in a large portion of it, the first Maṇḍala of which has already been edited by Dr. Lakshman Sarup in two big volumes. The commentary of Anukrāmaṇīkāra i.e. of Mādhava (A) is known to be available in only one, very old manuscript in charge of the Adyar Library, covering only the whole of the First Aṣṭaka of the Ṛgveda. It is recently edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Rājā of the Madras University and despatched for review. Besides these three, there is one more commentary on the Ṛgveda which does not belong to Mādhava but to Skanda Swāmy. For the sake of comparison we shall have to refer to all these commentaries.

The main points that are proposed to be discussed in the present article may be noted down as follows :—

1. The epithet 'Mādhavabhaṭṭāstu' referred to by Sayanācārya in the beginning of his commentary on the hymn, ṚV. X.86, cannot go to refer to Venkaṭa-Mādhava as admitted by scholars such as Dr. Kunhan Rāja, Dr. Lakshman Sarup and Pt. Bhagvaddatta and others, but it seems to apply appropriately to Anukramaṇikārā Mādhava.

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2. Devarājayajvā, the writer of the running commentary on the Vedic Nighaṇṭu (Vol. I, B. O. I. edition of Nirukta) who, in his introduction to that work, mentions many Ṛgvedic commentators by name, the chief of them being Skandasvāmī, Venkaṭa-Mādhava, Bhāskara Miśra, Uvvaṭabhaṭṭa, cannot be placed posterior to Sāyaṇa-Mādhava but is decidedly anterior to him.

3. Venkaṭa-Mādhava, the commentator on the ṚK-Samhitā a part of it now available to us in two parts published in the Punjab Oriental Series No. 2, and his Kārikās at the beginning of each Adhyaya of the Ṛgveda published in Vol. 2 of the Madras University Series, cannot be admitted as posterior to Sāyaṇa as is attempted to prove by the scholar A. Venkaṭa Subbayya of Mysore in JORM of 1936 (vide his two articles pp. 115-140 and pp. 201-230). Dr. Kunhan Rāja has already refuted this conclusion in his article 'on the chronology of the Vedabhāṣyakāras' in the same Journal pp. 256-268.

4. The commentary of Mādhava (A) published by the Adyar Library on the first four Adhyāyas only, possesses many characteristics deserving the epithet 'Bhāṣya'. It is really the oldest of all and Skandasvāmī, Venkaṭa-Mādhava, Devarāja and Sāyana, all have derived their help from him.

5. Venkaṭa-Mādhava's Ṛgartha-Dīpikā, the commentary on the Ṛgveda, lacks in many points which are necessary to raise it to the rank of Bhāṣya. Moreover the author himself has not designated it so.

6. It may be fairly inferred that although Devarāja in his introductory passages names Venkaṭa-Mādhava and Mādhavadeva, in the body of his commentary on the words of Vedic Nighaṇṭu he invariably refers to Mādhava (A), with his Bhāṣya and various Anukramaṇis only and never to Venkaṭa-Mādhava or Sāyaṇa-Mādhava.

7. Finally, the name 'Mādhava-Kṛtā Ṛgveda-Vyākhyā should be substituted by 'the Ṛgveda-bhāṣya of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa and thus the title Mādhavabhaṭṭa must go to refer not to Venkaṭa-Mādhava but to Mādhava (A).

Let us now deal with all these points below. The sole evidence adduced by the scholars, especially by Dr. Kunhan Rājā and Bhagvad-Datta, in order to prove the identification of Venkaṭa-Mādhava with Madhavabhaṭṭa is the contended extract quoted in the Sāyana's commentary on Ṛv. X.86, which begins with the word 'Mādhavabhattāstu'. There are a few other passages which are adduced by these scholars to prove the identity of Venkaṭa-Mādhava with one Mādhava

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referred to by Devarāja. Dr. Rājā has extracted some seven passages in his article contributed to the volume of the Fifth Oriental Conference, Lahore, from Devaraja's commentary to show that they tally with Sāyaṇa's passages in the Ṛgveda. The respectful reference as 'Mādhavabhaṭṭāstu' in the plural number has led Mr. Venkatasubbayyā of Mysore to the inference that Madhavabhaṭṭa must have been the senior contemporary of Sāyaṇa. Thus an attempt has been made by the scholars to bring Mādhavabhaṭṭa, Venkata-Mādhava and Devarāja nearer to Sāyaṇa. We shall now try to adduce sufficient internal evidence from the commentaries themselves to show how all these conclusions are fairly incorrect. It is only Mr. Venkaṭa Subbayya who attempts to place Venkaṭa-Mādhava posterior to Sāyaṇa. But his conclusions have been ably refuted by Dr. Rājā. But Dr. Rāja himself would be tempted to prove Devarāja to be later than Sāyaṇa, which statement is refuted by Bhagvad-Datta and Lakshman Sarup. The new commentary of Mādhava (A) was not available to the scholars when they wrote all these articles in the manner in which we possess it now. All credit goes to Dr. Raja and the Adyar Library. In the light of the evidence supplied to us by this new commentary, we shall proceed to prove our points one by one. I shall now note down again for the perusal and comparison to be made by the scholars the extracts quoted by Mādhavabhaṭṭa and Venkaṭa-Mādhava which are not identical verbatim :—

"माधवभट्टास्तु वि हि सोतोरित्येषर्गिन्द्राण्या वाक्यमिनि मन्यन्ते। तथा च तद्वचनम्। इन्द्राण्यै कल्पितं हविः कश्चिन्मृगोऽदूदुषत्। इन्द्रपुत्रस्य वृषाकपेर्विषये वर्त्तमानः। तत्रेन्द्रमिन्द्राणीं वदति। तस्मिन्पक्षे (त्वस्याॠचोऽयमर्थः) सोतोः सोमाभिषवं कर्तुं वि ह्यमृक्षत। उपरतपोमाभिषवा आसन् यजमानाइत्यर्थः। किञ्च मम पतिमिन्द्रं देवं नामंसत। स्तोतारो न स्तुवन्ति। कुत्रेति अत्राह। यत्र यस्मिन्देशे पुष्टेषु प्रवृद्धेषु घनेषु अर्यः स्वामी वृषाकपिरमदत्। मत्सखामत्प्रियश्चेन्द्रो विश्वस्मात्सर्वस्माज्जगत उत्तर उत्कृष्टतरः"।

This passage again occurring in the Ṛgarthadīpikā of Venkaṭa-Mādhava goes thus (vide JoRM 1936 pp. 116).

इन्द्राण्यं कल्पितं हविः कश्चिन्मृगः दुदूषयिन्द्रपुत्रस्य वृषाकपेर्विषये वर्तमानस्तत्रे····सृक्षाभिषोतुमुपरताभिषना आसन् यजमाना न च मम पतिमिन्द्रं देवं स्तुवन्ति दुष्टे यज्ञे यस्मिञ्जनपदे अस्मद्वृषाकपिस्तत्पुत्रः स्वामी पुष्टेषु माद्यत्सु मत्सखायो विश्वस्मान्ममपतिरिन्द्र उत्कृष्टः।

In the second passage there are a few corruptions which make the whole thing unintelligible yet we can fairly compare both; and we are in a capacity of making a plain statement that Sāyana's extract can never be the same as the latter, he must be quoting from some other commentary. Now Dr. Rajā has obliged the scholars by publishing both Madhavas'

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commentaries side by side in his 'Mādhava-Kṛtā Ṛgvedavyākhyā, the Adyar edition of 1940 covering the first four Adhyāyas only ; even the cursory perusal of both the Madhavas will reveal the fact that Venkaṭa-Mādhava, throughout the whole of his commentary has tried to epitomise the commentary of Mādhava (A), sometimes hopelessly passing on silently even without caring to give the synonyms of some important words. This may suggest us the idea that his above extract also must have been the slightly altered version of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's given to us by Sāyaṇa. This point can only be fully clear in case we come to have the full commentary of Mādhava (A). This valuable commentary of Mādhava (A) reveals some other notable facts. His commentary being old, it seems that Sāyana also to a great extent must have borrowed from him as he does from Skandasvāmi. Venkaṭa-Mādhava also is indebted to Skandasvāmi. There are faint reasons to conjecture that Skandasvāmi also is later than Mādhava (A). Many times he seems to have quoted passages and meanings from this Mādhava. To verify these statements the scholars are requested to go over closely the hymns 25 and 51 in order to compare the commentaries of all these scholiasts. Dr. Rāja believes that Devarāja quotes passages from Sāyaṇa's and thus he is later than Sāyaṇa. He has adduced seven passages for this purpose, of which we can take up only two for our purpose ; because they occur in the first four Adhyayas of the Ṛgveda of which the commentary of Mādhava (A) is available. These two are No. 3 and No. 7 of Dr. Raja's article. I shall requote those passages along with Mādhava (A)'s one for the comparison of the critics :—

Devarāja—'जलाषं ज–लषितं जातैः'–इति माधवः । यद्वा जलाषमिति सुखनाम सुखहेतुत्वादपां तद्धेतौ ताच्छब्द्यम् । "रुद्रं जलाषभेषजम्" (ऋ० १-३-२६-४) 'जलाषमुदकनाम वा' इति माधवोऽभाषयत् । (pp. 130 B. I. Edition under the word Jalāṣa)

Sāyana—on R.V. I.43.4. जलाषभेषजं–सुखरूपौषधोपेतं । यद्वा उदकरूपौषधोपेतम् । उदकं हि रुद्रनामाङ्कितं सदौषधं भवति ।

Venkaṭa-Mādhava—on the same, simply in a word सुखकरभेषजम् ।

Now Mādhava (A)—रुद्रं जलाषभेषजम् । जलाषमिति सुखनाम । सुखकरभेषजम् । जलिर्गतिकर्मा । जङ्गमैः सर्वैरभिलषितं जलाषम् । यदि वा उदकनामैवैतत् । उदकं ह्यस्य कीर्तने भेषजं भवति ।

Here by minute observation we can see that all of them i.e. Devarāja, Sāyaṇa and Venkaṭa-Mādhava are reproducing the idea or words to be seen in Mādhava (A)'s commentary. Devaraja's words agree more with this Mādhava's than Sāyaṇa's statement that 'उदकं हि रुद्रनामाङ्कितं सदौषधं भवति' is nothing but the re-producing of 'उदकं ह्यस्य कीर्तने भेषजं भवति' of Mādhava (A).

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Now let us take the other available passage i.e. No. 7. Though the passage refers to only one word, the meaning of which is likely to be found in almost all the commentaries similarly, yet when we shall read the entire bhāṣya on that Ṛk (R.V. I. 24.7) it will surely reveal to us many more facts just to consolidate our present inference i.e. the indebtedness of all to Mādhava (A).

Devaraja—on p. 36 under वन–'अबुध्ने राजा वरुणो वनस्य' (ऋ० सं० १-२-१४-२) इति निगमः। 'वननीयस्य तेजसः' इति माधवः।

Here I shall give the rendering on the whole stanza belonging to all commentators :—

Sāyana—on R.V. I. 24.7—पूतदक्षः शुद्धबलो वरुणो राजाऽबुध्ने मलरहितेऽन्तरिक्षे तिष्ठन् वननस्य वननीयस्य तेजसः स्तूपं सङ्घमूर्ध्वमुपरि देशे ददते धारयति। नीचीना, स्युः। मध्यदेशे वर्तमानस्य वरुणस्य रश्मय इत्यध्याहार्यम्। ते ह्यधोमुखास्तिष्ठन्ति। एषां रश्मीनां बुध्नो मूलमुपरि तिष्ठति इति शेषः। तथासति केतवः प्रज्ञापकाः प्राणाः अस्मेऽस्मास्वन्तर्निहिताः स्थापिताः स्युः। मरणं न भविष्यतीत्यर्थः। स्त्यै शब्दसङ्घातयोः। स्त्यः सम्प्रसारणम्भूङ्क चेति 'प'प्रत्ययः।

Venkaṭa-Mādhava—अमूले अनालम्बेन अन्तरिक्षे वरुणो राजा तेजस उदकस्य वा सङ्घात मूर्ध्वं धारयति शुद्धबलः। ते च रश्मयो नीचीनाग्रास्तिष्ठन्ति। तेषामेषां मूलमुपरि भवति। अस्माकमन्तरमृतानां निहितानि भवन्तु प्रज्ञानानि।

Mādhava (A) बुध्नो मूलं बध्नातीति। अमूले नभसि तिष्ठन्। राजा वरुणो वनस्य वननीयस्य तेजसः। ऊर्ध्वं स्तूपं सङ्घं स्तूपः स्त्यायतेः। ददते धारयति। ददतिः धारणार्था। 'चतुरश्चिद्ददमानाद्' (Rv. I. 48. 9) इति। पूतदक्षः शुद्धबलः। नीचीनाः अधोमुखाः तिष्ठन्ति। उपरि बुध्न एषां रश्मीनाम्। तया सति अस्मास्वन्तर्निहिताः प्रज्ञापकाः प्राणाः। स्युरिति मुमूर्षुराशास्ते।

I shall ask the critics to mark the whole thing just to find out that how closely Sāyana follows Mādhava (A) and how widely Venkaṭa-Mādhava differs from him in rendering the words अबुध्ने, वनस्य, केतवः। It is not his conjecture but Venkaṭa-Mādhava here agrees or imitates Skandasvamī also. I have to point out that Sāyaṇa and Venkaṭa-Mādhava both of them derive their help from Skandasvāmī too as well as from Mādhava (A). Here I adduce Skandasvāmī's commentary for the verification by scholars :—

Skandasvamī—on R.V. I. 24.7. (Raja's edition pp. 71)

बुध्नमधोभागः। स इतरयोर्भागयोराश्रयः। बुध्नत्वाश्रयत्वयोः सम्बन्धात् बुध्नशब्देनाश्रयो लक्ष्यते। अबुध्नेऽनालम्बनेऽन्तरिक्षे ईश्वरः दीप्तो वा वरुणः। 'अरुर्वनानिवस्त्राणि' इति रश्मौ। अमिङ्क्षु। रश्मीनां सङ्घातार्थं धारयति शुद्धबलः। नीचीनाः अधोमुखास्तिष्ठन्ति अन्ये रश्मयः। उपर्याश्रयो मण्डलाख्यः। एषां वनानां स्तूपं अबुध्नें खे आदित्यमण्डलस्योर्ध्वं नीचीनाश्च भुवि रश्मीन् धारयति। परः पादः अन्यार्थः। तत्सम्बन्धार्थं यत्तदौ स्तः। य इदं करोति तस्य प्रसादेन अस्माकं मनसि निहिताः प्रज्ञाः स्युः। अमि शे। जीवनाशा इयम्। जीवत एव अन्तःप्रज्ञाः स्युः। मृतस्य। अथवा—पिगरचक्षश्च केतवः। इति रश्मयः। ते प्रज्ञानात्मकाः। ते चक्षुर्द्वारेणान्तर्मनसि भवेयुः। चक्षुषा रश्मीन् पश्येम इति प्रार्थ्यते। मुमूर्षणा हि चन्द्रमा त्वादित्यो दृश्यते। न रश्मिप्रादुर्भावः। आदित्यरश्मिदर्शनद्वारेण चिरजीवित्वमाशास्यते।

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From this elaborate commentary of Skandasvamī we see how Venkaṭa-Mādhava in order, to get his idea in his brief Commentary has rendered the above-mentioned three words all to him. Thus we see how he owes his interpretation to both Skanda and Mādhava (A). The word 'मुमूर्षुं' in Mādhava (A) commentary may be a clue for the detailed explanation of Skandasvamī and while doing so he quotes in two places his nāmānukramaṇī in which the very words are traced. The scholars say that these quotations from Anukramanī's of Mādhava are not seen in the other edition of Trivendram. Until it is corroborated that these extracts are spurious or otherwise we withhold our conclusion that Skandasvamī is also indebted to our Mādhava, though there are other indications in his commentary which favour our inference.

Devarāja in his exegesis on the words of Nighaṇṭu refers to Mādhava at least 90 times; I am quite satisfied to find out that all these references are to this Mādhava (A) only and to none else. Because in Dr. Raja's edition of the first four Adhyayas of the Ṛgveda we are able to trace at least 60 of them, though the RK.-passages quoted therein are from the various Maṇḍalas. If the commentary of this Mādhava be available further, We shall surely be able to trace all of them. We cannot trace even a few of them in Venkaṭa-Mādhava's commentary and many of them are missing in Sāyaṇa but none of them will be found missing here. Moreover Devarāja while referring to the Bhāṣya of this Mādhava, explicitly mentions the Nāmānukramaṇi and Nighaṇṭu and Nirvacanānukramaṇī, belonging to this very Mādhava, thus making the explicit statement about the identity of the authorship of Mādhava as regards his Bhāṣya and the various Anukramaṇis. Cit. pp. 263 on द्युगत् अत्रं माधवस्तु-'द्युगत्दीप्तिं द्युलोकं गच्छ हरिभिः इति चैतद्भाष्ये उक्तवान् । तूतुजानः तराणिः द्युगत् इति द्युगच्छब्दः क्षिप्रनामसु तेनाप्यपाठि । These three words in the line दविध्वतं तूतुजानस्तरणिर्द्युगदेव च we find in his Nāmānukramaṇi which leaves no doubt as to the identity of Bhāṣyakāra to the same on pp. 55, राश्मिभर्नुरिति माधवेनोक्तमहर्भवितुमर्हति । This is found in his Nāmānukramani. One more characteristic which is exclusively his own and which the other commentators—all of them—never give in their own commentary is the alteration in the meaning of the words when the accent of those words is shifted making आद्युदात्त as मध्योदात्त or अन्तोदात्त and vice versa. Devarāja quotes many such words and says that they are so described by Mādhava; and all of them verbatim are to be found in the new commentary and many more. The knowledge of this aspect of accentuation reveals its great importance for the interpretation

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of the Ṛgveda and establishes the fact that the ancient vedic scholars were the thorough masters of the Vedic exegesis too. The profound knowledge of this Mādhava must have been stored in all his anukramaṇis which have been, unfortunately inavailable to us. Venkaṭa-Mādhava's general expositions of various topics in his introductory Kārikās at the beginning of each Adhyaya may be an attempt to summarise the mine of information to be found in his Anukramanī works. These remarks, will, I think, suffice to convince scholars that the revered माधवभट्ट referred to by Sāyaṇa can be none else and his commentary 's not mere Vyākhyā as Dr. Raja has designated it, but it deserves to be rightly called as 'Bhāṣya' and the revered epithet माधवभट्ट applied to Venkaṭa-Mādhava must be transferred to this Mādhava who is the predecessor of all.

Once it is finally proved that Devarāja invariably quotes this Mādhava (A) and not Sāyaṇa-Mādhava whom he never quotes, the argument that he is later than Sāyaṇa-Mādhava falls to the ground; and all the evidences that are adduced by Dr. L. Sarup (in the preface to his Nirukta pp. 25-27) to prove his priority at once becomes cogent. Moreover Devarāja would never remain silent in quoting Sāyana too along with all others of whom a long list is given by him. As he quotes Bhojadeva and Kshīrasvami he is decidedly later than 1100 A.D. If Bharatasvami's date as pointed out by Dr. L. Sarup be authentic, then Devarāja is to be relegated to the beginning of the 14th or the end of the 13th century but before the advent of Sāyaṇa-Mādhava. Had he flourished after Sāyaṇa-Mādhava, he would have surely utilised his (माधवीया धातुवृत्ति) Madhaviyādhatuvrtti for his purpose.

The way in which Devarāja is quoting Venkaṭa-Mādhava seems to be very funny. His words are :—'इदञ्च स्वमनीषिकया न क्रियते किन्तु नैघण्टुवागतेष्वेव पदेष्वध्यर्द्धं शतत्रयमात्राणि पदानि भाष्यकारेणैव तत्र तत्र निगमेषु प्रसङ्गान्निरुक्तानि। स्कन्दस्वामिना च निगमव्याख्यानेषु अन्यानि च पदानि शतद्वयमात्राण्युपात्तानि। तेन च समाम्नायपठितानां पदानामन्येभ्यो व्याकृत्यर्थं किञ्चिच्चिन्त्यं कृतम्। अतस्तेषां पाठशुद्धिस्तत्रैव सिद्धा। अन्येषाञ्च पदानामस्मत्कुले समाम्नायाध्ययनस्य। विच्छेदात्—श्रीवेङ्कटाचार्यतनयस्य माधवस्य भाष्यकृतो नामानुक्रमण्याः–आख्यातानुक्रमण्याः–स्वरानुक्रमण्याः–निर्वचनानुक्रमण्याः–तदीयस्य भाष्यस्य च बहुशः पर्यालोचनात्–बहुदेशसमानीतात्–बहुकोशनिरीक्षणाच्च पाठः संशोधितः'। ····Now the Bhāṣya and the various anukramaṇiṣ quoted by him, Devarāja says, belong to Venkaṭa-Mādhava whereas now we know that they do not belong to Venkaṭa-Mādhava but to Mādhava (A) whose bhāṣya on the First Aṣṭaka has been now available to us; so we can very well infer that Devarāja has definitely mistaken Venkaṭa-Mādhava for Mādhava (A). As he says

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that the Bhāṣya and the anukramaṇis he possessed were secured by him from many places and got corrected by the help of many lexicons (बहुधा पर्यालोचनात्–बहुदेशसमानीतात्–बहुकोशनिरोक्षणाच्च)—which fact goes to enable us to infer that these works had become very old by the time of Devarāja who could not distinguish the real author from Venkaṭa-Mādhava; and further Venkaṭa-Mādhava also must have been regarded as fairly old by him while quoting him in this way. No real work by Venkaṭa-Mādhava seems to have been available to him. This kind of confusion is not merely due to his personal information he had at that time but it seems to have been the general tradition as we meet with such a colophon at the end of the second Adhyāya in the new commentary. The word 'गोमति' there must have been either misread for something else or it may be the insertion by the scribe who wrote or copied the Bhāṣya. Because we know by the statement of Devarāja that he could not get the correct copy of Mādhava's bhāṣya and for the correction of which he had to collate various mss from different places and with the help of lexicons with great efforts, as told before. That was not the case with Skandasvāmi's commentary which was with him in a condition quite fair and correct. We must remember that Skandasvāmi did not belong to Southern India but to Valabhi in Gujarat and his Bhāṣya and the commentary on Nirukta Devarāja could have quite intact and in order, and in case of this Mādhava he is regarded to have hailed from the same village 'Gomati' on the river 'Cauvery' to which Venkaṭa-Mādhava also belonged. So we cannot account for so much corruption of his Bhāṣya. Such a corruption in prominent works is generally due to such reasons as their antiquity etc. Thus we cannot even accept the suggestion dropped by Dr. Sarup in the introduction to his 'Indices and Appendices' of Nirukta that this Mādhava may have been the grand-father of Venkaṭa-Mādhava who makes mention of him in his colophons and says that he also was the writer of a commentary on some part of the Ṛgveda. Pt. Bhagvad Datta also has confounded Venkaṭa-Mādhava for this (A) Mādhava and the references to the Nāmānakramaṇi and others by Keshavasvāmi in his Nanārthārṇavasamkṣepa and by Vedācārya in his Sudarśanamīmāṃsā point out to this Mādhava and not Venkaṭa-Mādhava. Venkaṭa-Mādhava in his brief commentary does not fail to quote passages from various Brāhmana texts but those all will be found in this Mādhava's also. In the first four Adhyāyas there is only one passage sufficiently lengthy quoted from Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa (vide pp. 384, Adyar edition at the beginning of the 51st hymn) which is not seen in the other Mādhava's. Sāyana seems not to have been aware of

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Venkaṭa-Mādhava, otherwise he would never fail to quote this passage in his commentary. This fact cannot lead us to the conclusion that Venkaṭa-Mādhava came after Sāyaṇa. We have already pointed out that Devarāja is decidedly earlier than Sāyaṇa and he knows Venkaṭa-Mādhava and by the way in which he quotes him it seems that he must have regarded him to be fairly old in his time.

Before I proceed to adduce the interesting passages from Devarāja just to enable scholars to make the comparative study of all the available commentaries on the Ṛgveda and thus to decide the validity of my conclusion, I should like to make a few remarks as to the merits of these commentaries with the full readiness of welcoming any impartial criticism against it. Let us first take up Venkaṭa-Mādhava. His commentary is nothing but assignment of appropriate synonymous substitutes for the words in the stanzas in the order in which they occur there. While doing so he has taken pains to quote passages from various Brāhmaṇa texts in imitation of Mādhava (A) generally and sometimes Skandasvamī also. We must admit that the expatiations made by him in the form of Kārikās on the various aspects of Vedic words including accentuation reveal his ingenuity and sagaciousness and learning too. Otherwise his mere commentary would have been a poor attempt, insufficient to draw the attention of Vedic scholars. In the body of his commentary his negligence is often detected. To quote the instance in the very beginning on R.V. I. 1.7 he takes दोषावस्तर् as two words meaning सायं प्रातश्च whereas Mādhava (A) and Skandasvamī are right in explaining it as a vocative, meaning दोषाया आच्छादयितर् This mistake of Venkaṭa-Mādhava on the same word and in the same place was already pointed out to the scholars by Oldenberg and Macdonell in Sāyaṇa's commentary long before these commentaries came to be known to the scholars. So we have the least hesitation to assert that Venkaṭa-Mādhava does not command reverence and so he cannot be the same Mādhavabhaṭṭa referred to by Sāyaṇa.

As regards Sāyaṇa's commentary I have already made my remarks in the introduction to Dya Dviweda's Nītimañjarī that his great commentary is an encyclopœdiac work wherein the subject-matter of all the aucillary texts of the Vedas (परिशिष्टग्रन्थ) and his various available commentaries bearing on the respective points has been brought together by his wonderful mastery on the subject and the peculiar grasp of it. This rule applies only to those portions where he has made his commentary elaborate i.e. in the First Aṣṭaka and the Second

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and even the third and not everywhere. His originality has been made manifest not in the exposition of appropriate or correct interpretation but in showing his ingenuity to assign those meanings with his profound knowledge of Pāṇini and Jaimini thus establishing himself as the first-rate scholiast of vyākaraṇa and Pūrva-mīmāṁsā. Otherwise his commentary is nothing but collection or saṁgraha of the renderings of the previous commentators.

Skandasvāmī must have belonged to the sacerdotal or Yājñika school and seems to be a staunch follower of Śākapūṇi. He is highly learned in his exegesis and often finds fault with the ancient predecessors such as Yāska and Śākalya whom he addresses as Padakāra. We know from Bṛhaddevatā and Yāska's Nirukta that they also have pointed out the slips of their predecessors, e.g. Śaunaka, of Yāska and Yaska, of Śākalya. It is very difficult to say whether Skanda followed our Mādhava, because while explaining word विवस्वत् bearing Madhyodātta accent meaning Yajamāna he always says that Śākapūṇi says so; Mādhava (A) points out to us that the word when it is Ādyudātta means Aditya; and when it is Madhyodātta it means Yajamāna; had Skandasvāmi been acquianted with Mādhava or his Sarvānukramaṇī I think he would quote this authority or at least would hint at it. We see in Nirukta that Yāska also was unaware of this rule when he explains this word विवस्वतः on R. V. VI-8.4 in 'अपामुपस्थे' etc. as आदित्यात् विवस्वान् विवासनवान्, whereas it fairly means as यजमान there. Skandasvāmī's commentary is full of erudition, inspiring and serene. His main aim seems to be that he regarded the mantras as subordinate to sacrificial performance as we see from the very beginning of his commentary which goes as 'मन्त्राः पञ्चप्रकाराः प्रैषाःकरणाः क्रियमाणानुवादिनः शस्त्राभिष्टवनादिगताः जपानुवचनादिगताः इति'। He quotes many legends from the Brāhmaṇas and other sources and thus he maintains one of the old schools the tradition of which has totally disappeared.

Mādhava (A)'s characteristics can now be pointed out by quoting the passages given to us by Devarāja who accepts him as an implicit authority. His commentary which is now available to us on the first four Adhyāyas is very brief in exposition yet very learned. He seems to go never astray. We can see that his commentary has been a source of inspiration to both Sāyaṇa and Venkaṭa-Mādhava. Let us now proceed to point out this fact by concrete instances. Let us first take the word 'विवस्वत्'।

Devarāja–pp. 187 on विवस्वतः–वस निवासे इत्यस्मादन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते इति 'विच् दृशिग्रहणाद्भावे भवति। विविधं वसनं विवः। तद्वन्तो विवस्वन्तः। सर्वस्यापि मनुष्य-

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स्य यत् किञ्चिद्विवसनमस्ति विवस्वच्छन्द आदित्यवाची आद्युदात्तः। अन्यत्र मनुष्यविशेषे यजमाने द्वितीयाक्षरमुदात्तमिति माधवः। 'आविर्भव सूक्तरूपा विवस्वते' (भ. र. १.२.३२.३) शिवो दूतो विवस्वतः (भा. सा. ६. ३, २२. ३) इति निगमौ। अत्र विवस्वान् यजमानः इति माधवभाष्यम्। 'महो जाया विवस्वतो ननाश (या० सं० ७-६-२३-१)'—इत्यादित्यवचनस्योदाहरणम्। Here Sāmaśrami quotes incorrectly R. V. I. 31. 3 which ought to be 'आविर्भव सुकृतूया विवस्वते।

I am giving complete commentary for the sake of comparison :—

Mādhava (A) on pp. 207.R.V.I.31.3. तत्वमग्ने। मातरिश्वा वायुः। मातरि श्वसितीति। माता अन्तरिक्षमिति निरुक्तम्। (Here Dr. Rāja adds in a footnote 'what is found in Nirukta as मातरिश्वा वायुः। मातर्यन्तरिक्षे श्वयिति (N. 7.26). But Dr. Rāja was not careful in making these remarks which reveals the ignorance or negligence on the part of Mādhava whom we regard as a profound scholar. Mādhavā is quite right in his statement to which I attract the attention of scholars to N. 2.8 where we find माताऽन्तरिक्षम्—निर्मीयन्तेऽस्मिन्भूतानि। तस्मै विवस्वते यजमानाय परिचरते। (These words 'यजमानाय परिचरते' have been picked up by Sāyana everywhere) सुकृतूयया कर्मेच्छया। आविभवः आविरभवः। (आविरभवः we find in Venkaṭa-Mādhava borrowed by him from here). Sāyaṇa takes it as imperative only. It is Skandasvāmi who explains the secrecy of the translation by the Vedic legend). वाक्यसंयोगाद् भूतार्थेऽपि लोट् दृश्यते। आ दस्युघ्ना मनसा ह्यरतम्' इति। विवस्वानादित्यश्चेदाद्युदात्तः। 'महोजाया विवस्वतो ननाश' (R. V.17. 1). अरेजेतां अकम्पेतां वलिनं दष्ट्वा। रोदसी होतृवूर्ये यज्ञे। तस्मिन् होतृणां वरणयोग्यो होतृवूर्यः सोढवानसि। हविषो भारमयजश्च महतोदेव्यान् वासयितः।

Venkaṭa-Mādhava :—(त्वमग्ने पुराणो वायवे आविरभवः शोभनकर्मेच्छया विवस्वते) (does not render but passes off in silence will indicate whether he was not willing to accept the rendering) तस्मै मातरिश्वा त्वामाजहार। त्वयि होतरि देवैर्वृते महान्तं त्वां दृष्ट्वा द्यावापृथिव्यौ अकम्पेताम् त्व देवानां हविवहनभारं सोढवान्। अयजस्त्र महतस्तान् वासयितः। *This is pure imitation of Mādhava and Skandasvāmī.* I shall not quote here Sāyaṇa and Skandasvāmī as they are very lengthy. Only I shall mark their difference. Skandasvāmī begins with the legend which goes thus—अत्रेतिहासः। सर्वमन्धं तम आसीत्। अथ मातरिश्वा सूक्ष्ममग्निमपश्यत्। अथर्वा च ऋषिः तत् पाराशर्यो भरद्वाजश्च वक्ष्यति। मथतिद्यदीम्। (R.VI.716) त्वामग्ने पुष्करात् (R.V. VI. 16. 13) इत्याभ्याम्। तत्र मथ्यमाने ज्वालामालो नाम अग्नि रजायत। स प्रथमं मातरिश्वने आविरभवत्। अथ विवस्वते। तदिह उच्यते। हे अग्ने त्वं अग्रिमो वायवे आविरभवः। लङि लोट्। शोभनकर्मेच्छया। इच्छार्थ वयच्। हवः इति दीर्घश्च। टार्थे आच्। सुकृतयया शोभनयागादिकर्मेच्छया। मातरिश्वने च आविर्भूय अनन्तरं विवस्वते च। रेजृ भयवेपनयीः। (Here I may draw the attention of the scholars towards the silence maintained by Skandasvāmī followed by Venkaṭa Mādhava. To me this silence does not seem to be natural but purposeful. Here Skandasvāmī finds it difficult whether he should render विवस्वते as आदित्याय because

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there मातरिश्वने behind or यजमानाय as is positively done by Mādhava. So मौनं सर्वार्थसाधनम् is the policy adopted by both. Sāyaṇa has accepted Mādhava's rendering. Hence I attach high regard to Mādhava (A).

The meaning of असघ्नोः is worth noting. Difficulty lies in the Derivation. Mādhava (A) perhaps might have explained these things in his Nirvacanānukramaṇi. Skanda and Sāyaṇa both find difficulty in deriving the word. Skanda proceeds quoting the legend as 'किञ्च असघ्नोः। अत्रेतिहासः। देवाः किल स्वयमेव स्वानि स्वानि हवींषि अभक्षयन्। तेषां केचिद् वोढुं नाशक्नुवन्। एकैकाहुतिस्त्रैलोक्यभारादतिरिच्यते। कांश्चित्तु शक्नुवतोऽपि असुरा अभ्यद्रवन्। ते सर्वे अग्निमब्रुवन्। द्रव्यं नो वह इति। तत् लेलायमान एव सोऽवहत्। तदेतदिहोच्यते। असघ्नो भारमिति। सघतिर्हिंसायाम्। इह तु भारस्य हिंसाकर्मासम्भवात् अन्यस्य सघिः शक्नोत्यर्थे वा। सहेर्वा शक्नोत्यर्थस्य न सघेः। शक्नोतेश्च नित्यकर्मभूतधात्वन्तरस्यानुपक्तत्वाद् भारं इति च श्रुतेर्वोढुमिति वाक्यशेषः। आहुतिभारं वोढुमशक्नोः। वस्ते प्रशस्यघञ् वा। Sāyana here follows Skanda. He says कर्मणिभारमसघ्नोः। ऊढवानसि असघ्नोः। षघ हिंसायाम् अत्र तु वहनार्थः। This is the sum and substance of what Skanda elaborately decides. One thing is clear that both Skanda and Sāyaṇa are the staunch followers of Pāṇini. With Mādhava it does not seem to be the case which becomes clear when we read minutely his Akhyātānukramaṇī. Sāyaṇa is the perfect master of Pāṇini's grammar where as we may find slips in Skandasvāmī, e.g. in explaining वावसाना in (R.V. I. 43.13) Skanda says ताच्छील्ये शानच्। whereas Sāyana is correct in pointing out that it is not शानच् but ताच्छील्यवयोवचनेषु चानश्। perhaps that might be the printing mistake.

But one thing is clear. These scholars want to derive Vedic words following Pāṇini Dhātupāṭhā whereas Mādhava's derivations are quite original. We cannot say what tradition he is following. He is very definite and unambiguous, which are the signs of his great antiquity and reverence. That is why we insist upon calling him as Mādhavabhaṭṭa as done by Sāyaṇa and his commentary as Bhāṣya, as Devarāja has already designated it. Similarly it may be pointed out that Yāska's reputation in R.V. I. 84.15 is not sound as Sāyaṇa seems to have mended it already. Om.

We can easily multiply instances. दिग्दर्शनेनैवालम्

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UNTRACED QUOTATIONS IN SĀYAṆA'S COMMENTARY ON THE ṚGVEDA.

By

C. G. Kashikar, Poona.

The Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona has been publishing a new edition of the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya in five volumes. Three volumes comprising Maṇḍalas I to VIII have already been published and the fourth volume covering Maṇḍalas IX and X will shortly go to the press. A fifth volume will comprise the various indices.

Sāyaṇa, in his commentary, quotes a number of passages from the different branches of Sanskrit literature, e.g., Vedic literature, Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, Grammar, Bṛhaddevatā, Sarvānukramaṇī, Ṛgvidhāna, etc. Prof. Max Müller, in his well known edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛgveda, has tried to trace these passages to their original sources. He could not, however, succeed in tracing all of them. The chief reason for this seems to be that good editions of Vedic and other texts with indices were perhaps not available to him. Then the editors of the Bombay edition of the Ṛgvedabhāṣya have also made efforts in the same direction and have given the references of certain Vedic passages in addition to those given by Max Müller. Still there remained to be traced a number of Vedic and other passages quoted directly or indirectly in the text of the commentary. It was, therefore, quite natural that the editors of the Poona edition should try to find out the original places of those passages and they have been successful in tracing at least some of them.

In cases of passages from Vedic texts, whether or not actually mentioned by name, the texts concerned were referred with the aid of (1) Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*, (2) Viśvabandhu Śāstri's *Vaidika Padānukramakoṣa*, and (3) Hamsa Rāj's *Vaidika Koṣa*. Help of Vaidikas who have learned the texts (of the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda School) by heart, was also obtained. Texts like *Sarvānukramaṇī*, *Bṛhaddevatā*, *Ṛgvidhāna*, Grammatical texts, Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, etc. were referred for passages quoted therefrom.

Still there remain a number of quotations which could not be traced so far, for some reason or other. Such quotations are given below. Some of them are not actually quoted by

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words, they are referred by the commentator in his own words. The quotations can be divided into several classes :—

(i) Passages from Vedic texts which are mentioned by name,
(ii) Passages from Vedic texts which are not mentioned by name,
(iii) Passages from works that have not been discovered so far,
(iv) Passages from Smṛtis or similar works,
(v) Ślokas like those in *Bṛhaddevatā*, *Ṛgvidhāna* and Ṣaḍguru-śiṣya's *Vedārthadīpikā*,
(vi) References from unknown sources which are introduced by केचिदाहुः, कश्चिदाह, अपरे, संप्रदायविदः, वृद्धाः, ऐतिहासिकाः, etc.[1]
(vii) Miscellaneous.

Of all the passages, at least those in Classes (i) and (ii) could be traced with some efforts. It is difficult to say anything definitely about those in other classes. In order to do full justice to Sāyaṇa, the great commentator of the Vedic texts, who has rendered the greatest help in their interpretation, it is essential that utmost efforts should be made to trace all the remaining quotations in the whole of his commentary on the Ṛgveda to their original sources. It is with this intention that the list of all such passages is being published here. The list may perhaps not be exhaustive. Scholars especially interested in Vedic studies are, therefore, requested to kindly note such passages as may not have been mentioned here, while going through the published volumes of the Poona edition, and to co-operate with the editors in finding out the original places of all the quotations and thus enable them to make the edition as thorough as possible from this point of view. References of quotations in the commentary on Maṇḍalas IX and X that may be obtained within time, will be utilised while printing the text of the fourth volume comprising those Maṇḍalas. Those in the commentary on Maṇḍalas I to VIII will be mentioned in the introduction to the same.

The classified list of untraced passages now follows :—

Class (i) :—

III. 51. 7—इन्द्रः शार्यातस्य यज्ञे सोमरसानपिबदित्येषोऽर्थः कौषीतके स्पष्टमुक्तः। The name of Śāryāta is not found in the index of proper names in Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa at the end (Lindner's Edition).

[1] Cf. Max Müller, *Ṛgveda*, 2nd edition, Vol. IV, Preface, p. cxxxi.

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IV. 9. 5—'स हि सप्तदशः कर्मणामुपद्रष्टा भवति' इत्यापस्तम्बेनोक्तत्वात् ।

VI. 46. 3—यां कां च स्त्रियं संभवन्निन्द्रो भोगलोलुपतया स्वशरीरे पर्वणि पर्वणि शेफान् ससर्ज इति कौषीतकिभिराम्नातम् ।

VIII. 2. 2—तदुक्तं भगवता आपस्तम्बेन–'शुक्लामूर्णास्तुकां यजमानाय प्रयच्छति तां शकटे दशापवित्रस्य नाभिं कुरुते शुक्लं वलक्ष्याः पवित्रममोतं भवति' ।

VIII. 4. 1—'सिम इति वै श्रेष्ठमाचक्षते' इति वाजसनेयकम् । It is to be noted that this occurs in Ṛgveda 1. 102. 6 as a passage from Śāṭyāyanaka.

X. 51. 8—शरीरदाया ह वा अग्नयो भवन्तीति च ब्राह्मणं पुरुषाहुतिर्यस्य प्रियतमेति च ।

X. 52. 2—'एष वै सोमो राजा' इत्युपक्रम्य 'तदेवाभयं भवति' इति हि छन्दोगब्राह्मणम् ।

X. 101. 3—'सप्त ग्राम्याः कृष्टे सप्तारण्या अकृष्टे' इत्यापस्तम्बः ।

Class (ii) :—

II. 3. 10—'अग्निर्वै देवानां शमिता' इति श्रूयते ।

VI. 65. 6—तथा च ब्राह्मणं–'प्राणो वै भरद्वाजवत्' इति ।

VII. 10. 5—तथा च श्रूयते–'यस्माद्दूतोऽभवत्तस्माद्विशस्तमध्वरं ईळते' इति ।

VIII. 17. 5—तथा च श्रूयते–'ओभा कुक्षी पृणता वार्त्रघ्नं च माघोनं च' । Max Müller has वार्त्रघ्ने in place of वार्त्रघ्नं । Bombay edition says बृहदारण्यके ।

IX. 1. 2 ; 75. 3 ; 97. 1—'हिरण्यपाणिरभिषुणोति' ।

IX. 5. 2—तथा च श्रूयते–'अद्भ्योऽश्वो जायन्ते ततः सोमो जायते' इति ।

IX. 29. 2—'अयं वै ज्योतिर्यत्सोमः' इति श्रुतेः ।

X. 5. 1—'मनो वै देवा मनुष्यस्य जानन्ति' इत्युक्तम् ।

X. 56. 1—'देवानां ह्येतत्परमं जनित्रं यत्सूर्यः' इति हि श्रुतिः ।

X. 56. 6—'अयं ह्याततन्तुर्यत्प्रजा' इति ब्राह्मणम् ।

X. 61. 10—'अदक्षिणानि सत्राणीत्याहुः' इति हि वचनं 'थे यजमानास्त ऋत्विज' इति ।

X. 85. 5—'वसन्ते वसन्ते ज्योतिषा यजेत' इति श्रुतेः ।

X. 85. 5—'वायुगोपा वनस्पतयः' इति श्रुतेः ।

X. 88. 16—तथा च निगमान्तरम्–'उत मन्येऽहमेनमनयोर्हि शिरस्तोऽयं प्रातर्जायते' इति ।

X. 115. 8—'अन्नं वा आज्यम्' इति श्रवणात् ।

Class (iii) :—

I. 102. 6—तथा च शाट्यायनकं–'सिम इति वै श्रेष्ठमाचक्षते' । This again comes as a passage from Vājasaneyaka in RV. VIII. 4. 1.

VIII. 91 ; X. 38. 5 etc. Passages from Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa.

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V. 40. 8—स्वर्भानुमायया सूर्यस्यावृतिर्हारिद्रविके समाम्नाता–'स्वर्भानुश्चासुरः सूर्यं तमसाविध्यत्तस्मै देवाः प्रायश्चित्तमैच्छन् तस्य यत्प्रथमं तमोऽपाघ्नन् सा कृष्णाविरभवत् यद् द्वितीयं सा फल्गुनी यत्तृतीयं सा वलक्षी यदध्यस्थादपाकृन्तन्' इत्यादि ।

Class (*iv*) :—

III. 34. 1—तथा च स्मृतिः–'चैत्रमासे तपेदिन्द्रः' इति ।

III. 56. 4—'मेषादिस्थे सवितरि यो यो मासः प्रपूर्यते चान्द्रः ।
चैत्राद्यः स ज्ञेयः' इति स्मृतेः ।

V. 61. 8—'अर्धं शरीरस्य भार्या' इत्यादिस्मृतेः ।

VII. 33. 1—'चूडाकर्मणि दक्षिणतो वसिष्ठानाम्' इति स्मर्यते ।

VII. 82. 2—स्मर्यते च–'ओजो नामाष्टमी दशा' इति ।
Max Müller has ओजः साष्टमी दशा ।

X. 85. 2—'प्रथमां पिबते वह्निर्द्वितीयां पिबते रविः' इत्यादिस्मृतेः ।

X. 107. 1—'चैत्रमासे तयोरिन्द्रः' इति स्मरणात् ।
Bombay edition has तथा इन्द्रः in place of तयोरिन्द्रः ।
cf. III. 34.1.

Class (*v*) :—

I. 88. 1—तथा चाहुः–'सर्वा स्त्री मध्यमस्थान्न पुमान् वायुश्च सर्वगः ।
गणाश्च सर्वे मरुत इति वृद्धानुशासनम्' इति ।।

II. 12 Intro.—तान् दृष्ट्वा निर्जगामेन्द्रो यज्ञाद्गृत्समदाकृतिः ।

This seems to be a quotation even though it forms part of a statement in prose. See Nītimañjarī p. 136 (Benares edition).

II. 28 Intro.—इदमेकादशर्चं तु वारुणं भयपापनुत् ।
ऋणदारिद्र्यदुःस्वप्ननाशनं चेति शुश्रुम ।।

IV. 27. 1—अत्रैष श्लोकः पठ्यते—

'श्येनभावं समास्थाय गर्भाद्योगेन निःसृतः ।
ऋषिर्गर्भे शयानः सन् ब्रूते गर्भे नु सन्निति' ।।

IV. 24. 9—अत्र ऋग्द्वये सम्प्रदायविद्भिः पूर्वाचार्यैः केचित् श्लोकाः पठ्यन्ते । त एव लिख्यन्ते—

अल्पं यः परिगृह्णाति मूल्यं पण्येन भूयसा ।
स क्रेतारं पुनर्गच्छन्न विक्रीतस्त्वयं मया ।।१।।

इति ब्रुवन् कामयते पुनर्मूल्यस्य पूरणम् ।
स विक्रेता पुनर्मूल्यं भूयसा न प्रपूरयेत् ।।२।।

हीनं न लभते वस्नं यदा विक्रीतवान् पुरा ।
यथासमयमेव स्यात्तयोर्न पुनरन्यथा ।।३।।

अयं विक्रय एवेति समयश्चेत्कृतो भवेत् ।
अथ मूल्यार्थमेतत्स्याद्विचार्यैव तु निर्णयः ।।४।।

इत्येवं समयोऽकारि तदा मूल्यं प्रपूर्यते ।
तस्मावादो मया कार्यः समयोऽत्रेति चिन्तयन् ।।५।।

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वामदेवो वशीकृत्य शक्रं स्तोत्रेण भूयसा।
विक्रीणन् समयं चक्र इन्द्रं क इममित्यृचि ।।६।।
अतश्च द्वृच एकार्थो भूयसा वस्नमित्ययम् इति।
See Nītimañjarī p. 163

VI. 47. 20—अत्रोक्तम्–

'अरण्ये निर्जने गर्गो देवान् भूमिं बृहस्पतिम्।
इन्द्रं चास्तौत्स्वरक्षार्थमृचा मार्गच्युतोऽनया' ।। इति।

This passage has been quoted by Dyādviveda in his Nītimañjarī (p. 213).

VI. 9. 2—एतच्च सम्प्रदायविद्भिरुक्तं—

'वैश्वानरस्य पुत्रोऽसौ परस्ताद्दिवि यः स्थितः।
छन्दांस्यध्वरवस्त्रस्य स्तुतशस्त्राणि तन्तवः ।।

यजूंषि चेष्टाश्चौतुः स्याद्वस्त्रं वातन्वमध्वरः।
परः परः स्थितः सूर्यः पिताग्निः पार्थिवो मतः' ।। इति।

VI. 20. 5—तथा चोक्तं–

'कुत्सायेन्द्रोऽसुरं शुष्णं जिघांसुः कुत्समात्मनः।
सारथिं कल्पयित्वास्य शत्रुं शुष्णमहंस्ततः।
कुत्सस्य रक्षां बहुलां चकारेत्यनयोच्यते'।

VII. 104. 12—अत्र केचिआहुः—

'हत्वा पुत्रशतं पूर्वं वसिष्ठस्य महात्मनः।
वसिष्ठं राक्षसोऽसि त्वं वासिष्ठं रूपमास्थितः ।।

अहं वसिष्ठ इत्येवं जिघांसू राक्षसोऽब्रवीत्।
अत्रोत्तरा ऋचो दृष्टा वसिष्ठेनेति नः श्रुतम्' ।।

IX. 13 Intro.—पवमानगुणः सोमो विज्ञेयः काश्यपावृषी।
इति विद्यादनुक्तेऽपि लाघवाया दृह्लच्युतात् ।।

X. 62. 7—शौनकः—

ऋषयोऽङ्गिरसस्तुष्टा यद्दुर्मानवाय तु।
तत्पुण्याय च कर्मणि ये यज्ञेनेत्यकीर्तयत् ।।
Bombay edition has कर्माणि in place of कर्मणि।

X. 62. 8 Intro.—शौनकः–

'सावर्णिना च यद्दत्तं मानवाय महद्वसु।
तदुक्तं सूक्तशेषेण प्र नूनं जायतामिति' ।।

X. 85. 22—'विश्वावसुर्नाम गन्धर्वः कन्यानामधिपतिर्यतः।
लभामि तेन कन्याम्' इति हि मन्त्रः।

Class (vi) :—

I. 64. 8 etc.—ऐतिहासिकाः—

I. 88. 1—पौराणिकास्त्वाचक्षते मारीचात्कश्यपात्सप्तगणात्मका एकोनपञ्चाशत्संख्याका मरुतो जज्ञिरे इति।

II. 12 Intro.—अन्ये त्वन्यथा वर्णयन्ति, अपरे त्वेवं कथयन्ति।
See Nītimañjarī p. 136

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V. 52. 17—अदितिगर्भे वर्तमानं वायुमिन्द्रः प्रविश्य सप्तधा विदार्य पुनरेकैकं सप्तधां व्यदारयत् ते एकोनपञ्चाशन्मरुद्गणा अभवन्निति पुराणेषु प्रसिद्धम् ।

VI. 9. 2—आत्मविदः—

VI. 42. 2—अन्य आह

VII. 57. 3—कश्चिदेकवाक्यतामाह

VII. 87. 4—अपर आह

VIII. 33. 6—श्रवः श्रयन्त्यस्मिन्निति व्युत्पत्तेः श्मश्रु युद्धमिति वृद्धा वदन्ति ।

VIII. 33. 17—तथा चाहुः—'प्लायोगिश्चासंगो यः स्त्री भूत्वा पुमानभूत् स मेध्यातिथये दानं दत्वा' इति ।

VIII. 96. 14—केचिदिष्यामि वो मरुत इति पठन्ति ।
Bombay edition says शाखान्तरे ।

Class (vii) :—

V. 41. 7—ईषिः प्रापणकर्मा स्यादुपप्राभिः समन्वितः ।

This seems to be a quotation.

VI. 1. 13—अत्र भरतस्वामी वसुतात इत्येकपदं सप्तम्यन्तं चकार ।

See Sanskrit notes in the Poona edition of Ṛgveda, Vol. III.

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SANSKRIT SECTON

THE PĀRIJĀTA AND THE MADANA-PĀRIJĀTA

By

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In the *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Vol. I, p. 309) the *Pārijāta*, often quoted by the *Kalpataru* and the *Ratnākaras* of Caṇḍeśvara, was assigned to a period between 1000 and 1125 A.D. and it was pointed out that the *Pārijāta* quoted by the *Kalpataru* was altogether a different work from the *Madanapārijāta*. The *Madanapārijāta* was assigned to a period between 1360 and 1390 A.D. in the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I, p. 389. In a recent case before the Patna High Court[1] a passage of the *Madana-pārijāta* assumed importance and incidentally the date of the *Madana-pārijāta* came in for discussion. Mr. Justice Dhavle, himself a Sanskrit scholar, after quoting the views of Ghose, Sarvadhikari and myself about the date of the *Madana-pārijāta* ultimately left the question of date undecided (p. 579) but remarked, 'we have had lawyers on both sides in this case who are familiar with Sanskrit and *none of them*, though invited to do so, has referred us to any quotation in the *Ratnākara* or the *Chintāmaṇi* from *the Pārijāta*, which is not to be found in the *Madana-pārijāta*.' Among the lawyers engaged in the case was the eminent Sanskrit scholar and antiquarian, the late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. It becomes necessary to examine this question very carefully in view of the failure of eminent scholars and lawyers to shed light on it by setting forth some passages or opinions attributed to the *Pārijāta* in early works like the *Ratnākaras* of Caṇḍeśvara and to search for them in the *Madana-pārijāta* and to show from this investigation that the *Pārijāta* quoted by the *Kalpataru* and Caṇḍeśvara is different from the *Madana-pārijāta*. A detailed or extensive examination of all passages cited from the *Pārijāta* (which are several hundred in number) cannot be attempted here within the space allowed, nor is it necessary to do so. The passages may be divided into three classes: (1) Those in which certain views are attributed to the *Pārijāta* which are not found in the *Madana-pārijāta*; (2) those in which the *Madana-pārijāta* holds views or gives explanations which are opposed to or different from the views or explanations attributed to the *Pārijāta*; (3) those in which certain views or texts are stated to have been not mentioned in the *Pārijāta* which are yet found in the *Madana-pārijāta*.

[1] Vide Kamla Prasad *vs.* Murli Manohar, 13 Patna 550 at p. 578-580.

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In this paper *V. R.*, *Kṛ. R.* and *Gṛ. R.* respectively stand for the *Vivādaratnākara*, the *Kṛtyaratnākara* and *Gṛhastharatnākara.*; *M. P.* stands for *Madana-pārijāta*.

I. Passages in which certain remarks are attributed to the *Pārijāta* which are not found in the *Madana-pārijāta*:

(*a*) The *V. R.* quotes (on p. 465) a *sūtra* of Śaṅkhalikhita '*sa yadyekaputraḥ syād dvau bhāgāvātmanaḥ kuryāt*' and notes (on p. 466) that the *Pārijāta* explained '*ekaputra*' as '*jyeṣṭhaputra*' But this explanation is not found in the *M. P.*

(*b*) The *V. R.* on p. 476 refers to Manu IX. 125 (that among sons born to a man from wives of the same caste there is no seniority due to the seniority of wives in accordance with the dates of marriage, but there is seniority among sons according to the date of birth) and states that Lakṣmīdhara holds that the special share given on partition to the eldest son is to be given to that son, who though younger in age (than other sons) is the son of the eldest among wives and that the *Pārijāta* also accepted the same view.[1] There is nothing in the *M. P.* corresponding to this.

(*c*) The *V. R.* (p. 505) quotes several verses of Kātyāyana on property impartible by its very nature, one of which is 'pastures, ways and clothes on the body, *prayojya* and the materials used by craftsmen (such as cotton) are not divisible according to Bṛhaspati' and then states that according to Halāyudha '*prayojya*' means 'money lent as a debt', while '*prayojya*' means 'a book and the like' according to the *Pārijāta*.[2] In *M. P.* (on p. 685) the first quarter about a debt consigned to a document is quoted, but nothing is said by way of explaining *prayojya*.

(*d*) The *V. R.* (p. 589) quotes Manu IX. 190 (the widow of a sonless deceased person should secure a son through a Sagotra and should hand over

[1] लक्ष्मीधरेण ज्येष्ठापुत्रस्य कनीयस एव ज्येष्ठत्वप्रयुक्तोद्धारव्यवस्थापनाच्च । पारिजातस्याप्येवं परिग्रहाच्च ॥ वि० र० p. 477

[2] धनं पत्रनिविष्टं तु धर्मार्थं यन्निरूपितम् । ·······गोप्रचारश्च रथ्या च वस्त्रं यच्चांगयोजितम् । प्रयोज्यं न विभज्येत शिल्पार्थं च बृहस्पतिः । प्रयोज्यं प्रयुक्तमृणमिति हलायुधः । प्रयोज्यं प्रयोगार्हं पुस्तकादि तन्न विभज्येत मूर्खादिभिरिति पारिजातः । वि० र० p. 505.

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to that son whatever wealth may have been that of the deceased) and adds the view of the *Pārijāta*[1] that the widow should not herself take the wealth. The *M. P.* does not say anything about Manu IX. 190.

(*e*) The *Gr. R.* (p. 147) says that certain texts of Devala (on *Śauca*) were explained by the *Pārijāta*[2] as applicable only to women, Śūdras and persons whose Upanayana had not yet been performed. In the *M. P.* (pp. 44-50) there is a section on *Śauca* in which, though many of the verses on *Śauca* quoted from the Smṛtis in *Gr. R.* are also cited, this explanation about the passages of Devala is not found.

(*f*) On *Snāna* the *Gr. R.* (p. 195) quotes Yāj. I. 159 that one should not bathe in the reservoir of another without taking out five lumps of clay (or vessels of water) and observes that this applies only when the reservoir has been dedicated to the public and that this is the view of the Prakaśakāra, of the *Pārijāta*[3] and of Śrīdatta. In the *M. P.* (p. 243) Yāj. I. 159 is quoted but there is no such explanation of that verse as is ascribed to the *Pārijāta*.

(*g*) The *Gr. R.* (p. 205) quotes a verse which reads '*srotaso vai naraḥ snātvā sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate*' and remarks that the *Pārijāta* reads '*srotasi*' for '*srotasaḥ*' in that verse. That verse and the reading noted is not found in the *M. P.*

(*h*) The *Gr. R.* (p. 249) quotes a verse of Vasiṣṭha on Japa (26. 13) and then sets out the explanation of the *Pārijāta* that one who has mastered the whole Veda should repeat texts from his Veda, one who has learnt only a portion of the Veda of his school should mutter the Puruṣasūkta and

[1] तत्र मनुः । संस्थितस्यानपत्यस्य········प्रतिपादयेत् ॥ अनपत्यस्य मृतस्य पत्नी सगोत्राद्देवरसपिण्डयोरन्यतरस्मात् अपत्यमुत्पाद्य अस्मै मृतस्वामिस्वत्वोपलक्षितं रिक्थजातं दद्यान्न स्वयमाददीतेति पारिजातः । वि० र० p. 589.

[2] पारिजाते तु देवलवचनानां चतुराश्रयेषु स्त्रीशूद्रानुपनीतविषयत्वाद् व्याख्यातम् । तत्र संख्योदरश्रुतेः । उदकविषयं वा । गृह० र० p. 147

[3] अत्र च परनिपानं प्रतिष्ठितं विवक्षितं, अप्रतिष्ठिते चौर्यापत्तेः । परकीयनिपानेषु अपेयं सलिलं भवेत् । इति वाक्याच्चेति प्रकाशकारादयः । एवमेव पारिजाते श्रीदमाह्निके च । गृह० र० p. 195

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the like, and one who knows only the Gāyatrī should repeat verses from some Purāṇa.[1] This is wanting in the Japa section of the *M. P.*

II. Passages where the explanation of the *Pārijāta* differs from that of the *M. P.*

(*a*) After quoting Nār., (Dāyabhāga, verse 7) that the husband of the girl is the father of the Kānīna, Sahoḍha and Gūḍhaja sons and declaring them to be entitled to a share in his wealth, the *V. R.* (p. 565) mentions the explanation of the *Pārijāta* that if the girl's father (i.e. maternal grand-father of the Kānīna and Sahoḍha) be sonless, then the Kānīna and Sahoḍha become his (i.e., maternal grand-father's) sons, but if the maternal grand-father has a son, then the Kānīna and Sahoḍha belong to the husband of their mother and that if both the maternal grand-father and the husband are sonless, then they become the sons of both. The *M. P.* (p. 652) on the other hand says that the Kānīna becomes the son of the husband when the girl is married, but if she is not, then the Kānīna belongs to the maternal grand-father.[2]

(*b*) In the *Vyavhāraprakāśa* of Mitramiśra (p. 524) it is stated that the view of several digests such as the *Smṛticandrikā*, the *Madanratna*, *Kalpataru*, *Ratnākara* (of Caṇḍeśvara) and the *Pārijāta* was that the mother succeeded as an heir after the father. But the *M. P.* (p. 672) on the other hand holds the view that the mother succeeds as heir before the father.[3]

(*c*) The *Gr. R.* (p. 140) after quoting Manu IV. 46-47 forbidding the answering of the calls of nature

[1] अत्र समस्तवेदाध्ययनवतां आदावरभ्य वेदपाठेन स्याध्याय: करणीय: । एकदेशाध्यायिना पुरुषसूक्तादिपाठेन सावित्रीमात्राध्यायिना पुराणपाठेनेति व्यवस्थेति पारिजात: । गृह० र० p. 249

[2] नारद: । कानीनश्च सहोढश्च गूढायां यश्च जायते । तेषां वोढा पिता ज्ञेयस्ते च भागहरा: स्मृता: । सहोढो गर्भजात: । अत्रापुत्रो यदि मातामहस्तदा तस्य पुत्र: कानीन: सहोढश्च । सपुत्रश्चेतदा वोढु: । उभयोरपुत्रत्वे चोययोरिति पारिजात: । वि० र० p. 565 तत्र वोढुरिति उपादानात् विवाहिता चेत्तदा वोढुर्नो चेत् मातामहस्येत्येतदवगम्यते । मद० पा० p. 952 वोढु: refers to मनु IX. 172

[3] तस्मात् स्मृतिचन्द्रिकामदनरत्नाकरकल्पतरुरत्नाकरपारिजातकारप्रभृतीनां बहूनां पितुरभावे मातु: पुत्रधनाधिकार इत्येव सिद्धान्त: । व्य० म० p. 524., ततश्च प्रथमं माता गृह्णाति तदभावे पिता ।। मद० पा० p. 672

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on *parvata* and *parvata-mastaka* says that according to the *Pārijāta* both *parvata* and its top are mentioned for the purpose of conveying that where it is impossible to avoid answering such calls of nature on a mountain, at least the top of the mountain should be avoided. On the other hand the *M. P.* (p. 43) does not first read '*parvata-mastaka*' (but '*na bhasmani, na gomaye*') in Manu IV. 47; then notices the reading '*parvata-mastaka*' and remarks that *parvata-mastaka* is employed to indicate that more blame attaches to answering calls of nature on a mountain summit than on a mountain.[1]

(*d*) After quoting Dakṣa II. 9 that the morning bath is commended because it yields seen and unseen rewards the *Gr. R.* 180 cites the explanation of seen and unseen rewards from the *Pārijāta* which do not agree with the explanation given by the *M. P.* (p. 62) of the same.[2]

(*e*) The *Suddhitattva* (ed. by Jivānanda, 1895, page 398) says that *Sāpiṇḍya* of brothers and the like based on the offering of Piṇḍas in Śrāddha was propounded by the *Matsya-purāṇa* and by Baudhāyana and was so explained by the *Kāmadhenu*, *Hāralatā*, *Kalpataru*, *Pārijātakāra* and others. But the *M. P.* (pp. 129-131) explains at great length that *Sāpiṇḍya* is based on connection or continuance of particles of the same body, that this theory is simple and easy of application, while the theory of Sāpiṇḍya based upon the offering of Piṇḍas is vitiated by cumbrousness (*Kalpanā-gaurava*).[3]

[1] यत्र पर्वतेष्वशक्यो परीहारस्तत्रापि मस्तकवर्जनार्थमिति पारिजातः। गृह० र० p. 140., न च पर्वतमस्तके इति पाठे पूर्वकृतपर्वतग्रहणेनैव तन्मस्तकसिद्धावपि पुनर्ग्रहणाद् दोषाधिक्यं द्योत्यते। तद्भाष्ये तु अत्यन्तार्तस्य पर्वते दोषाभावप्रतिपादनार्थयित्युक्तम्। मद० पा० p. 63

[2] प्रातःस्नानं प्रशंसन्ति दृष्टादृष्टकरं हि तत्। नित्यत्वाज्जपादिद्वारा परलोकशुद्धिरिति पारिजातः। गृह० र० p. 180., दृष्टं मलापनयनादङ्गशुद्धिः। अदृष्टं नित्यत्वेन पापक्षयः। मद० पा० p. 62

[3] लेपभाज इत्यादिवाचनिकेर्थे सापिण्डये. एकशरीरावयवान्वयरूपस्वकपोलरचिताथाँनवकाशात् निर्वाप्यपिण्डसम्बन्धेन भ्रात्रादीनां सापिण्डयस्य मत्स्यपुराणबौधायनाभ्यां पूर्वमुक्तत्वात् कामधेनुहारलताकल्पतरुपारिजातकारादिभिस्तथैव व्याख्यानत्वाच्च। शुद्धितत्त्व, p. 394., अथैवं मन्यसे एकपिण्डदानक्रियान्वयित्वमेकपिण्डदानक्रियान्वयान्वयित्वं चेति निमित्तद्वयमिति न कल्पनागौरवमिति। तर्हि अस्मत्पक्षेपि एकमेव निमित्तमिति ततोपि लाघवम्। तच्चैकशरीरारावयवायन्वायित्वमेव। मद० पा० p. 130

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III. An interesting passage in which a text is stated not to have been mentioned in the *Pārijāta* which as a matter of fact is found in the *M. P.* is as follows:

The *V. R.* (p. 499) states that in a certain *saṃhitā* a verse ascribed to Hārīta is quoted (viz., that when one member of a joint family recovers by his own labour land that once belonged to the family but was lost to it, the other members get a share therein after giving one-fourth to the acquirer) but that this is improper, since that verse is not contained in the *Smṛti-mahārṇava*, the *Kāmadhenu*, the *Kalpataru*, the *Pārijāta* and other works. The *Dāyatattva* after quoting the words of the *V. R.* argues that *V. R.* is not correct since the same verse (ascribed to Śaṅkha) is found in the *Dāyabhāga*, the *Mitākṣarā* and other works. That verse is quoted in the *M. P.* (p. 684) as from Śaṅkha and is also explained.[1]

In the *Kṛtyaratnākara* the views of the *Pārijāta* are quoted several times on matters which are not dealt with in the *M. P.* at all; e.g., *Kr. R.* p. 31 (that even Pancarātra and Pāśupata Śāstras are authoratative when they do not contradict the Veda), p. 54 (about general rules on Vrata), p. 59 (about the Devatā of a Mantra when it is not expressly stated), p. 61 (explanation of a passage from the *Brahmapurāṇa* about a *samidh* of Aśvattha), p. 66 (about the requirements of proper *kuśas*), p. 92 (about Homadravya).

The above discussion will, it is hoped, convince scholars that the *Pārijāta* is entirely different from the *Madanapārijāta*. It is further to be noted that the chronological position of the two referred to above makes their identity impossible.

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[1] यच्च संहितायां हारीतः—पूर्वनष्टां तु यो भूमिमेक एवोद्धरेच्छ्रमात् । यथाभाग लभन्तेऽन्ये दत्त्वांशं तु तुरीयकम्—इति वाक्यं लिखति स्म तच्च स्मृतिमहार्णव-कामधेनु-कल्पतरु-पारिजातप्रभृत्यलिखनादयुक्तमेव । वि० र० p. 499., भूमौ तु विशेषयति शङ्खः । पूर्वनष्टां····तुरीयकम्-एतद्वचनं स्मृति········लिखनादयुक्तमेवेति रत्नाकरः । तन्न । दायभागमिताक्षराप्रभृतिधृतत्वात् । दायतत्त्व, p. 177

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THE *BHĀGAVṚTTI* AND ITS AUTHOR.

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The investigations covering over a century by Western scholars like Goldstücker, Bohtlingk, Kielhorn, Aufrecht and Eggeling have lighted many a dark spot in the history of the evolution of grammatical literature of ancient and mediaeval India and the untiring labours of indigenous scholars trained in traditional methods have resulted in editions of several classical works in the field and have aroused the curiosity and research activities of devoted workers. But it would be idle to contend that our teaching and research have ceased to be compartmental and selective, as it had been some centuries ago,[1] when the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa and the *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta were regarded as having a determining factor and the last say in the field of Panini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, with this disparaging difference that while in those days the contributions of great masters that were becoming more and more unfamiliar were recorded and discussed, we seem to be oblivious and callous about them. How could we otherwise explain the total and absolute ignoring of epoch-making works in the ambitious manuals of histories of Sanskrit literature,[2] based on monographs[3] by experts, the enterprising but all the while advertising *Descriptive Catalogues* of manuscripts[4] and the hopelessly inadequate bibliography[5] of authorities cited in some of the very recent editions of grammatical

[1] As for example in the *Puruṣakāra* by Līlāśuka (13th century A.D.) (Trivandum Sanskrit Series No. 1) in the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* of Sīradeva and in the later manuals by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

[2] As in Kieth's *Sanskrit Literature* (1927), p. 430.

[3] Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* is an instance in point.

[4] Vide the *Triennial Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (published from Madras) and the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. VI) dealing with Grammar. H. P. Sastri in his introduction (p. xxxvi) names the *Bhāgavṛtti* and has no remarks to offer.

[5] A curious instance is afforded by the list in the Kasbi Sanskrit Series edition (1937) (No. 103) of the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* which does not include the *Bhāgavṛtti*, which has been quoted several times in the work but which includes in another appendix editors of present times, and describes therein the *Durghaṭavṛtti* of Saraṇadeva (published long ago in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) as a *Paribhāṣāvṛtti*.

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works prepared according to so-called modern methods? The *Bhāgavṛtti*[1] has suffered severely[2] from such a calamity and in spite of the laudable activities of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, culminating in the bringing to light of the *Kāśikavivaraṇa-pañjikā* of Jinendrabuddhi, the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottama[3] and the *Dhātupradīpa* of Maitreya-Rakṣita by the late Prof. Srisa Candra Chakravartin, has not secured the prominence it so richly deserves, nor even merited a mention[4] amongst the world of scholars. That the work was widely known and highly appreciated is evident from the abundant citations and references not merely in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* [5], but amongst others, also in the *Durghaṭavṛtti*[6], the *Padamañjarī*[7], the *Paribhaṣāvṛtti* of Śīradeva[8], the *Kātantrapariśiṣṭa* of Śripatidatta, the *Pañjikā*[9] of Trilocanadāsa, the *Sūtras*[10] of

[1] It is a pity that no MSS. of this work has as yet been discovered. This is also true of the *Anunyāsa*, which may help to determine many knotty points in relation to this topic. (vide f. n. 4, p. 14).

[2] In spite of its being recognised as a great work in traditional literature like those of Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta: vide *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* under √कित् (भ्वादि) and the last paragraph of this paper.

[3] This work (pub. 1917) should have brought into prominence the usefulness of the *Bhāgavṛtti* as no other work could have so done.

[4] D. C. Bhattacharya in his *Paninean Studies in Bengal* (Sir A. Mukherji Silver Jubilee Commemoration Vols. Orientalia vol. I) is the only scholar to note this work and dilate on its importance.

[5] The avowed object of its author Puruṣottama is clear from its closing verse:

काशिकाभागवृत्त्योश्चेत्सिद्धान्तं वोद्धुमस्ति धीः ।
तदा विलोक्यतां भ्रातर्भाषावृत्तिरियं मम ॥

(p. 573, V. R. S. edn.). The actual citations in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* by name from the *Bhāga* , are about three dozen in number. From citations in other works like the *Durghaṭavṛtti*, and the *Kātantrapariśiṣṭa*, these in reality would come up at least ten times that number.

[6] The number of citations in the *D.V.* is no less than twenty-five including the one in p. 3 where धातुवृत्तौ should read भागवृत्तौ. The misprints in the *D.V.*, [which are many (e.g. पारंपर्यणोक्तो विषयोऽयं प्रतिषेधस्य in p. 35 should be पारंपर्येण । अतोऽविषयोऽयं प्रतिषेधस्य, चन्द्रिकायां; in p. 14 should be चण्डिकायां; केचित् in p. 116 should be क्वचित्] and more of general information regarding the subject, which was not available to the learned editor then, have rendered a new edition of the work (now out of market) imperative.

[7] Under 1.3.67. (p. 351) II. 1.16; V. 3.12 ;. VI. 1.9. The two works seem to have much in common, e.g. as under I.1.11. (p. 63), I.3.62 (p. 244).

[8] e.g. pp. 10, 12, 79, 109. (Benares edn.)

[9] आख्यातप्रकरणम् २।७६।३८. Trilocana (circa 1200) by-the-by regards the Vṛtti and the Ṭika by Durgasiṃha to be of the same standing.

[10] e.g. कृति षष्ठी वेति भागवृत्तिः ।

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Kramadīśvara, the *Vṛttis* of Jumaranandin and Goyīcandra,[1] The *Supadma-makaranda*[2] of Viṣṇu Miśra and the *Bhāṣā-vṛttyarthavivṛti of* Sṛṣṭidhara, as well as in the *Puruṣakāra*,[3] the *Mādhvīyadhātuvṛtti*[4] and the *Siddhāntakaumudī*[5] (and the *Prauḍamanoramā* thereon) and very likely also in the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra. The texts of the latter category seem to know the work indirectly. From the citations and references in the works of the former list, all of which are widely prevalent and read in Bengal, it would not be hazarduous to assume that the *Bhāgavṛtti* itself had a wide circulation in East India and might have its inception there. Because of certain reasons to be noted hereafter, it could not claim to have undivided allegiance as the representative of Paninean grammar from scholars outside E. India and particularly from the writers that heralded the Marhatta revival. Even in Bengal from about the close of the 14th century (1400 A.D.) it ceased to have the dominating influence it exercised in the preceding centuries with some, because of its strict rigidity and with others, because of their aversion to the Paninean system, as is clear from the observations of Rāyamukuṭa[6] and Śrīpatidatta[7] so much so that Panini's system became synonymous with the *Kaśikāvṛtti*[8] of Jayāditya and Vāmana and the *Bhāgavṛtti* was ousted out of existence altogether.[9]

[1] The views of the Kaumāra school are noted in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* and the *ST.* of Sarvānanda. Maitreya in his *Dhātupradīpa* (closing verse) does not refer to them. H. P. Sāstri's dating (*Des. Cat.*, Vol. VI) is therefore hardly tenable; that of Keith may be accepted (*Sanskrit Literature*, p. 432) as probable.

[2] No less than twenty citations and references to the *B. V.* are found in this work (a complete Ms. of which is with the writer of this paper).

[3] Pp. 16, 89, 94, 110.

[4] e.g. under √हन्, √शप्, √चि, √क्नित्,

[5] e.g. in the आत्मनेपदप्रक्रिया in connection with आ + हनु ; in connection with √वम् ।

[6] Under पांडुर—पांडुरोऽसाधुरिति भागवृत्तिकृतो दुर्ज्ञानं जयादित्यं प्रति वाम्यमात्रजनितम् ।

[7] In connection with मणीव । कश्चित् त्रिमुनिसमुपेक्षणात् नेदमाद्रियते ।.. यद्यपि दिवर्थे दिवमिति निश्चितं तथाप्योकारनिवृत्त्यर्थमाह—दिवौकसः । तथा च भागवृत्तिकृता विमलमतिनाऽ—(with a bit of irony) प्येष निपातितः ।

[8] In the works of all post-Kaiyaṭa writers Vṛtti stands for the *Kaśikā*. With late non-Paninean Bengali writers the views of the *Kaśikā* are the standard view of Pāṇini: वाचा शरीरस्पर्शनं शपथ इति पाणिनिमतमवलम्ब्य (Kavirāja on II. 2. 76. 12).

[9] The *Vaiyākaraṇasarvasva* composed in 1809 at the request of Colebrooke in Calcutta, purporting to be a gloss on Pāṇini does not know the *Bhāgavṛtti* (S. C. Chakravarti. in Introduction to the *Nyāsa*, pp. 17-18).

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The citations and references prove it beyond doubt that, as may be inferred from its title, the *Bhāgavṛtti* is a running *Vṛtti* on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, divided into two parts[1], the *Chandobhāga* and the *Bhāṣābhāga*, as we find in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*[2], with this difference that while in the latter work, the arrangement as in the later authorities on non-Paninean systems as to topic-division is followed, the former follows the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* arrangement in toto. This is clear from its alternative[3] title the *Aṣṭakavṛtti*[4], which incidentally points to the fact that its author, though he had before him recasts and adjustments of the Paninean system (as in the *Kalāpa* as explained by Durgasiṁha), which did away with the Vedic portion, chose to continue the whole of Paninean structure. There is no denying the fact that whatever might have been the effects of such a method on Vedic studies in the land of its inception, a method which made a virtue of necessity, the Vedic portion of the work became atrophied, as is evidenced from lack of references to it in later literature on the subject. It might have been,—and this alone can lend significance to its title—a pioneer work in this direction, unlike earlier works like the *Mātharīvṛtti*[5] and the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, which indicate their places of origin, the *Satīvṛtii*,[6] or the *Keśavavṛtti*[7] which points to its author, and their commentaries and continuations (as in the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi). The *Bhaṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottama which dealt only with the non-Vedic portions and the *Mitākṣarā* of Annaṃbhaṭṭa,[8] which is the shortest

[1] cf. in गोयीचन्द्रः—अतएव भाषावृत्तौ भाषाभागे भागवृत्तिकृत् भाषावृत्तिकारश्च क्वसुकानज्विधानलक्षणं न लक्षितवान् (in connection with Pāṇini III. 2.107). In *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (pp. 4, 5, 200....) we read : शे इति सूत्रं छन्दोभागः । अत्र लेट : पंचसूत्री छन्दोभागः ।......नित्यग्रहणमेकवृत्तौ सार्थकम् ।......(and the note thereon). ईदूतौ चेति सूत्रश्छन्दोभागः (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*, under I.1.19—p. 5 V.R.S. edn.).

[2] The *Bhāg. V.* as in the *S.K.* notes the *istis* or Vārttikas and sometimes the units of the Gaṇas as well. Vide f.n. 1 (p. 9), 3 (p. 13), 1 (p. 14),

[3] S.C. Chakravartin's conjecture of Its Sing's भेदवृत्ति being a reference to the *Bhāgavṛtti* is an idle surmise.

[4] अष्टकवृत्तिकृत् referred to by श्रीपतिदत्त in कातन्त्रपरिशिष्ट in connection with Pāṇini I.4.59 (vide pp. 53 and 563 of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* V.R.S. edn.).

[5] Under *Kāśikā* 4.3.101 and *Bhāṣāvṛtti* 1.2.57.

[6] A commentary on the *Uṇādi-śūtra*. In Ujjvaladatta's *Unādivṛtti* (chap. III.15) we read. :— एतत सूत्रं सतीवृत्तौ न दृश्यते ।

[7] In *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (VIII.4.20), *Tantrapradīpa* I.26, I.4.55.

[8] This work which aimed apparently at adjusting the views of the Sūtra (the *Kāśikāvṛtti*) with those of the *bhāṣya* refers to the *Bhāgavṛtti* in the passage (pp. 138-39, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, No. 33 :) भागवृत्तिकृन्मते (printed as भगवन्मते)..गन्तेत्येव भवितव्यम् ।

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vṛtti known as yet, are also significant names. The former in E. Indian nomenclature is also styled the *Laghuvṛtti*,[1] as distinguished from its source of inspiration the *Bhāgavṛtti*, which is bigger, more ambitious, more intensive and more elaborate. The *Bhāgavṛtti* is frequently distinguished from the *Ekavṛtti* or the *Kāśikā*[2]. Owing to their inception primarily to the exigencies of the moment, such works could not but become practical manuals dealing with grammar from the standpoint of literary evolution and devoted little space to clumsy details[3] (like the derivation of farfetched forms) or abstruse doctrinisation (*tarka-garjana-prakriyā*). As a practical manual in the Paninean system, it vies with the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, which latter furnishes the golden mean and has very many claims of being recognised as the model work for beginners and students of Sanskrit literature in general as well.

Though the method of approach here is eminently practical, it is very strict in its assessment of the purity or otherwise of current and older literature. The well-known grammarian-philosopher Bhartṛhari and Durgasiṁha, the celebrated author of the *Vṛtti* (and the *Tikā*[4] thereon) on the *sūtras* of the Kalāpa

[1] पुरुषोत्तमदेवेन लघ्वी वृत्तिर्विधीयते ॥ in the opening verse of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*. Under this title the work is often referred to by writers of the *Kalāpa* (e.g. Susenacarya Kaviraja, Trilocanadāsa etc.).

[2] Srṣṭidhara Cakravartin in his commentary on the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* under 1.1.16 :—एकवृत्ताविति काशिकायां वृत्तावित्यर्थः। एकशव्दस्य मुख्यार्थत्वात् काशिकायां मुख्यवृत्तौ छन्दस्यपि व्याख्यानात् ; भागवृत्तरेन्यस्यां वा। सा हि द्वयोर्विवरणकर्त्री।

[3] cf. the adage: किरति चर्करीतान्तं पचतीत्यत्र यो नयेत्। प्राप्तिज्ञं तमहं मन्ये प्रारब्धस्तेन संग्रहः ॥ चर्करीतान्त = यङ्लुगन्त। प्राप्तिज्ञः = सूत्रकाराभिप्रायज्ञः—स हि शब्दानुशासनशास्त्रवित् ॥ (Vide V.R.S. edn. of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* p. 518 f.n. 41). The यङ्लुगन्तगs as a class are not admitted in non-Vedic Sanskrit by the author of the *Bhāgavṛtti*.

[4] Belvalkar has challenged the identity of the Tīkākāra with the Vṛttikāra. The evidences adduced are those of difference of faith and the description in the *Ṭikā*: as भगवान् वृत्तिकारः are easily refuted. The *namaskāra* verses: देवदेवं प्रणम्यादौ सर्वज्ञं सर्वदर्शिनम्। कातन्त्रस्य प्रवक्ष्यामि व्याख्यानं सार्ववर्मिकम् ॥ and शिवमेकमजं बुद्धमर्ह्याग्रं तं स्वयंभुवम् कातन्त्रवृत्तिटीकेयं नत्वा दुर्गेण रच्यते ॥ in the *Vṛtti* and *Ṭikā* respectively make little difference and may point to the author being a Buddhist as is generally supposed. The MS. evidence hardly proves the second point—the epithet भगवान् is not found in all MSS., Two MSS of the Dacca University Collection, one of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and one of a private collection, do not contain word. It crept subsequently because of the scribes inadvertence. The colophon evidence (इति दौर्गसिंह्यां वृत्तौ........इति दुर्गसिंहविरचितायां टीकायां ....) in all cases and the reference in the *Durghāṭavṛtti* and the *Ṭikāsarvasva* [both of the 12th century) where कातन्त्रटीका is ascribed to दुर्गसिंह (T.S.S. Part III, pp. 303, 304) and the verses quoted are exactly found in the present *Ṭika*, giving supplementary information based on the system of Pāṇini, on which Durga's scholarship was unassailable] are sufficient to establish this.

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system, serve as its two models; the laxity of treatment and the flexibility of principles of Jayāditya and Vāmana[1] who were influenced by the rather lenient Candragomin, come in occasionally for caustic comment. Indeed the indebtedness of the *Bhāgavṛtti* to the masters Bhartṛhari[2] and Durgasiṃha[3] is considerable and differences from their views do very seldom occur. Both of them are staunch supporters of the Bhāṣyakāra and it is on the *trimuuimata* view[4] that our author places

[1] For differences of view between the two Vṛttikāras, reference may be made to their *Vṛttis* on I.3.21., I.2.73, I.4.77, II.1.30, II.3.12, IV.2.38, IV.1.10, II.4.74, VI.1.144, VIII.4.11 and 12 etc. We cull two of these remarks of the *Bhāgavṛtti* for prominent attention :—I. 3. 21 वार्त्तिक—शपेरुपलंभने प्रकाशने कथने वर्त्तमानादात्मंनपेदं भवति । देवदत्ताय शपते देवदत्तं यत्किंचित्प्रकाशयतीत्यर्थः । वाचा शरीरस्पर्शनमित्यदः कस्यचित्काव्यम् (i.e. is pure invention or reverie). (*Bhāgavṛtti* as cited by Puruṣakāra p. 94 ; the printed *Mādhavīyavṛtti* under √शप् gives practically the same, though a bit more corrupt reading). VI.1.144 Vārttika—the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (pp. 10809) introduces it thus : इह सातत्यशब्दंप्रसंगादागतभाष्यवाक्यार्थं गृहीत्वा कस्यचित् श्लोकः (of the author of the *Kāśikā* ?) : लुंपेदवश्यमः कृत्ये·· ।। सूत्रार्थे केचिदनुस्वारस्य च लोपमिच्छन्ति । मास्पचनं मास्पाक इति । तत्तु तन्त्रभाष्यवाक्यस्याभावात् सन्दिग्धमिति भागवृत्तिः ।········II.4.74—'इह चकारेण वहुलग्रहणमनुकृष्यते न तु छन्दसीति । तेन भाषायामनच्यपि यङलुक् : लालपीति वावदीतीति जयादित्थः । चकारात् 'वहुलं' छन्दसीर्ति सर्वमनुवर्त्तते । तेन वाहुल्यादनच्यपि च्छन्दस्येव यङलुक् । भाष्ये तु हुश्नुग्रहणात् ज्ञापकवलात् वोभवीत्येव पदं भाषायां साधु नान्यत् ।

[2] The *Bhāgavṛtti* is proved from references to be following Bhartṛhari in many cases (e.g. I.3.21 Vārttika हरतेर्गतताच्छील्ये. Vide *Durghatavṛtti* III.2.188; मतिवुद्धि-पूजार्थेभ्यश्च VII.3.34 (vide citation in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* p. 117.)

[3] The *Bhāgavṛtti* follows Durgasiṃha even sometimes when the *Bhāṣya* has no instructions to offer (e.g. under II.3.12 on which topic commentator Goyīcandra in his gloss on the *Saṃkṣiptasāra* says :—षष्ठ्यां निर्दिष्टयामुत्सर्गसिद्धा कर्मणि द्वितीयैव भवतीत्यर्थः । सामान्येनैव कृति षष्ठी न भवतीति जयादित्यमतम् । ····कृति षष्ठी वेति भागवत्तिः ।····चतुर्थी बाधित्वैवेति शंकानिरासार्थं वाग्रहणम् । Durga says in this connection :—कश्चिदाह चतुर्थी न वेति सिद्धे द्वितीयाग्रहणं कृद्योगषष्ठीबाधनार्थम् । ग्रामाय गन्ता ग्रामं गन्ता इति । न पुनरेवं शिष्टप्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते । (By the by was Durga referring to Jayāditya or quoting (आह) someone else ? Can it be Jinendrabuddhi ? The printed text of the *Nyāya* (p. 406) leaves out this portion of the Vṛtti for comment though Haradatta admits it. Again under I.1.11 Jayaditya reads the Vārttika मणीवादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । Durga reads मणीवादीनां प्रतिषेधः कैश्चिदिष्यते with no further remark, the *Bhāgavṛtti* adds to this :—इवार्थे वकारोऽयम् । The *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (p. 4) adds : इवार्थे वकारोऽयमित्यन्ये । Durgādāsa in his commentary on the *Mugdhabodha* remarks :—मणीवादिषु सन्धिर्नित्यमिति कालापा वैकल्पिकमिति क्रमदीश्वरः । So under VI.1.64 and VI.1.I.31.... कनिन्प्रत्ययान्तेन दिव् ओको येषाभिति भागवृत्तिः (cited in *Durghaṭa* under VI.I.1.31) Durga says : स्वरेऽप्युत्वं प्राप्तमनेन व्यावर्त्तते दिवाश्रयो दिवौकस इति येन स्यात् ।

[4] cf. तथा च—यद्विस्मृत्तमदृष्टं वा सूत्रकारेण तत्स्फुटम् । वाक्यकारो ब्रवीत्येवं तेनादृष्टं च भाष्यकृत् ।। अत एव च पाणिनीयमेतत् त्रिमुनिव्याकरणं वदन्ति सन्तः । (*Padamañjarī* Vol. I, p. 7) (Pandit edn).

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greatest reliance. The dictum यथोत्तरं मुनीनां प्रामाण्यम् is however the plank on which have relied all prominent writers on Pāṇini, including Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita; nay it has been the watchword for many writers on other systems as well. The author of the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* (in his introduction) and elsewhere informs us :

कल्पयन्तु खला दोषं किं तैर्यदयमुद्यमः ।
मुनित्रयगिरामर्थमतत्त्वविदुषः प्रति ॥ (v. 16)

and in season and out of season boasts of his strictly following the *Bhāṣyakāra* view. This respectful attention of the *Bhāgavṛtti* to the words, not merely to the spirit of the *Bhāṣyakāra* leads him to what would appear to many as unjustifiable justification of such forms as परिपद्वलान्महाव्रह्मैः[1] (which ordinarily is read as पर्षिद्वलान् महाव्रह्मैः) in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* IV. 12, a violation of metrical rules intolerable to all and sundry; moreover with its preference for the views of Durgasiṁha, who because of his personal religious leanings as also of the time during which he lived (9th Century), had a soft corner in his heart for Buddhist poets like Aśvaghoṣa, who uses संयति प्राक् परिषद्वलान्, strictly in conformity with the rule of Pāṇini (V. 2. 112), the *Bhāgavṛtti* cannot but support the form in contrast with the form पर्षद्वल. We read in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (p. 329) :—

इह, तु नवाक्षरैकपादोऽपि वृत्तभेदोऽस्यास्तीति यथा प्रधानें कर्मण्यभिधेये लादीनाहुर्द्विकर्मणाम् इति भागवृत्तिः The usually known form for this *Vārttika* which is read as under the *sūtra* अकथितं च (I. 4. 51) is प्रधानकर्मण्याख्येये. The prose portion of the *Bhāṣya*, however, reads अभिधेये ज्ञापकसिद्धि, it is resorted to by him only when the Bhāṣyakāra himself supports such forms by his own example. The dictum of the Mimāṁsakas श्रुतानुमितयोः श्रुतसम्बन्धो बलीयान् or its equivalent न चोदाहरणमादरणीयम् has launched him into unfavourable comments on the uses of poets. 'अपशब्द एवायम्'—'चिन्त्यमेतत्' are frequent expressions of his opinion.[2] The elasticity of the grammarians' views in deference to uses (यावन्ति लक्ष्याणि तावन्ति लक्षणानि) ill fits in with the demands of a *sastra*[3], which grammar certainly is[4]

[1] Jayamaṅgala and Bharata Mallika both accept this reading, however. The latter introduces on this point the justification (of the *Bhāgavṛtti*) as recorded in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*.

[2] As in connection with आजघ्ने विषमविलोचनस्य वक्षः (under I.3.28); कण्डूति in the use in the *Udārarāghava* (as cited in the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* part II p. 311 and in the *D.V.*).

[3] Cf. अर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दानां प्रयोगे समुपस्थिते । धर्माय नियमः शास्त्रे प्राङ्मुखत्वादिवद्भवेत् (*Padamañjarī*, Vol. I, p. 10).

4. There seem to be certain peculiar exceptions as when the *B. V.* justifies forms like त्वेमतुः and तन्द्री in which latter case it comments :—तन्द्री प्रमीला इति त्रिकाण्डीपाठात् साधुत्वम्'

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(प्रत्यक्षं शास्त्रमनुमेयः प्रयोगः or अन्तरंगं शास्त्रं बहिरंगः प्रयोगः). While explaining *Sūtras*[1] he is very careful about utilising weak weapons like योगविभाग, व्यवस्थितविभाषा[2], प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध[3] as handy ways of नञ् uses, often at service in the armoury of other commentators and while discussing forms used, he maintains a grave and dignified form of detachment which has tried to exercise a chastening influence on late authors. The usual devices of पदसंस्कारपक्ष[4], of आगम[5] in its twofold forms of Vedic usage and the usage of later *ṛṣis* like Vyāsa and even of still later निरंकुश writers,[6] of विवक्षा[7] and अनित्यता are very rarely, if at all applied by him to test the purity of forms. This form of interpretation of grammar, which the *Kāśikā* used only as convenient illustrations, Jinendrabuddhi as ways of justification and Durgasiṁha as innocent

[1] Cf. पदच्छेदः पदार्थोक्तिर्विग्रहो वाक्योजना । पूर्वपक्षसमाधानं व्याख्यानं पंचलक्षणम् ॥ Sṛṣṭidhara Cakravartin in his opening commentary on प्रकृति in लैकिकानां प्रकृतिप्रत्यय............in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*) ; also :—उपोद्घातः पदं चैव पदार्थः पदविग्रहः । चालना प्रत्यवस्था च व्याख्या तन्त्रस्य षड्विधा ॥ (in Suṣeṇa's gloss on Durga's Vṛtti). Note however, in this connection Bhagāvṛttikṛt's view on प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया (II.2.4) where अ च is the प्रश्लेष as has been also adopted by Kaiyaṭa and other later writers.

[2] This however is resorted to by him in exceptional cases as under I.3.45 (citation in the *D.V.*).

[3] e.g. in connection with VII. 3.34 ; III.2.124 so also Durga नञा निर्दिष्टस्यानित्यत्वात्...... (कृत्प्रथमपाद । ३) the *Siddhāntakaumudī* in connection with the latter *sūtra* remarks : तेन प्रथमासमानाधिकरणेऽपि क्वचित् ।

[4] This has been resorted to e.g. under I.1.15 (vide *Durghaṭavṛtti*). The पदसंस्कारपक्ष and वाक्यसंस्कारपक्ष are thus succinctly explained :—पदसंस्कारं शास्त्रंमिति कस्यापि दर्शनं वाक्यसंस्कारमित्यन्ये । पूर्वस्मिन्दर्शने पदान्येव पृथक् क्रियन्ते पश्चाद्वाक्यघटनेति । निष्पन्नं पदे पश्चाद्वाक्यघटनायामपि न निवर्त्तते, निष्पन्नत्वात् । (Goyīcandra in तिङन्तपाद)

[5] The two forms are छान्दसा अपि क्वचिद् भाषायां प्रयुज्यन्ते and नेयं स्मृतिभंगवद्व्यासप्रभृतीन् अधिकृत्य कृता । ते हि भगवन्तो वाग्विषये स्वतन्त्राः (vide the *Bhāṣya* on VII.2.52 a अनुन्यास under I.3.29 ; VII.1.93). Forms like 'त्रियम्बकं संयमिनं ददर्श' 'तच्चैनं समगच्छत' 'कृष्णस्य सखिरज्जुनः' are thus explained :—the *Bhāgavṛtti* is scrupulously against this view as is explained by his partition of the *Chandobhāga* from the *Bhāṣābhāga*—his non-sanction of the क्वस, कानच् for non-Vedic literature and his resort to the particle व in explaining the use in the *Mahābhārata* verse of मणीव under I.1.11.

[6] As in अथ कथं मा वालिपथमन्वगाः (इति भट्टिः), स्वच्छन्दमनुवर्त्तन्ते न शास्त्रमृषयः किल ॥ (*Padamanjñarī*, vol. II, p. 668).

[7] विवक्षा हि शब्दव्युत्पत्तेः कारणं न पुनर्वस्तुतः सत्ता explained to be significant in connection with I.3.36, I.3.40 and resorted to in cases like 'विनिन्युरेनं गुरवो गुरुप्रियम्' 'नभः समाक्रामति नष्टवर्त्मना......।' on which the *Bhāgavṛtti* remarks :—'अपशब्दोऽयम्' (*D.V.* cited under 1.3.40) 1.3.3.

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dabbling has been turned in the *Bhāgavṛtti* as an instructive and interesting corrective[1]. There are certain hobbies of his[2] over and above those which the Bhāṣyakāra supports, such as those dealing with णत्व and षत्व which can only be explained by the peculiarities of the forms prevalent in his own land.

The differences which crop up between the *Bhāgavṛtti* and the *Kāśikāvṛtti* or its followers (the जयादित्यपरंपरा in the language of Goyīcandra—Sūtra 126 of Subantapāda) are often vital and extend to their modes of assessment of शिष्टप्रयोगs (some of which have been already noted). The relative importance of उत्सर्ग and अपवाद, which has formed the bone of contention and has given rise to different and divergent Paribhāṣas is an instance in point. The *Bhāgavṛtti's* resorting to तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्याय for which he has the support of his two masters Bhartṛhari and Durga, is challenged on the plea of abundance of शिष्टप्रयोग to the contrary by Anunyāsakāra and Maitreyarakṣita with a statement (ज्ञापकं सामान्यापेक्षम्[3]). The resort to flexibility of the *sūtras* so that by अनुवृत्ति the *Bhāṣābhāga* can be made at one with the *Chandobhāga* as attempted by Jayāditya-Vāmana (viz. with reference to क्वसु, कानच्, यङलुक्) on the lines of the Candra school, the real scope of the वासरूपविधि (III. I. 94), the extension of the volatile expression बहुलम् and similar other subterfuges are noticeable in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and these have led to serious differences of the *Bhāgavṛtti*; with the Nyāsakāra and his followers (the Naiyāsikas)[4]—for whom Maitreyarakṣita

[1] कथं पुनरिदमाचार्येण पाणिनिनाऽवगतमेते साधव इति····। पाणिनिरपि स्वकाले शब्दान् प्रत्यक्षयन्नापिशलादिना पूर्वस्मिन्नपि काले सत्तामनुसन्धत्ते। एवमापिशलिः। अनादिरयं संसारः। कथं पुनरस्मदादीनां सर्वलक्ष्यदर्शित्वं, माभूदस्मदादीनाम्, अस्मद्विशिष्टानां महर्षीणां संभवति यस्य वा ईश्वरानुग्रहः स सर्वं प्रत्यक्षयति। (*Padamañjarī*, vol. I, pp. 6-7).

[2] The preference of श where according to orthodox view the *Bhāṣya* has स (e.g. in) सीक् for the derivative from which (सीकर शीकर)' *vide* Bhānuji on *Amarakoṣaṭīka* and Sarvānanda in *Ṭīkāsarvasva*] with an apologetic tone for justification of श) as in connection with bhāṣyavārttika under VI.1.64 and rules for absence of णत्व as under VIII.4.11, VIII.4.15 and 38, which the *Bhāgavṛtti* shares with Durga mark him out as coming under the influence of Prakrit usages and betraying his East Indian extraction.

[3] Kaiyaṭa, Haradatta and the *Mādhvīyadhātuvṛtti* side themselves with Bhartṛhari and the *Bhāgavṛtti*.

[4] For such differences vide *Kāśikā* in relation to the *Bhāgavṛtti* under II.1.30 and III.1.101 (the ref. by Goyīcandra to the Bh. V.) I.4.77, II.4.74, IV.2.38 and VI.1.144 (vide citations in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*) the *Nyāsa* as under I.1.59, I.3.21 and II.2.6 (all cited in D.V.); the *Tantrapradīpa* of Maitreya as under III.1.1; III.2.188; III.3.56 and 102; VIII.1.12; VI.4.111 (यत्तु रक्षितेनोक्तम्·· तत्त, मन्दधियाँ सुखप्रतिपत्तये as in the *D.V.*).

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has a veiled respect. The Anunyāsakāra, who came between the Nyāsakāra and Maitreyarakṣita, has serious differences with the *Bhāgavṛtti*[1] even in minor details and thus can not presumably in any justifiable way be identified with the Bhāgavṛttikāra. The futile attempts of scholars to pick up the name of the Anunyāsakāra merely on speculative grounds[2] said to establish his connection with the *Nyāsoddyota*[3] have been as misdirected[4] as the absurd suggestion of the identification of the Bhāgavṛttikāra with Bhartṛhari on the careless statement of a late commentator on the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (17th century) which itself arose from distortion and wrong attempts at preserving the text of writers like Maitreyarakṣita, Śaraṇadeva and Goyīcandra.[5] This was to certain extent natural, for as we have noted above, the *Bhāgavṛtti* became a mere name or a symbol at least from the 14th century in India outside Bengal and in Bengal even from about the 16th century, when due to extraneous considerations as much as to his stupendous contributions Maitreyarakṣita[6] enjoyed all honours and recognition superseding the *Bhāgavṛtti* in popular favour.

[1] For some of these vide the *Bhāsāvṛtti* III.2.1. (and *Durghaṭavṛtti's* remarks there under II.2.12; I.3.16 (.*V*.)—citation), iii.3.56, a *Ṭīkāsarvasva* evidence is clear and decisive under II.2.2 अर्धं नपुंसकमेव समप्रविभागे वर्त्तते नान्यल्लिंगमिति भागवृत्त्यादिः । अर्धा शाटी अर्धं वस्त्रम् अर्धः कम्बल इत्यनुन्धासः) ।

[2] Aufrecht (*Catalogus Cat.* vol. I) regards Maitreyarakṣita's work and *Anunyāsa* as identical.

[3] S. C. Chakravartin's speculations about the *Nyāsoddyota* cited in the *Mādhavīyadhāturvṛtti* and by Mallinatha in relation to the *Anunyāsa* (one may add the *Nyāsaratnamatī* referred to in the *Ṭīkāsarvasva*) are also of a similar nature (p.19 Introduction to his edn. of the *Nyāsa*, 1923).

[4]. Similarly misdirected has been the endeavour to identify him with Vimalamati on the slender authorty of the *Kātautaraparisiṣṭa* (already quoted), which on the face of it bears a different meaning.

[5] Under VIII.4.68 भागवृत्तिर्भर्त्तृहरिणा श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रादिष्टा विरचिता । (a jumble of incorrect statements). S. C. Chakravartin (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*, Introduction, pp. 32, 229) relies on this. Maitreya (*Tantrapradīpa* VIII.3.21) : भर्त्तृहरिणा चास्य नित्यर्थनैवोक्ता । तथा च भागवृत्तिकृता प्रत्युदाहरणमुपन्यस्तं तन्त्रे । उतं तन्त्रयुतम् । the underlined portion in this might have misled Sṛṣṭidhara. Śaraṇadeva under I.3.21 हरत गति इति तु भागवृत्तिः । गतविधप्रकारास्तुल्यार्था इति भर्त्तृहरिः । Goyīcandra: अतएव भाषाभागे भागवृत्तिकृन् भाषावृत्तिकारश्च क्वसुकानज् विधानलक्षणं न लक्षितवान् ।

[6] Says Sīradeva (p. 95 in the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti*) :—बोद्धव्योऽयं रक्षितः बोद्धव्याश्च विस्तरा एव मैत्रेयग्रन्था विद्यन्ते । (cf वृत्तिन्यासं संमुद्दिश्य कृतवान् ग्रन्थविस्तरम् । नाम्ना तन्त्रप्रदीपं यो विवृतास्तेन धातवः ॥ In the *Dhātupradīpa* in. one passage (p. 5) Sīradeva has : स्वमतिमहिम्ना प्रागल्भ्यादनुन्यासकारो व्याजहार—(obviously a fling at him).

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This only serves to prove the continuity and vigour of grammatical studies in E. India after the time of Vāmana and Jayāditya right up to Puruṣottama towards the middle of the 12th cent.; the towering personalities before the author of *Bhāgavṛtti*[1] being Jinendrabudhi and Durga, who chose to write on a system which, because of its shortness (कातन्त्र) was becoming popular in part of the land. Durga strove hard to check the tide of the Naiyāsika band of writers, who with their affiliation to the *Kāśikāvṛtti* had managed in course of time to score a triumph with Jinendrabuddhi as their finished product. The author of the *Bhāgavṛtti* carried the torch and was a strict and rigid a follower of the *Trimunimata*. With the next important writer, the Anunyāsakāra,[3] a reaction had set in and the leanings towards the Naiyāsika view were clear. Maitreyarakṣita[4] by his versatility and clear adjustment tried a compromise, though he too had a soft corner in his heart for the *Kāśikā*[5] and continued the जयादित्यपरंपरा, as Goyīcandra often notes. Puruṣottama in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* recorded the views of divergent schools, with a definite bias towards the *Bhāgavṛtti* and Śaraṇadeva seems to follow suit. Sīradeva, Padmanābhadatta[6] and late writers like Rāyamukuṭa[7] acclaimed Jinendrabuddhi and Maitreyarakṣita as the very best representatives of Paninean system and Sṛṣṭidhara Cakravartin (16th century A.D.) commenting on the *Bhāsāvṛtti* known for its anti-*Nyāṣa* views

[1] Belvalkar's remark "Between Bhartṛhari and Kaiyaṭa we have no names of any consequence to mention (p. 41 *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*). This period was confined to systems of grammar outside the Paninean school" (p. 42) is therefore not justified.

[2] A reference to the *Vṛtti* and the *Tīkā* (e.g. in connection with क्वसुकानच् under कृत् चतुर्थपादप्रथमसूत्र and यंङलुक् २य पाद ७७ सूत्र, २।६२, ५।२६४ and the comments of the *Panjikā* prove this.

[3] He was not far removed in point of time from Kaiyaṭa as none of them seems to know the views of the other (e.g. as under II.2.10; for *Anu's*.text see *D.V.* p. 35).

[4] Puruṣottama does not mention him by name in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* but he is cited in his two other works, the *Lalitaparibhāṣā* andthe *Jñāpakasamuccaya*. He may be taken to have lived not earlier than 1100 A.D.

[5] cf. *Tantrapradīpa* (under VII.1.12)—न हि भाष्यकारमतमनादृत्य सूत्रकारस्य कश्चनाभिप्रायो वर्णयितुं युज्यते ।....यद्यप्येवं तथापि नैयासिकैः पृथक् सूत्रकारस्य क्वचिदभिप्रायो वर्ण्यत इति तन्मतेनोक्तम्' ।....

[6] तङि नियमादन्यत्र दृशेबुद्धयर्थत्वात् नित्यं कर्मत्वमिति जिमेन्द्रबुद्धिपादाः। (in *Supadmavyākaraṇa*—Kārakaprakarana) vide *Nyāsa* on i.4.52.

[7] Vide Bhānuji (N. S. edn.)—pp. 6b, 13a, 12b etc. for strictures on this अपाणिनीय attitude of Rāyamukuṭa, who, more often than not, relies on Maitreyarakṣita.

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appeals to experts in that work to offer his commentary a favourable reception.[1]

The recorded tradition of the commentators on the *Kalāpa* regards Durga as posterior to Jinendrabuddhi, and this is borne out by the corroborative evidence from the *Vṛtti* itself.[2] The lower limiting dates of the *Bhāgavṛtti* therefore reach to 900 A.D. Haradatta (1140 A.D.) cites from the *Bhāgavṛtti* Kaiyaṭa (circa 1050) seems in all probability to know the *Bhāgavṛtti*.[3] Thus the *Bhāgavṛtti* roughly can be placed about the close of the 10th century (circa 1000 A.D.).

The veil of mystery and sanctity that surrounded the author of the *Bhāgavṛtti* has stood in the way of discovering its author. A half-verse citation[4] in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* may prove to be helpful in this matter. The expression नमस्कृत्य मुनित्रयं has an exact parallel in the introductory verse of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*[5] and seems intended to cover both parts of that presumption. The characterisation प्रविभज्यन्ते is the distinctive characteristic of the *Bhāgavṛtti* noted by the successive generations of scholars both of the Paninean system and outside it.

[1] न्यासग्रन्थार्थतात्पर्यपर्यालोचनशालिभिः। बोध्योऽयं करुणावद्भिः कृतिभिर्मे परिश्रमः ।। (verse 3 in the introduction to the *Bhāṣāvṛttyarthavivṛti*.)

[2] E.g. in the *Tīkā* on sūtra 14 (Sandhivṛtti) we read : स्वस्य स्वस्य स्थानस्यान्ते तिष्ठन्त्यत्यन्तः स्था उच्यन्ते ।····तथा च ईषत्स्पृष्टा अन्तःस्था इति । Suṣeṇa Kavirāja adds :····इति जैनेन्द्राःतदनुसम्मत इत्याह—तथा चेषदिति Vide the *Nyāsa* (p. 59). In the *Tīkā* on sūtra 27 (संधिवृत्ति)····वत्सरणंम्····इत्यन्ये । The commentary on this reads : अन्ये इति चन्द्रगोमिकाशिकाजिनेन्द्रबुद्धिप्रभृतयः । इदन्त्वयुक्तम् पातंजलशकटायनादिभिवेत्सितरस्यैवेष्टत्वात् । Vide the *Tattvabodhinī* (on *Siddhānta-kaumudī*) on this Vārttika under एत्येधत्युठ्सु । The *Vṛtti* evidence under *Kalāpa* II.76.55 where Durgasiṃha cites from Jinendrabuddhi is decisive.

[3] E.g. in connection with II.2.4 (for अकारप्रश्लेष vide *Bhāṣāvṛtti* and *Durghaṭavṛtti* under this) VIII.1.12 (the *Tantrapradīpa* (V. R. S. MSS........ on this suggests that the *Bhāgavṛtti's* strictures are negatived by Kaiyaṭa, the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* follows the *Bhāgāvṛtti* (p. 522). Bhaṭṭoji remarks (*P.M.*) : अत्र केचिद् द्वितीयादीनामेवेदं स्वादेशविधानम् । अतएव उत्तरदलेऽपि द्वितीयादय एव न तु प्रथमा । तत्राप्येकवचनमेव न तु वचनान्तरम् इति दुर्गपरिशिष्टाभरणादिषु अर्वाचीनग्रन्थेषु स्पष्टम् । (We may add that the Bhāgavṛttikāra is of the same view and that the *Ābharaṇa* is the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* Grammar of Bhoja. Does Bhoja know the *Bhāgavṛtti* by the by ? The printed *S. S. K.* (Madras Univ.) does not throw any light on this. एतच्चसर्वमपाणिनीयम् । Kaiyaṭa says here (p. 22 Kriparam Śarmās' edn. of the *Mahābhāṣya* with *Pradīpa*)—वार्त्तिकेषु कमंधारयवदिति न सम्बध्यत इति सुब्लोपादि न भवति ।····

[4] इन्दुना प्रविभज्यन्ते नमस्कृत्य मुनित्रयम् (p. 43 under II.3.16).

[5] मुनित्रयं नमस्कृत्य तदुक्तीः परिभाव्य च । वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीयं विरच्यते ।।

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The other citation from Indu[1] in the *Durghaṭa* exactly fits in with the distinctive views of the *Bhāgavṛtti* in relation to the वाऽसरूपविधि as noted by Puruṣottama and ascribed to him by specific mention (under III,3.56), which was distinctly against the पारायण view, noted and accepted by Maitreya (under I.4.25) and in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* (under √भी p. 109). The principle of interpretation involved turns round the उत्सर्ग and अपवाद aspect, on which, following the तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्याय as under III. 2. 88 the *Bhāgavṛtti* has distinct views as different from the rest of the scholars. That Indu wrote a *Vṛtti* on the Sūtras of Pāṇini is evident from at least three citations in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti*[2]. Rāmacandra (circa 1400) in his *Prakriyākaumudī* under V. 4. 135 and 136 cites a *vārttika* which he locates in a certain work (ग्रन्थान्तर). His grandson Viṭṭhala in the *Prasāda* explains[3] the reference by naming the work as इन्दुमती वृत्तिः. The Vārttika in question which is not found in any of the other well-known *Vṛttis*, is based on the supplementary verses in Durga's commentary[4] on the *Kalāpavṛtti*, which verses, as we have noted before, are recognised to be of Durga[5] and authoritative as well by Sarvānanda in the

[1] Under III.3.58 : कथं क्रियते सारसंग्रह इति ?····क्तल्युट्तुमुन्खलर्थेषु वाऽसरूपविधिर्नास्तीत्यत्र भावल्युटो (wrongly printed as नास्तीति । तत्र भाव····) ग्रहणमिति प्रत्ययसूत्रे (३।१।१) 'एरच्' (३।३।५६) इत्यच् प्रवर्त्तते इति इन्दुनोक्तम् । रक्षितेन तु सामान्येन ल्युट् गृहीता (?) । तन्मने बाहुलकादच् (in connection with III.1.1). (This extract from Indu however does not tally word for word with that attributed to him in the citation in the *Paribhasavṛtti* (vide f.n. 4. p. 14).

[2] (i) Under हाक् p. 199 जुहोत्यादि—'अपादाने चाहीयरुहो' (५।४।४५) रित्यत्र न्यासे····कर्मणि लकारादय इति प्रपंचेन समर्थितम् । संप्रदानसूत्रे कैयटेऽप्येवमुक्तम् । इन्दुरपि स्वयमेव हीयत इति प्रतीतेः कर्मकर्त्तरि लकारोऽस्त्वित्याशंक्य जहातेः कर्त्तृस्थक्रियत्वात् कर्मण्येव लकार इति । हरदत्तस्तु····कर्मकर्त्तर्य्येव लकार इति (ii) अत्रावध्वंसनमेव करणमितीन्दु—श्रीभद्रौ (नामधातुवृत्ति p. 31) (iii) कैयटे तु····हरदत्तोऽपि····इन्दुरपि गुप्तिजावनुदात्तेत्तौ न कितिः,····इति···· एवं बहुभिर्महाग्रन्थैर्विरोधात्····आभरणाद्युक्तं यत्किंचित् । under कित्—भ्वादि), Incidentally this suggests Indu to be earlier than the Ābharaṇakāra (i.e, Bhoja),

[3] Under 3.4.135 Rāmacandra reads a Vārttika : आगन्तुकस्यैकवचनान्तस्य वा' । Viṭṭhala on this : इत्वं वा इत्यर्थः । तथोक्तमिन्दुमत्याम्—'आगन्तोरेकवचनाद्वा' Under V.4.136 Rāmandra has : वेति ग्रन्थान्तरे । Viṭṭhala on this : ग्रन्थान्तरे इति—तत्रेन्दुमन्यां विकल्प उदाहृतः । सूपोऽल्पो यस्मिन् सूपगन्धि भोजनं सूपगन्धं वेति The optional reading which is found in the Oxford Ms. of the *Prasāda* is 'इन्दुमित्रेण विकल्प....।' obviously a better reading.

[4] Under धेन्वनडुहादयश्च in Taddhita : अल्पार्थविगमेऽपीह विभाषा दृश्यते बुधैः ।····तथा स्वादिभ्य (i. e. सु, सुरभि, उत्, पूति) आगन्तौ सुगन्धं च सुगन्धि च ।··'

[5] The authors cited in the *Ṭikā* include Vyāghrabhūti, *Bhāṣya*, Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila), Bhartṛhari, Jayāditya, Srutapāla none of whom are late authors. Keith also regards the two as identical (*Sans. Literature*, p. 431).

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Ṭīkāsarvasva. Śaraṇadeva[1], who seems to know of it, has not the courage to admit it, perhaps on the assumption that it was अपाणिनीय, a charge levelled against Durga, the author of the *Bhāgavṛtti* and others by later scholars like Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. The name इन्दुंमती वृत्ति if that indeed be the form of the word, may have like the कैशवी[2] वृत्ति, taken its origin from the name of the author इन्दु (इन्दुमित्र) the normally expected form being ऐन्दुमित्री वृत्ति, and can be explained on the analogy of doubtful form like जैनेन्द्र and कैयटकार[3], long in vogue amongst scholars and writers on grammar. Sīradeva in a passage in the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* apparently takes Anunyāsakāra to be synonymous with Indumitra, and this would go against such a tentative identification. But the verse in citation (which might have for its earlier half इह पाणिनिसूत्राणि छन्दोभाषाप्रभेदतः। mentions two distinctive features, which are hardly applicable to the *Anunyāsa*, which also is far from our ideas about a *Vṛtti*, ascribed to Indu or associated with him, being more or less a dissertation on the *Nyāsa*, which itself is a *Vivaraṇapañjika* on the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. Moreover the occasional lenience of the *Anunyāsa* and its leanings towards the Naiyāsikas' view have so frequently been noted that it becomes hazarduous to regard him as an all-round supporter of Munitraya.[5] Sīradeva, however, is not noted for the sobriety and accuracy or consistency[6] of his views; and the passage in question might also have been wrongly transcribed, (leaving out two words) by the scribes. In any case the form तथा च or तथा हि, as we have noted in the

[1] p. 92 *D. V.* सुगन्धिरिति प्रमादपाठ एव । लक्ष्यपरत्वात्प्रायिकं वार्त्तिकमित्यन्यः। (This authority is certainly later than him who accepted the *vārttika* noted in इन्दुमती वृत्तिः Was it the Anunyāsakāra ?)

[2] (Aufrecht *Cat. Cat.* vol. I, Oudh 64).

[3] e.g. *D. V.* under ii.2.6 :—अतएव भागवृत्तिकृत् (wrongly printed as कृता) अनेकेषामिति जैनेन्द्रेनोक्तम् । (a reference to Jinendrabuddhi) पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टादिशाब्दिकाः। जैनेन्द्र is used for जिनेन्द्र (बुद्धि). Kaiyaṭa (name of the author) is almost always called Kayaṭakāra in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti*.

[4] pp. 79-80 एतस्मिन् वाक्ये इन्द्रेमैत्रेययोः शाश्वतिको विरोधः। तथाहि प्रत्ययसूत्रेऽनुन्यासकार उक्तवान्––प्रतियन्त्यनेनार्थानिति प्रत्ययः। (This is the reading in the *Nyāsa* also) एरच् इति । अत्र पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण (३।३।११८) इति वा घ इति। मैत्रयः पुनराहु—पुंसि संज्ञायामिति घप्रत्यय एव।···Should we read—सूत्रे इन्दुमनुसृत्य अनुन्याशकार उक्तवान्। D. C. Bhattacharyya relying on this identifies Anunyāsakāra with Indumitra (*Paninean Studies in Bengal*—Sir A. Mukherji Silver Jubilee Volumes, Orientalia, vol. I).

[5] e.g. on I.2.41 (as in the *P. V.*) III.2.188; (as cited in *D. V.*) II.2.12 (as in *D.V.*).

[6] *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* under Nāmadhātu, p. 46 एवं च एतदर्थं···परिभाषेयं नित्या अन्यत्र क्वचित् प्रवर्त्तते इति व्यवस्थाशून्यं सीरदेववचनं नाश्रयणीयं भवति।

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case Bhartṛhari vs. Bhāgavṛttikṛt has been rather loosely used. In the present state of our knowledge and in the absolute absence of any manuscript-material to guide us (the editing of the *Tantrapradīpa*[1] for which fairly sufficient manuscript material is available may however prove to be helpful in this matter) we shall have to rest with this tentative identification, which is plausible and possible too.

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[1] Of the 32 sections of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* about 16 are preserved in MSS. at Rajshahi in collections of the Varendra Research Society and of the Rajshahi College (Kumudinikanta Collection). We have also one manuscript in the Govt. collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (which the writer of this paper has not been fortunate to inspect) described in the *Descriptive Catalogue* (1931) as "complete."

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VIDYĀPATI, A MAITHILA WRITER ON DHARMAŚĀSTRA

By

Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., Kāvyatīrtha.

N. B.—See p. for abbreviations used in this paper.

The late Rai Bahadur Manomohan Chakravarti in his big paper covering 96 pages on the 'History of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā'[1] devotes almost three pages (pp. 390-92) to Vidyāpati Upādhyāya and refers to twelve works of the same, of which six are on Smṛti, viz. *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, *Dānavākyāvalī*, *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*, *Varṣakṛtya*, *Vibhāgasāra* and *Śaivasarvasvasāra*, while the rest six on other topics, viz. *Kīrtilatā*, *Bhūparikramagrantha*, *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, *Kīrtipatākā*, *Padāvalī* and *Likhanāvalī*. Chakravarti says that of these twelve works the *Kīrtipatākā* is an amatory poem in Maithili, in the time of Śivasiṃha, and that one characteristic feature of Vidyāpati's works is that they were written under the patronage of one or other member of the royal family of Kāmeśvara; and that in some instances the works were even attributed to them. He then cites the instances of the three Smṛti works, viz. *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, *Dānavākyāvalī* and *Śaivasarvasvasāra* having been attributed by Vidyāpati to the queens Viśvāsadevī, Dhīramatidevī and Viśvāsadevī respectively. Chakravarti fixes 1395 A.D. to 1440 A.D. as the period of the literary activity of Vidyāpati.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterji is perhaps the second scholar to write an informing and comprehensive paper[2] on Vidyāpati, covering 32 pages. Chatterji has first described all the above works of Vidyāpati except his *Padāvalī* and then dealt with the *Padāvalī* at great length. Though it seems that Chatterji has consulted the same MSS. of the works of Vidyāpati and arrived at the same conclusions as done by his predecessor, Chakravarti, yet he has dissented from the view of the latter in assigning the period of the literary activity of Vidyāpati, which in his opinion[3] extends from about 1405 to about 1448 A.D. One conclusion of Chatterji is, however, highly reasonable and supported by the twelfth introductory verse of the *Śaivasarvasvasāra*, one of the Smṛti works

[1] *J. A. S.B.*, vol. XI (1915) pp. 311-406.

[2] *Jaurnal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, vol. XVI (1927), pp. 23-54.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 33.

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of Vidyāpati. It is to the effect that 'the title of the work (i.e. *Śaivasarvasvasāra*) is most probably *Śambhuvākyāvalī* as given in the 12th verse[1] and not *Śaivasarvasvasāra* as given in the 11th.[2] Compare the titles *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* and *Dānavākyāvalī*. The work is compared to a wish-granting creeper in the last verse which gives the name of the work as *Śambhoḥ vākyāvalī*.'[3] Though Chatterji's paper on Vidyāpati is highly reasonable, informing and accurate, yet one or two minor errors have crept into it.. For example, he says on p. 32 that the *Dānavākyāvalī* 'is attributed to *Dhīravatī*, the elder queen of Narasiṁhadeva.' The name of the elder queen of Narasiṁhadeva, to whom the *Dānavākyāvalī* is attributed, was not Dhīravatī but Dhīramati.[4]

Though Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane has utilised the Deccan College MS. (No. 368 of 1891-95) of the *Dānavākyāvalī* of Vidyāpati in the chapter on Dāna in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* (*vol. II*),[5] yet he has devoted no separate section to Vidyāpati in the first volume[6] of his above work. Mr. Kane has not, however, omitted Vidyāpati from treatment in his first volume, but collected all possible facts relating to his works and personal history in a nearly full column on pp. 739-40 (Appendix B) of the same. He has also added short notes on the six Smṛti works of Vidyāpati on pp. 538, 561,[7] 564, 618, 621 and 642 respectively in Appendix A of the same. From the above seven notes in the two Appendices we can gather that 'Vidyāpati flourished between 1375 and 1450 A.,D, was a voluminous and versatile writer, wrote in Maithili also and on moral tales (as in *Puruṣa-parīkṣā*, *Bhūparikramaṇa*) and composed the following six works on Dharmaśāstra, viz. *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, *Dānavākyāvalī*, *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*, *Varṣakṛtya*,

[1] प्रमाणमूला नवपल्लवाट्या सपुष्पिका रम्यफलोपपन्ना ।
अभीष्टसिद्धयै विवुधैरुपेया वाक्यावली कल्वलतेव शम्भोः ॥

* * * *

[2] विज्ञाऽनुज्ञाप्य विद्यापतिकृतिनमसौ विश्वविख्यातकीर्तिः ।
श्रीमद्विश्वासदेवी विरचयति शिवं शैवसर्वस्वसारम् ॥

[3] Footnote, p. 31, B. K. Chatterji's paper on Vidyāpati.

[4] Vide colophon of the Deccan M. S. (No. 368 of 1891-95) of the *Dānavākyāvalī*, which reads ०श्रीध (घी ?) रमति-विरचिता (दा) नवाक्यावली सम्पूर्णा ।

[5] Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941

[6] Published by the same, 1930.

[7] The 71st forme (covering pp. 561-68) of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I., has beed wrongly paginated as 559-66 and so pp. 559 and 562 are really pp. 561 and 564.

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Vibhāgasāra and *Śaivasarvasvasāra*. His *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* is mentioned by Govindānanda and Raghunandana (in *Prāyaścittatattva*). His *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* mentions *Ratnākara* and was his last work. His *Varṣakṛtya* is mentioned in the *Malamāsatattva* of Raghunandana and he is mentioned in the *Kṛtyatattvārṅava* of Śrīnātha. Mr. Kane says in his entry against the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* that it has been printed in Calcutta in 1909. The *Saivasarvasvasāra* was, however, published from Darbhanga in 1897. Since the publication of Mr. Kane's first volume of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* in 1930, only the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* of the remaining four Smṛti works of Vidyāpati has been critically edited and published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri from Calcutta in 1940. The *Puruṣa-parīkṣā* was published earlier in 1888-89 from Darbhanga and in 1927-28 from Bombay. The printed edition of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* contains reference[1] to another printed edition of the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* from Sylhet in 1934. But I have been able to secure a copy of neither the Calcutta nor the Sylhet edition but have consulted a copy of the Darbhanga edition of 1900-1 of the same.

The *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* has been published along with the *Dvārakā-pattala* of a lady, Bīnabāyī by name, in a single volume with very confusing pagination, as on account of continuous pagination with the latter work the former begins from p. 43 and the Introduction and the text run upto p. 314, while the appendices and indexes consist of 136 and 55 pages respectively, with separate paginations, and at the end of the volume there is a joint list of abbreviations, a general index etc. of the two works covering 43 pages with another separate pagination. There are also joint dedication, foreward, preface and contents of the two works in the beginning of the volume covering 12 pages, marked with Roman numerals. The reason for the joint publication of the two unconnected works by separate authors is that they form in a single bound volume, vols. III and IV of the editor's series entitled "The Contribution of women to Sanskrit Literature," as according to the editor, the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* like the *Dvārakā-pattala* is also the production of a woman, the queen Viśvāsadevī of Mithilā and not of Vidyāpati, the contemporary poet and scholar of the same place. So we find that the printed edition of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* consists of 506 pages and the text portion[2] alone covers 208 pages. Though the present edition of the *Gangāvākyāvalī*

[1] Footnote, p. 119 (Appendix portion).

[2] Based on three MSS., two belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the third to the India Office, London.

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which is a work on Dharmaśāstra, was published just a decade after the publication of Mr. Kane's epoch-making *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, yet the learned editor has nowhere mentioned Mr. Kane's great work in his bulky volume consisting of 506 pages in the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* portion alone. Curiously enough, the same scholar, who has critically edited for the first time the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* of Vidyāpati and must have, therefore, consulted the learned papers on the same author by Chakravarti and Chatterji, has also nowhere mentioned the names of those pioneer scholars who have tried to dispel the cloud of obscurity hanging over Vidyāpati and his works. The Introduction of the printed edition of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* covers 64 pages and is nothing but a synopsis of the entire work, while the six appendices consist of the following six topics :—

(1) Further references, variant readings and notes.

(2) Some remarks on the quotations in the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*.

(3) Description of the MSS. of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*.

(4) Some remarks on the authorship of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*.

(5) The Royal family of Mithilā.

(6) Some well-known Smārtas who have quoted the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* : Mitra Miśra, Raghunandana and Vācaspati Miśra.

The exhaustive Introduction and the copious appendices and indexes have made the edition of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* highly useful. But though the learned editor has mostly identified the quotations in the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* in the original works, cited parallel quotations from other digests including those of the great Bengal digest-writer Raghunandana, described him and his works and reproduced some ten quotations from the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* in several works of the same, yet he has nowhere identified these quotations in the printed text of the *Gagṅāvākyāvalī*, which circumstance would have really 'testified to the great merit and popularity' of the work.

Before proceeding to trace the quotations from the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* in several works of Govindānanda and Raghunandana, it will not be out of place here to give a short account of the literary life of Vidyāpati and discuss the authorship of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* which is ascribed by Dr. Chaudhuri to the patron queen Viśvāsadevī of Mithilā and not to Vidyāpati.

Vidyāpati adorned the courts of as many as nine rulers of Mithilā, viz. Kīrtisiṁha, Bhavasiṁha, Devasiṁha, Śivasiṁha,

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Padmasiṁha, Viśvāsadevī, Harasiṁha, Narasiṁha and Dhīrasiṁha, as will be evident from the following facts :—

(1) The *Kīrtilatā* was composed by Vidyāpati during the reign of Kīrtisiṁha to commemorate his victory over Aslan.[1]

(2) Vidyāpati refers to Bhavasiṁha as king in verse I of the *Śaivasarvasvasāra* and eulogises Devasiṁha in verse 2 of the same and also in verse I of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*. The *Bhūpārikramaṇa* of Vidyāpati was composed at the instance of the latter king.[2]

(3) Vidyāpati frequently refers in his *Padāvalī*[3] to Rūpanārāyaṇa, another name of Śivasiṁha and to his wives, Lakhimā Devī, Sukhamā Devī, Madhumatī Devī, etc.

(4) Vidyāpati refers in verses 5 and 6 of his *Śaivasarvasvasāra* to the succession of Padmasiṁha to the throne of Mithilā after his brother Śivasiṁha.

(5) Vidyāpati says in verses 8 and 12 of the *Śaivasarvasvasāra* that Viśvāsadevī was the wife of Padmasiṁha and ruled Mithilā with great success, was a devotee of Śiva and ordered Vidyāpati to compose a work on Śiva called *Śaivasarvasvasāra.*

(6) The *Vibhāgasāra*[4] of Vidyāpati refers to the name of Harisiṁha, which was another name of Harasiṁha.

(7) The *Dānavākyāvalī*[5] and *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*[6] of Vidyāpati refer to Narasiṁha or Nṛsiṁha, *alias* Darpanārāyaṇa.

(8) The *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*[7] of Vidyāpati was composed at the instance of Dhīrasiṁha, also known as Rūpanārāyaṇa.

[1] P. 2 of the *Kīrtilatā*, ed. by MM. Haraprasad Shastri, Calcutta 1924-25

[2] Verses 2 and 3, MS. No. 79, Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, Vol. IV.

[3] *Vidyāpatir Padāvali*, ed. by Nagendranath Gupta, Calcutta (1909-10). Pada 21, p 15–रूपनारायण इ रस जानथि सिवसिंह मिथिला भूपे । See also the land-grant, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p 190, 2nd column, and Vidyāpatir Padāvalī Nos. 52, 186 and 467.

[4] MS. No. 329, *Descriptive catalogue of (Sanskrit) MSS. in Mithilā*, Vol, I. (Smṛti) :—राज्ञो भवेशाद्धरिसिंह आसीत्तत्सूनुना दर्पणारायणेन ।
राज्ञा नियुक्तोऽत्र विभागसारं विचार्यं विद्यापतिरातनोति ॥

[5] *op. cit.* MS. No. 192.

[6] V. 3,

[7] V. 6.

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Dr. Chaudhuri says that the fact of Vidyāpati's adorning the courts of as many as eight[1] rulers of Mithilā 'is indeed unique in the history of the world; this, however, became possible as many of them reigned only for short periods.'[2] As Vidyāpati's first work *Kīrtilatā* was composed just after his first patron king, Kīrtisiṁha, ascended the throne of Mithilā after the assassination of Gaṇeśvara by Aslan in 1367-68 A.D., so it seems to have been composed in *c.* 1370 A.D., when Vidyāpati must have been at least twenty years old. Again as Śrīnivāsa's *Setudarpaṇī* was composed about 1438 A.D.[3] at the instance of Dhīrasiṁha, the last royal patron of Vidyāpati who must have been nearly ninety years old by that time, so we see that the period *c.* 1370 A.D.—*c.* 1440 A.D., assigned by Dr. Chaudhuri to Vidyāpati's literary activity, compares favourably with that assigned by Mr. Kane to the same, viz. 1375-1450 A.D. Vidyāpati was the grandson of Jayadatta, who was the son of Dhīreśvara, uncle of Caṇḍeśvara, the great Mithilā digest-writer of the 14th century. So it is highly likely that Vidyāpati who was later than Caṇḍeśvara (1310-1360 A.D.) by two generations must have flourished by the time assigned by Mr. Kane and Dr. Chaudhuri, and not by that assigned either by Chakravarti or by Chatterji, referred to above. Though the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* is one of the three published Dharmaśāstra works of Vidyāpati and one of his best and most authoritative works, being quoted thrice by Govindānanda and about twenty times by Raghunandana who has also quoted the *Dānavākyāvalī* only once in the *Udvāhatattva*,[4] the *Varṣakṛtya* thrice in the *Malamāsatattva*,[5] only once in the *Durgotsavatattva* and once in the *Ekādaśītattva* and the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* seven times in the *Durgotsavatattva*,[6] yet the second introductory verse in all MSS. and the colophon in almost all of the extant MSS. of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* ascribe the authorship

[1] Not eight but nine. Dr. Chaudhuri inadvertently omits Bhavasiṁha from his final enumeration, though he describes his career at great length on pp. 112-13. App. portion.

[2] *Gaṅgāvākyāvālī*, p. 120, Appendix portion.

[3] Though Dr. Chaudhuri says under the heading 'Dhīrasiṁha' on p. 120 (App. portion) that 'In 321 of the Lakṣmaṇa era i.e. 1438 A.D. the commentary *Setudarpaṇī* of Srīnivāsa on the *Setubandha* was copied at his instance.', yet he says on p. 123 (App. portion) that 'The date of Dhīrasiṁha, the last royal patron of Vidyāpati, is also known; at his instance Srīnivāsa's *Setudarpaṇī* was composed about 1430 A.D.,

[4] p. 138, Jīvānanda's ed. of Smrititattva, Vol II, 1895.

[5] p. 823, op. cit., Vol I., 1895.

[6] pp. 66, 81-82, 86, 93, 101, 102 and 103 op. cit., Vol I.

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of the work not to Vidyāpati but to his patron queen Viśvāsadevī. The colophons in only two MSS.[1] of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* ascribe the work to Vidyāpati. But the following concluding verse occurs in every MS. of the same :—

Kiyan-nibandhamālokya Śrī-Vidyāpati-sūriṇā
Gaṅgāvākyāvalī devyāḥ pramānair-vimalīkṛtā

The purport of the verse is that 'the *Gangāvākyāvalī* of the queen (Viśvāsadevī) has been rendered lucid by the scholar Vidyāpati with authoritative statements after consultation of some *nibandhas*.' All previous Sanskrit scholars have attributed the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* to Vidyāpati and the late Manomohan Chakravarti has drawn pointed attention to 'one characteristic feature of Vidyāpati's works that they were written under the patronage of one or other member of the royal family of Kāmeśvara ; and that in some instances the works were even attributed to them'[2]. But Dr. Chaudhuri ascribes it to Viśvāsadevī on the strength of the second introductory verse and colophon and explains away the concluding verse, quoted above, by interpreting it to mean that 'Vidyāpati rendered the help (to Viśvāsadevī) in course of the revision of the work' and adds 'So it is certain that Viśvāsadevī would not have been able to compose the work, if she were not sure of the materials at her disposal'.[3] Dr. Chaudhuri quotes on p. 107 (footnote 2) three references to the author of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* as 'Gaṅgāvākyāvalīkāra' by Govindānanda, a 16th century Bengal digest-writer, in two of his works, *Varṣakriyākaumudī*[4] and *Śuddhikaumudī*.[5] Though the Sanskrit word '*Gaṅgāvākyāvalīkāra*' is masculine and hence denotes a male author which may mean Vidyāpati, yet Dr. Chaudhuri explains the word away by saying that it is used in a general sense and that the gender is not designated. Though Dr. Chaudhuri admits Vidyāpati to be a great poet, scholar and the helper of Viśvāsadevī in her composing the Gaṅgāvākyāvalī, yet he says that 'it does not necessarily follow that Viśvāsadevī could not have been so learned as to compose the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*'[6]. He then adduces evidence to show that the royal family of Mithilā

[1] Vide *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. at the Sanskrit College Calcutta*, Vol II., p. 508 and R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* Vol III, p. 234 f., No. 1251.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol XI (1915), p. 391.

[3] p. 106, App. portion, *GV*.

[4] Edited by MM Kamalakrishṇa Smṛtitīrtha, B. I., 1 02.

[5] Edited by the same, B. I., 1905.

[6] p. 107, App. portion *GV*.

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including the ladies was very learned; and that Viśvāsadevī's sister-in-law Lakhimādevi, too, was a poetess of repute. I append below the following reasons for establishing the authorship of Vidyāpati of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* :—

(1) Not only the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* but also the *Dānavākyāvalī*, the *Śambhuvākyāvalī* which is the real title of the work '*Śaivasarvasvasāra*' and the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*[1] are attributed to royal patrons, Dhīramatidevī, Viśvāsadevī and Dhīrasiṁha, respectively.

(2) The concluding verse[2] of the *Dānavākyāvalī* is almost identical with that of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* and both these verses implicitly state that neither Dhīramatidevī nor Viśvāsadevī but Vidyāpati is the author of both the works.

(3) The twelfth verse[3] of the *Śambhuvākyāvalī* or *Śaivasarvasvasāra* is also similar in import to the above two concluding verses and explicitly makes Viśvāsadevī and not Vidyāpati the author of the work, though it implicitly ascribes the authorship to the latter.

(4) The *Madanapārijāta*, *Mahārṇava*, *Tithinirṇayasāra* and *Smṛtikaumudī*, four other digests, though ostensibly the works of the king Madanapāla and his son Māndhātā, were really composed by their protegee, Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa.[4]

APPENDIX A.

The *Gā'gāvākyāvalī* quoted in the works of Govindānanda.

(a) *Varṣakriyākaumudī* *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*

1. p. 97 = p. 176—यच्च जन्मसप्ताष्ट....दर्शनम् इति....गङ्गावाक्यावलीकारेण....वचनं लिखितं....।

2. p. 107 = p. 178—गङ्गावाक्यावलीकारस्तु....सूतके....विवर्जयेत्....नान्यदित्याह......।

(b) *Suddhikaumudī* *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*

3. p. 217 — p. 176—the same as that on p. 97 of *Varṣakriyākaumudī* with the simple change of सप्ताष्टजन्म *for* जन्मसप्ताष्ट ।

[1] V. 6.

[2] निबन्धान् सम्यगालोक्य श्रीविद्यापति-सूरिणा।
दानवाक्यावली देव्याः प्रमाणं विमलीकृता ॥

[3] Vide footnote 289

[4] *History of Dharmaśāstra* by P. V. Kane. Vol I., pp. 381-4.

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APPENDIX B.

The works of Vidyāpati quoted in the works of Raghunandana.

I. *Gaṅgāvākyāvali.*

(*a*) *Tithitattva* *G.V.*

1. p. 157 = p. 178—तथा च....गङ्गावाक्यावल्योः स्मृतिः ।
'सुतके .... विवर्जितम्' ॥

(*b*) *Śrāddhatattva* *G.V.*

2. p. 259 = p. 301—गङ्गावाक्यावल्याम् । 'संवत्सरं..कारयेत् ॥..सूचितम् ।
3. p. 324 = p. 116—'गच्छन्..........न संशयः' इति ।
भविष्यपुराणादिति गङ्गावाक्यावली ॥
4. p. 325 = p. 301—the same as that on p. 259 of the *Srāddhatattva.*

(*c*) *Prāyaścittatattva* *G.V,*

5. pp. 486-7=pp. 263-4—'स्वल्पसाध्ये........तद्विमुच्यते' । इति
गङ्गावाक्यावलीधृतस्कन्दपुराणवचनात् ॥
6. p. 489 = p. 116—the same as that on p. 324 of *Sr. T.*
7. pp. 492-3 = p. 301—the same as that on p. 325 of *Sr. T.*
8. p. 496 = p. 116—व्यतीपातेन चन्द्रमा इति गङ्गावाक्यावल्युत्कपाठो....।
9. p. 499 = p. 207—गङ्गावाक्यावल्याम् 'गङ्गातीरे......भवेत्' ।
10. p. 499 = p. 207—गङ्गायामिति तीरपरमिति गङ्गावाक्यावली ।
11. p. 501 = p. 190—एतेन गङ्गावाक्यावल्युक्तं पृथक् तर्पणं निषिद्धम् ।
12. p. 502 = p. 212—'तस्मात्..........कनकदक्षिणाम्'
इति नन्दिपुराणादिति गङ्गावाक्यावलीं ॥

(*d*) *Malamāsatattva* *G.V.*

13. p. 749 = p. 158—गङ्गावाक्यावल्यां दक्षः 'चान्द्रेण..यथाविहितमाचरेत्' ।
14. p. 753 = p. 179—गङ्गावाक्यावल्यामपि वारुणीस्नाने मधुकृष्णात्रयोदश्यामिति वाक्यरचना ।
15. p. 764 = p. 180—गङ्गावाक्यावल्यामपि ज्यैष्ठे संवत्सरे इत्येव पाठः ।

(*e*) *Śuddhitattva* *G.V.*

16. p. 348 = p. 207—the same as the quotation 10 on p. 499 of *P.T.*
17. pp. 360—1= p. 137—'तीर्थे........नरः'......गङ्गावाक्यावल्यप्येवम् ।

2. *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇi*

D.S.T. *D bh.*

1. p. 66 = p. 16—न च नन्दिकाप्रतिपदिति दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्युक्तं युक्तमिति वाच्यम् ।
2. pp. 81-82= p. 33—अतएव दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी कृत्यमहार्णवधृतेन देवीपुराणेन पशुघातवलिदानयोः पृथक् फलमभिहितम् यथा 'देवीं....शाङ्करम्' ।
3. p. 86 = p. 22—दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्याम् 'मूलं........जह्यात्' ।
4. p. 93 = p. 66—अत्र दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्यां स्वधापुजानन्तरं स्वाहापुजालिखनात्
5. p. 101 = p. 126—न च देवीविसर्जनानन्तरं दक्षिणेति दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्युक्तं युक्तम् ।

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6. p. 102 = p. 65—अत्र कल्पे प्रतिपदि कलसस्थापनं यजमानस्नानार्थं दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्यां यदुक्तं तन्न युक्तम् ।

APPENDIX C.

Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quoted in *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*.

D. bh.		*K.R.*
p. 19	=	p. 362—कृत्यरत्नाकरे......'कन्यायां......महत्' ।

N.B.—The works of Raghunandana and the *Kṛtyaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, referred to in the Appendices, have been edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (*Smrititattva*, vols. I & II, 1895) and by MM. Kamalakrishna Smrititirtha (B.I., 1925) respectively.

ABBREVIATIONS :

B. I.	=	Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.
D. bh.	=	Durgābhktitaraṅginī
D. S. T.	=	Durgotsavatattva
G. V.	=	Gaṅgāvākyāvali
K. R.	=	Kṛtyaratnākara
P. T.	=	Prāyaścittatattva
Sr. T.	=	Śrāddhatattva.

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REVIEW OF *VĀṄMAYA VIVEKA* OF CINTĀMṆI MIŚRA

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Sanskrit learning and culture flourished under the benevolent patronage of the powerful Gajapati rulers from the 11th to 17th Century. Great scholars such as Jayadeva, Śatānanda, Śrīdhara, Vidyādhara, Viśvanatha, Rāmānanda Rāya, Gajapati Puruṣottama, Valabhadra Kavibhūśaṇa, Mārkaṇḍeya, and others were the flowers of Orissan culture.

Most of the works of the great scholars of Orissa are lost and some have not yet been published. In my search for manuscripts I fortunately came across a good number of rare and valuable gems. One of them is *Vāṅmaya-viveka*, a treatise in prosody, and the other is a one act drama named *Triśirovadha* (Vyāyoga). They were written by Ciṅtāmaṇi Miśra.

In the colophon of *Vaṅmaya-Viveka* the author gives us an account of his ancestry of the three generations preceding him. Harihara Vājapeyī Citāgni, son of Sidheśvara of the Bhāradvāja family was his grandfather. He is styled by the author as an incarnation of the great poet Kālidāsa for his vast erudition. He was highly honoured by Govinda Vidyādhara, the then king of Orissa, who ruled from 1542-1549. His son Mṛtyuñjaya, the father of the author of Ciṇtamaṇi, took his residence near the Nīlācala, (the blue mount) the temple of Jagannātha, and was known in Orissa as Siudi Dīkṣita and was a profound scholar. The name of his wife was Śrī and they had a son named Cintāmaṇi.

In *Vāṅmaya-Viveka* Ciṇtāmaṇi Miśra says that he is himself the author of *Śambarāri Carita*, *Triśirovadha*, *Kādambarīrasa*, *Sabhāpramoda*, *Pakṣāvali*, *Kaṁsavadha*, *Kṛtyapuṣpāvali*, *Samitivarṇaṇam* and *Abhidhāna-Samuccaya* and a prose work in praise of Lord Vāsudeva.

In the prologue of the play *Triśirovadha* the author highly praises the king Cakreśa, better known as Cakā-Pratāpa, son of the king Govinda Vidyādhara, for constructing the *snānavedi* (alter for bath) for the lord Jagannātha. This play *Triśirovadha*, representing all sentiments, was staged at the direction of the king Cakreśa.

In the prologue the author says exactly what he has said about the parentage in the *Vāṅmaya-Viveka*. The king Cakā-Pratāpa referred to, reigned from 1549-1557 A.D.

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The last verse of *Vāṅmaya-Viveka* states that it was written in Puri in the 4675th year of the Kali Yuga. 1943 A.D. being the 5044th year of Kali, the work was written about 1574 A.D. The work is divided into six chapters and contains 3200 verses consisting of definitions with illustrations, some of which are composed by the poet himself and the others are quotations from works written by his father, uncles and other writers of note. All the verses cited by the author relate to the praise of Lord Vāsudeva. He refers to the following writers in the colophon and seems to be acquainted with their points of view as well as with those of other eminent writers.

1. Piṅgala. 2. Kāśyapa. 3. Maṇḍavya. 4. Vyāsa. 5. Kohala. 6. Mataṅga. 7. Dattila. 8. Bharaṭa. 9. Kumāra. 10. Sveta. 11. Kālidāśa. 12. Puruṣottama. 13. Kedārabhaṭṭa. 14. Sarveśa. 15. Yādavācārya. 16. Daṇḍi. 17. Bhoja. 18. Śrīpati. 19. Vaitālika. 20. Gaṅgādāsa. 21. Varāha. 22. Haribhaṭṭa. 23. Vahiniśapratāpa. 24. Somanāth Bhaṭṭa. 25. Author of *Chandomaṇika*. 26. Soma, the author of Vṛiṭṭamaūjari. 27. Author of *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*. 28. Svayambhū. 29. Author of *Hemacandra-Vṛtti*. 30. Āchārya Keśava. 31. Śrīnivāsa. 32. Rāghavānanda. At the end of the book the poet mentions the following works on Rhetoric and Prosody consulted by himself. 1. *Sūtra of Piṅgalanāga*. 2. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*. 3. *Chando-Viveka*. 4. *Chando-Mañjarī*. 5. *Vṛtta-Mañjarī*. 6. *Prākṛta Chando-Lakṣaṇa*. 7. *Vṛtta-Ratnākara*. 8. *Vṛtta-Muktāvali*. 9. *Vṛtta-Ratnāvali*. 10. *Laghu-pramoda-Kaumudī* and its commentary. 11. *Vṛtta-Kaumudī*. 12. *Śrutabodha*. 13. *Chando-Viciti*. 14. *Vṛtta Kārikā*. 15. *Sahitya-Darpaṇa*. 16. *Chando-Maṇikya*. 17. Works of Daṇḍi. 18. *Chando-Govinda*. 19. *Chando-Ratnākara*. 20. *Kohala*. 21. *Varāhīya*. 22. *Dīpikā*. 23. *Ratnamālikā*.

For a classification of prose and drama it seems that the poet consulted *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa* and the works of Daṇḍin. The other works most probably deal with Sanskrit prosody. Of these only a few have been brought to light and the others are not yet known.

Sanskrit verses are so varied in nature and form and their classification is so minute and elaborate that the science of Prosody admits of a separate study by itself. The subject by nature, is difficult and thus came to be neglected and, in consequence, works of many early writers have been forgotten or lost for good. Our author deplores this very much and seeks to restore this branch of study in a systematic and exhaustive manner.

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Of the works mentioned above we are acquainted with but a very few. The little familiar book *Śrutabodha*, is ascribed to Kālidasa. It is doubtful if such an imperfect and rudimentary work could come from the pen of the great poet.

The *Chandas-Śutra* of Piṅgala is well known and the very science of Sanskrit prosody is said to have started with him. Kedāra Bhaṭṭa, son of Pavyaka, is the author of *Vṛttaratnākara*. Gaṅgā-Dāsa, son of Vaidya Gopāla-Dāsa, wrote *Chandomañjarī*, *Acyutacarita* a poem in 16 cantoes, *Dīneśa-Śataka* and *Kaṁsāri-Śataka*. He belongs to the 15th Century A.D. It is evident from *Chandomañjarī* that Puruṣottama is the preceptor of Gaṅgā-Dasa "इत्याह भट्ट स्वग्रन्थे गुरुर्मे पुरुषोत्तमः। It is written in *Vāṅmaya-Viveka* that Puruṣottama is the author of *Chandogovinda* and Sarveśa is the author of *Vṛttamuktāvali* and *Siko Rāmāyaṇa* from where our author quotes many examples. We are all acquainted with a variety of metres known as Vaitālika. According to our author Vaitālika is the author of *Prākṛta-Chandolakṣaṇa*. Perhaps the variety of metre is named after its author Vaitālika. Somanātha Bhaṭṭa is the author of *Chandovārtika*. Rāghavānanda is the author of *Chandoviveka* and *Uṣāpariṇaya*. Our author quotes many examples from his works. This Rāghavānanda may be the Rāghavānanda Mahāpātra, mentioned in *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*. The author refers to Rāṭa Māṇḍavya, Sveta and Kāśyapa who are also mentioned in *Chandas-Sūtra* and *Chandomañjarī*.

Daṇḍin in *Kāvyādarśa* says :—"छन्दोविचित्यां सकलस्तत्प्रपञ्चो निरूपितः।" A special treatise bearing the name of *Chandoviciti* by some author is not known to us. Chapters XIV and XV of Bharata's *Nātya-Śāstra* go by the name of Chandoviciti. Yādavācārya's Bhāṣya on *Bharata-sūtra* is also called *Chandoviciti Bhāṣya*. Varāhamihira says "विपुलामपि बद्ध्वा च्छन्दोविचितिं भवति कार्यमेव तत्। श्रुतिसुखदवृत्तसंग्रहमिममाह वराहमिहिरोऽत्र ॥" Works of all these go by the name of Chandoviciti. As our author refers to Chandoviciti along with the authors Daṇḍin, Bharata and Varāhamihira in the list of works, we are led to believe that a special treatise by that name may have been known to him. The author cites the opinion of Varāhimihira in the Chapter dealing with metre "ख ब्रह्ममात्रकेऽपि कघलघौ गुरुयुगान्तरस्थिते भवति मुखचपलादीति मतं वराहमिहिरस्य यत् स आहैवम् "नानावृत्तै स्तन्नो मुखचपलात्वं क्षन्त्वार्याः।" This signifies that Varāmihira wrote a work on Prosody. As regards Bharata and Kohala's work on Prosody Reygnand says "Bharata treated the subject Chandoviciti in Chapters XIV and XV of *Nāṭya-Śāstra*. Bharata defines the tunes of a metre in quantities *Laghu* or *Guru*. Kohala has a section on prosody. According to Bharata and Kohala, whose main

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sphere was histrionics, the rythm of the metre must appear to be a spontaneous effusion of the thoughts of sentiments of the actor on the scene" *La Martiniqo de Bharat*, August 2 Paris.

"Kohala was the immediate disciple of Bharata. Even according to Nātyaśāstra Kohala was to write a treatise on Prastāratantra. But Kohala's work is lost, but for a fragment that is available, Tālādhyāya. A study of the citations there indicates that Kohala, though he followed Bharata in the main, improved upon *Nāṭya-Śāstra* in the details of classification. Dattila Kohalīya purports to be a narration by Kohala to Dattila and *Kohala-rahasya* by Kohala to Mātaṅga and these are epitomes of Kohala's works" *History of Sanskrit literature*, by Krishnachariar p. 820.

The author in *Vāṅmaya-Viveka* refers to the classification of dramas according to Kohala, Dattila and Mataṅga.

According to Rāghavānanda *Padyas* (verses) may not be four-footed ones चतुष्पदी and he includes even *Gāthās* in Padya. Our author does not subscribe to this view because it is not consistent with the opinion of the old authorities who assert that they are always four-footed. Like others our author divides metre into two classes Vaidic and Laukika (Classical). But he divides the classical literature into six classes as Padya, Gāthā, Kalika, Viruda, Gadya (prose) and Gīta (song).

The primary division of classical metres into Mātrā and Jāti is based upon the distinction that one has a definite relation to the aggregate of *mātrās* (morae), quite irrespective of the number or position of the syllabus in the *Padas* or quadrants ; the other takes into account not only the number but also the order of succession of long and short syllables in successive quadrants.

Each of the two primary divisions may again be divided into five sub-classes :*sama* (even), *ardhasama* (semi-uneven)- *viṣama* (uneven), *asamārdha* (semi-even) and *upajāti* (hybrids). In the case of *Jāti* these five sub-divisions have a separate nomenclature. Writers such as Piṅgala and Gaṅgā-Dāsa divide the metres into three classes : even, semi-even and uneven. But as semi-uneven and hybrids could not be included in the latter, they should be, according to our author, five, not three. The semi-even are those in which alternate quadrants are alike but the odds differ from the even ; uneven (विषम) are those in which quadrants are dissimilar but semi-uneven (असमार्ध) are those in which first half is dissimilar to the second half. So semi-uneven is quite different from the rest. As regards semi-uneven (असमार्ध) our author cites three metres with examples

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such as Priyā, Anaṅgakrīdā and Jyoti. "The hybrids उपजाति are analogous to the semi-even and uneven metres for monosyllabic group, inasmuch as the variation affects a single syllable the first, others remaining constant. So this should be as a separate division. Thus the limit of the semi-even is 2^2—2 or 4—2=2, of uneven 2^4—2^2=16—4=12, altogether fourteen" (XIX Introduction to छन्दःसारसंग्रह of Ghosh). Some count the number of hybrids to be fourteen "चतुर्दशभिदाः प्राहुरुपजातीस्तु केचन"; but even they are many according to our author. Some are of opinion that Upajāti (or Hybrid) consists of the same metre; but it is not correct, as we find examples of hybrids formed out of different metres in the works of old authors "अत्राहुरेके तु समानच्छन्दस्यदः स्यादिति तन्न युक्तम्। छन्दःसु भिन्नेष्वपि तत्प्रयोगा दृश्यन्त एते रचिताः पुरातनैः।" Hybrids are generally formed by combining two or three characteristics of different metres having close relation. सन्निहितानां द्वित्रैर्लक्ष्मभिमश्रिमुपजातिः।"

By the combination of the quadrants of Triṣṭup or the combination of the quadrants of Atijagatī and Jagatī hybrids are formed but not by the combination of other metres.

These even metres (Sama-vṛttas) may be subdivided into two classes, Chandas and Daṇḍakas. Chandas are regulated by the number of syllables in different quadrants from one to 26 letters, but others which exceed 26 letters are known as Daṇḍakas. In the book under review 48 kinds of Daṇḍakas have been exhaustively described with examples.

As regards Gāthās our author does not agree with Halāyudha's reading of the Piṅgala's Sūtra अत्रानुक्तं गाथा, 8th chapter, 1st sutra. This reading gives rise to frequent contradictions and calls forth many an expression of apology from the authors. This has been justly pointed by Mr. C. M. Ghosh in his introduction to *Chandasāra-Saṅgraha* p. XIV, wherein he states: "The eighth chapter starts with the Sūtram अत्रामुक्तं गाथा. Then follows a description of eighteen individual metres placed in the same groups defined and explained with details and illustrated with examples exactly the same way as in his two preceding chapters. They are explicitly called Gāthā or the undescribed nevertheless. At the end of the 8th Chapter again there is left in the lumber room of gāthās as indefinite and innumerable remainder". एवमादीनि वृत्तानि कोटिशः प्रस्तारेषु महाव विप्रयोगेषु च दृश्यन्ते। विशेषसंज्ञाभावात्तानि शास्त्रनिर्देशं कृत्वा नोक्तानि, तानि गाथाशब्देन कथ्यन्ते। Halāyudha, the commentator of Pingala's *Chandas-Sūtra*, was not known to our author as he has nowhere referred to Halāyudha in his work. Our author adopts a different reading of the text, most probably a correct one. While defining Gāthā he says that it is of Mātrā metre and has no fixed quadrants,

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and has been employed in languages (Prākṛt) other than Saṅskṛit and in support of his definition he cites the authority of Piṅgala's *Chandas-sūtra* that Gāthā should be in the impure tongue.
'गाथा मात्रागणिता अनियतपादा असंस्कृतनिबद्धाः । अत्रासिद्धं गाथे त्याहपिङ्गलः फणिसूत्रम् ॥'
Some are of opinion that Gāthā is also used in Sanskrit and they cite the example of दश धर्मं etc.

In *dvipadī-gāthā* there will be one quadrant. In *chatuṣpadī* two in *ṣaṭpadī* three and in *aṣṭapadī* four quadrants and so on. Where the quadrants are not even they cannot be definitely fixed. Our author described 97 kinds of *Gāthās* consisting of *dvipadī, tripadī, chatuṣpadī* and so on.

That (sound) which signifies the measure of time with pauses is called Tāla (syllabic instants) and a harmonious combination of sounds (Tāla) is called Kalā. A combination of syllabic instants or Kalās is called Kalikā. It has four divisions: Caṇḍavṛtta, Tribhaṅgī, Mātrikā and Sarbabhadrikā. Caṇḍabṛtta consists of 12 to 64 quadrants and Trībhangī consists of 8 to 16 quadrants and the rest consists of 10 quadrants and more and not too many.

With the growth of Sanskrit literature some classical poets, being not satisfied with the existing metres, introduced new rhythms and also excellent forms of blank verses and poetry known as Kalikā. But no standard works on Prosody, known so far, have taken any notice of it. But our author has given descriptions of different kinds of Kalikās in his work. According to some there may be Kalikās in prose as well. So our author has cited some examples from prose.

Then he defines *Virudas* in a peculiar way and finds fault with the old definition. He says that the word Viru means hostility in the Mahārāṣṭra language. As they are meant to engender fear in the hearts of the enemies, they are known as *Virudas*. *Viruda* consists both of prose and poetry. This has not been clearly dealt with by the ancient writers on Prosody.

Then he speaks of *Cāṭu-Kāvya* which means a poem consisting of Kalikā verses and *Virudas* taken together. This has been divided into three as Sarvakala, Miśrakala and Vītakala, the good, the medium and the inferior. This *Cāṭu-Kavya* is also known as *Laghu-Prabandha*. This Sarvakala is divided into Pratāpāvali *Kīrtyāvali, Hārāvali, Aṣṭīkāvali, Vakrāvali,* Pañcavakrāvali and Smaradīpikā. According to language it is also divided into three classes in Sanskrit; it is called Śuddhā or pure in Prakrit it is Ārabhaṭī, in Sanskrit and Prakrit it is called Miśrikā. Regarding Guru and Laghu (heavy and short)

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our author cites some rules that are not to be found out in any work on Prosody published as yet. At the end of the 2nd and the 4th quadrants a Laghu becomes Guru but Mammaṭa, the author of the *Kavyaprakāśa* does not subscribe to this view as he quotes "दृष्टे यत्र पतिन्त मूढमनसामस्त्राणि वस्त्राणि च and says that Ca at the end is a Laghu and so it is faulty. But our author finds fault with Mammaṭa and says that it is Guru. Viśvanātha Kavirāja, the author of *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*, suggests that the defect will be removed by replacing Ca च by अपि. Our author sarcastically remarks by saying that he failed to understand what Visvanātha meant by this.

In showing the characteristics of Vaktrā, which is generally known as Anustubh, our author states some exceptions to the general rule. If the 6th letter be *laghu* in the first and the second quadrants, then the fifth will be *guru*. When the sixth letter is *guru* in an uneven quadrant, that is in the first and the third quadrants, then the seventh letter must be *guru*. But all the rules of Vaktrā are optional.

The author, after giving a classification of prose with illustrations, deals with dramas. Dramas are divided into ten Rūpakas and eighteen Uparūpakas as usual. This is according to the modern writers on Dramaturgy. Kohala says that Brahmā pleased Mahādeva and Pārvatī and obtained from them dramas in two parts known as Mārga and Nāṭya of twenty different varieties. Ten kinds of Nāṭakas are known as Nāṭyas, whereas Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇī, Bhāṇikā, Hāsikā, Dima, Vyāyoginī, Kalā, Utsāhavatī Citrā, Vicitrā, Jugupsitā for ten kinds of Mārgas. Again the Deśyas are sixteen in number; Dattila, Mātaṅga and Kohala by employing their own imagination divided these Deśyas out of the different dramas by permuting different *rasas* and experimenting with different actors. They are known as Saṭṭaka, Troṭaka, Goṣṭhi, Vṛndaka, Śilpaka, Hallīśaka, Ullāsaka, Rāsa, Śrīgadita, Nāṭya, Lāsaka, Prastāva, Lāsikā Saṁlāpaka, Preṁkṣaṇa and Sambhavya. This division is not given by other writers of dramaturgy and so this view of the old school is of great importance.

I have touched only a few important points of this work. The speciality of this work is that it deals exhaustibly with all the sections of Prodosy and with many other subjects such as dramaturgy, division of prose and poetry and also notes the views of the old and new schools of Prosody. It gives us information about many writers and works not yet known to the scholars of the present day. The work is of a unique character and its publication will be of great help to the scholars.

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AN UNPUBLISHED COMMENTARY ON THE *DVĀDAŚA-MANJARIKĀ STOTRA* OF *ŚAṄKARA*

By

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All are agreed that the *Dvādaśamanjarikā Stotra* is a genuine composition of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya. Dr. Belvalkar writes in his *Vedānta Philosophy* (Basu-Mallick Lectures of the Calcutta University, 1929, at pages 221-222) as follows :— "Without arguing the pros and cons of each case we will now enumerate what we regard as very probably the genuine stotras of Śaṅkarācārya:...(16) *Devādaśa Manjarikā* usually known as *Moha-Mudgara* in 12 stanzas beginning with मूढ़ जहीहि धनागमतृष्णाम्. (17) Bhaja Govinda Stotra called the Charpata-pañjarikā Stotra in 17 stanzas." A. B. Keith states: "There is no reason whatever to doubt that he (Adi Śaṅkara) composed such poems" (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, page 216).

This poem is one of the most popular of the poems Adi Śaṅkara composed for the edification of humanity and some of its lines have become household words with the Hindus. To such an important work, Svayamprakāśa Yatī has written a commentary. The professed aim of the commentator is to make the *Dvādaśamajarikā Stotra* as a Prakaraṇa Grantha containing in a brief compass all the essential teachings of Advaita. The extreme simplicity and the most wide popularity of the poem has been evidently responsible for the commentary not having been printed so far.

I have secured 4 manuscripts from which I have arrived at the text. Two Manuscripts belong to the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. A third forms part of the recently acquired manuscript collections of the Madras University. The fourth belongs to the Mysore Government Manuscripts Library. The Mysore Manuscript states that the work was composed by Viśvanātha Paṇḍit but it is the same identical manuscript as the one composed by Svayamprakāśa. There are no manuscripts of this commentary available in Adyar Library at Madras and at the Government Manuscripts Library at Trivandrum and at the Tanjore Palace Library. Hence the 4 manuscripts are the only available manuscripts in the public libraries of South India.

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The author Svayamprakāśa Yati is reputed to have been a Sanyāsin well versed in Vedānta who lived about 200 years ago on the banks of the Cauvery in South India. There are commentaries on the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra* of Ādi Śaṅkara, the *Advaita Makaraada* of Lakṣmīdhara and other minor works from the pen of Svayamprakāśa. Whether the author is one and the same has to be determined and my learned friend Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. of the Madras University has undertaken for me this task in his valuable forword which he has promised for this work.

I shall attempt in this paper to place a few points including specimen extracts from the commentary which is to be published and which should be enjoyed by you as a whole.

Svayamprakāśa Yati is a Rāma Bhakta and has composed good invocatory verses in praise of Rāma in the beginning, in the middle (beginning of Sloka 7) and in the end of his commentary. A brief introduction states that Śaṅkara himself descended as an Avatāra on this earth for the uplift of humanity and wanted to teach Vairagya as Jnāna Sādhana and hence begins the 1st stanza of the Stotra.

Some specimen quotations from the commentary are given below :

(2) अर्थमनर्थं भावय नित्यं नास्ति ततः सुखलेशः सत्यम् ।
पुत्रादपि धनभाजां भीतिः सर्वत्रैषा विहिता रीतिः ॥

Svayamprakāśa after discussion concludes that this sloka teaches अर्थत्याग. His remarks are very illuminating on this vexed question as to the uses or functions of अर्थ.

"ननु कथं विषयेषु दोषदर्शनेन तत्त्यागो घटते । न हि मृगाः सन्तीति शालयो नोप्यन्ते । न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थालयो न अधिश्रीयन्ते । न हि अजीर्णतया आहारपरित्यागः । किं तु दोषमात्रं परित्यज्य गुणग्रहणं संभवति । यथा पलालं परित्यज्य धान्यादिग्रहणं, यथा मत्स्यार्थी शुक्तिशकलादीनि परित्यज्य मत्स्यान् एव गृह्णाति एवं तत्र तत्र विषयेषु दोषान् परित्यज्य विषया एव गृह्यन्तां इति चेत् न । उक्तदृष्टान्तबलेन ग्रहीतुम् अशक्यत्वात् । न हि विषसंपृक्तमधुक्षीरादीनि शिल्पिवरेणापि विभज्य ग्रहीतुं शक्यन्ते ॥"

The above is based on the famous passage in Bhāmatī (Catus-Sūtri) on Śaṅkara's *Brahma Sūtra-Bhāṣya.*

(6) नारीस्तनभरनाभीदेशं दृष्ट्वा मायामोहावेशम् ।
एतन्मांसवसादिविकारं मनसि विचिन्तय वारं वारम् ॥

This sloka is meant to teach Vairāgya and a reference to it again is on a par with the teachings of the रंहतिपाद of the *Brahma Sūtra.* A long discussion is appended in which the place of Janaka and Yājñavalkya in the scheme of Advaita

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Mokṣa is described. Were they realised souls and the compatability of treating the whole world as Brahman and yet of ruling a kingdom is discussed. The grades of Jīvan-Muktas as defined in the *Jīvanmuktaviveka* of Vidyārañya are mentioned.

"सुखतारतम्यं विद्यारण्यैः बहुप्रपञ्चितम् । विस्तरभयाद् अत्र उपरम्यते ।।"

(8) कामं क्रोधं लोभं मोहं त्यक्त्वात्मानं पश्यत सोऽहम् ।
आत्मज्ञानविहीना मूढास्ते पच्यन्ते नरकनिरूढाः ।।

जीव-ब्रह्म-ऐक्यम् is fully explained under this sloka. आत्मज्ञान is described and the intermediate states prior to final absorption in Brahman are treated in great detail—the states of Hiranyagarbhopāsaka, Bhagavadupāsaka and Utkaṭadharmaniṣṭha. A short discussion as in the 4th Chapter of *Brahma Sūtra* is found with the dazzling pūrvapakṣas and the more brilliant Siddhānta. The unity of Śiva and Viṣnu being phases of the same Brahman is discussed.

(12 कुरुते गङ्गासागरगमनं व्रतपरिपालनमथवा दानम् ।
ज्ञानविहीने सर्वमतेन मुक्तिर्भ भवति न जन्मशतेन ।।

In this last śloka, the main sheet-anchor of Advaita that Jñāna alone leads to Mokṣa is explained in detail. कर्म gets चित्त-शुद्धि and upāsana leads to चित्त-एकाग्रयम् and are auxiliary aids to Jñāna. The Samuccaya-vāda as found in the 2nd śloka of Yoga-Vāsiṣtha is discussed and finally explained as laying down the importance of Karma prior to the acquisition of Knowledge.

There is an extra śloka in all the manuscripts and here the author gives the various meanings of the word Śiṣya. In spite of साधनचतुष्टय one often does not get आत्मज्ञान and the same is due to the fact that like भर्तृ of the *Saṁkṣepā Sārīraka* he is व्याकुलचित्त. Finally the reasons as to why the आत्मसाक्षात्कार could not be obtained in other systems like the Cārvāka, Bauddha, etc., are mentioned.

The commentator finally closes with the description of आनन्द of the Jīvanmukta and its different shades.

Without much exaggeration I should state that Svayamprakāśa Yati has attempted to do what Madhusūdana Sarasvatī did for the *Daśa-ślokī* and what Sureśvara did for the *Dākṣiṇāmurtī Stotra*.

The commentator commands a vigorous style and has about 120 quotations and draws largely on the Upaniṣads and especially on *Panca-daśī* and *Jīvanmukta-viveka* of Vidyāraṇya. He styles as Acāryās not merely the Adi Śaṅkara the

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Acārya but also Padma-pāda, Suresvara and the author of the *Samkṣepa Sāriraka.*

The śloka भज गोविन्दम् भज गोविन्दं भज गोविन्दं मूढ़मते has not been commented upon by Svayamprakāśa.

Unanimous is the tradition that the Adi Śaṅkara Bhagavat Pāda composed the Dvādaśamañjarikā Stotra at Benares. I am extremely happy to announce in this holy city that the commentary on the same is to be published.

As mentioned by me previously I have collected all the available manuscript materials available in South India. If you have any manuscripts of 'Svayamprakāśasa' commentary with you or if there are any manuscripts in the libraries here at Benares or Poona or elsewhere I shall consider it an obligation if you intimate to me the same so that I could utilise the same before the commentary is published. If there is any other commentary on *Dvāsaśamañjarikā* or *Mohamudgara* other than the one. by Svayamprakāśa Yati. I request you to enlighten me about the same so that I may publish that commentary also.

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THE DECLARATION OF A ŚARAYANTRĪ

By

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In his lectures on Poetical Training in Ancient Times delivered in Hindi in the Hindustani Academy at Allahabad during the year 1928-29, published later on under the title *Kavirahasya*, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Doctor Sir Gangānātha Jhā has described a "Public Test of Highest Scholarship" that was prevalent in Mithilā till about a hundred and fifty years ago, but which has long since been dead though people of the older generation know it still by name. This test was held at the request of the Scholar himself who on succeeding in the test was said to have "taken up Śarayantra" and the scholar was thenceforth styled a Śarayantrī.

Though this word Śarayantra looks like a pure Sanskrit word, its exact meaning or its origin is shrouded in mystery and no Sanskrit lexicon mentions the word. Sir Monier-Williams has a word Śarayantrak which he explains, on the authority of Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, as the "string on which the palm-leaves of a manuscript are filed." In Mithilā, however, a Paṇḍita even to this day is said, in popular language, to have bound a book or manuscript with string when he knows it by heart and has no need to refer to it. "To take up Śarayantra", therefore, may be symbolical of having bound up all the Mss. with strings when the scholar would claim to know everything contained in all the Sāstras and has no need to look into any book whatsoever. It was, in fact, the claim of highest scholarship.

This interpretation of the term finds support from or is rather based upon what the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Doctor Sir Gangānātha Jhā says in the "Kavirahasya" (pp. 73-74). Let me give here the translation of the relevant portion of the book which is so very interesting:—

"The system of public test of scholarship was prevalent in Mithilā up to 150 or 200 years ago. Whenever a scholar got renown and rich rewards in foreign lands and came back home, he used to declare thus to the people of his own land, if he thought himself equal to the task. "I have come home back from foreign lands laden with glory and renown, but of what use is that damned glory which a scholar receives in a

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foreign land which neither his foes can see nor his friends enjoy? I am, therefore, very solicitous of winning glory in my own land. The highest glory of scholarship in Mithilā has ever been of Śarayantra. It is my great wish that this test should be held in my case."

"The method of the test was like this. First of all, the scholars all over the country used to ask the most abstruse questions not in any one Śāstra but in all the Śāstras. All the questions must be properly answered in the assembly to the satisfaction of all present. When the scholars were thus satisfied, the public used to put questions. Anybody was entitled to put any question he liked. Everybody must be answered and answered to the satisfaction of all present. When every one present was thus satisfied, then only the honour of a Śarayantrī was conferred upon him. What this term Śarayantra really connotes is not known, but this custom is still known by its name."

It is, however, clear that the above description is based on tradition and that the late M.M. Sir Gangānātha Jhā had no document bearing on the subject before him when he wrote these lines. But only recently I chanced to find a piece of old paper written on both the sides in excellent Tirhutā (Maithilī) characters, in a bundle of paper mss. in the possession of Babu Ganeśa Jhā of the eastern part of my village of Ujān in the district of Darbhanga. There are eleven lines on the first page and four overleaf and the writing appears more than a hundred years old, though there is no mention to its writer or his date. Let me reproduce it here with an English translation of the same.

1 इयमान्वीक्षिकी विद्या दक्षिणामर्त्तेः प्रसादान्महामहोपाध्याय गोंढ़ि शर्म्मणा अलम्भि-
2 तत्रातुलं सुखमनुभवन्ती सा तच्छिष्यम्महामहोपाध्यायमाधवशर्म्माणमाश्रितवती बहुकालमब्यग्रै-
3 व व्यतिष्ठत माधवशर्म्मणाच नामतश्चार्थतश्च स्वसदृशेषु शिष्येषु महामहोपाध्याड़िआमा-
4 धवमिश्रेषु सर्म्पिता तच्छिष्येण महामहोपाध्याय शङ्करशर्मणा यज्ञपत्युपाध्याये सर्म्पि-
5 ता तेन च महामहोपाध्याय परशुरामशर्म्मशु स्थापिता ततोऽपि महामहोपाध्याय वाम-
6 देवशर्मणा शिष्येण समासादिता ततोपि विद्यानिधि-पदाङ्कितेन माध्यन्दिनमूर्द्धन्ये-
7 न महामहोपाध्याय पीताम्बरशर्म्मणा प्राप्ता तेनापीयमान्वीक्षिकी तेषु महामहोपाध्या-
8 य गोकुलनाथशर्म्मसु स्थापिता येहि सकलसिद्धान्तय्युंक्त्या खण्डयतशिरोमणेर्म्मानिमपने-
9 तुं सिद्धान्ततत्त्वप्रभृतीन् न्यायनिबन्धान् बहुशः प्रणीतवन्तः सर्व्वसिद्धान्तदीक्षा-गुरवोभूमौ व्य-
10 राजन् ततोपि महामहोताध्याय जगन्नाथद्वितीयेन जगन्नाथशर्म्मणा समासादिता तत-
11 श्च महामहोपाध्याय वंशधरशर्म्मणाऽलम्भि ततोपि दानसन्तानविनिर्जितकण्णेन महाम-

Overleaf :

1 होपाध्यायेन श्री रघुनाथशर्म्मणा प्राप्ता इत्थम्परम्परायाताः सर्व्वे गुरवो गृहीत-
2 शरयन्त्राः प्रसिद्धनामान एव तेषाम्परोक्षेपि मादृशा यद्यप्यत्र शरयन्त्र-

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3 कर्म्मणि न थोगयस्तथापि अमुंकाद्य (त्म ?) मया शरयन्त्रग्रहणङ्क्रियते तत्र तेषांविद्यमा-
4 नसज्जनानाञ्चानुग्रह एव शरणमिति शुभम्भयात्

महामहोपाध्याय
दत्तशर्म्मण इय (यं ?)
(वि ?) म्विज्ञप्तिः

Translation :—This learning of Logic was revealed to Mahāmahopādhyāya Gonrhi Śarmmā by the grace of Dakṣiṇāmūrti and She, the Lady Logic, while remaining there in utmost felicity, betook herself to his disciple M.M. Mādhava Śarmmā with whom she abode undisturbed for long. Mādhava Śarmmā made her over to his disciple, the revered M.M. Ariā Mādhava Miśra, who was exactly like himself not only in name but also in the true signification of the term. His disciple M.M. Śaṅkara Śarmmā made her over to Yajñapati Upādhyāya who saw her settled with the revered M.M. Paraśurāma Śarmmā. From him his disciple, M.M. Vāmadeva Śarmmā got her, from whom also she was received by M.M. Pītāmbara Śarmmā who was called Vidyānidhi, "Ocean of Learning", and who was indeed the Head of all the Mādhyandinas. From there this Lady Logic was lodged with that revered M.M. Gokulanātha Śarmmā, who to discredit Śiromaṇi, refuting with right reasoning all the previous conclusions, composed many theses on Nyāya, such as Siddhāntatattva, and who flourished on this earth with the reputation of being "the Master for the Teaching of All Right Conclusions." From him She was received by M.M. Jagannātha Śarmmā, who was the second Jagannātha and M.M. Vaṁśadhara Śarmmā got her from him. It was from him that M.M. Raghunātha Śarmmā received her—Shree (Glorious) Raghunātha, who by his series of Dānas (gifts) threw into shade the glory of Karṇa. This is a list of famous names, names of a succession of famous men who were all Masters and who had all taken up Śarayantra. Even when they are no more, persons like myself are not fit to take up Śarayantra. Nevertheless I do take up Śarayantra on this particular day and in this I rely on the blessings of those (departed souls) and the good wishes of all those who are present on the occasion. May success follow.

A perusal of this piece will show that this is the text of the (Vijñapti) declaration made by one M.M. Datta Śarmmā at the time of taking up Śarayantra, but the most important point is missing from this copy, namely, the date of that public test, the date on which M.M. Datta Śarmmā took up Śarayantra. The words in the text are अमुकाद्य "today *on this particular day*" and the particular date must have been spoken out there in the Assembly by M.M. Datta Śarmmā at the commencement

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of the proceedings. It is, therefore, only a copy of the original declaration as prepared by M.M. Datta Sarmmā. To arrive at any conclusion regarding the date of the public test in which this declaration was made, we must look into the declaration itself and rely upon the internal evidence furnished by the names, many of which are, indeed, very famous.

There are, however, three or four points in this brief declaration that deserve our notice before any attempt is made to identify the Paṇḍitas mentioned in the list.

First of all, we have here before us a long line of Gurus, Masters, who imparted instructions in Ānvikṣikī Vidyā, by which is meant clearly the Nyāya Darśana, for which Mithilā has been famous since the days of Gautama. There are twelve names in the declaration, the 13th being M.M. Datta Śarmmā himself, and each succeeding Paṇḍita is said here to have received the Vidyā from the preceding one. Though it is not clear from the text if M.M. Datta received the learning of Nyāya from M.M. Raghunātha yet it could not have been otherwise as M.M. Datta was the son of M.M. Raghunātha, which I will show later on and as such could not have gone to others for learning. It is well-known that in old India, a कुल (line) was by birth and also by learning, i.e., teaching (विद्या) and here we have one, only one वंश, the family-tree of a line of गुरु's (Masters), of mediaeval Mithilā, which is said to have originated with Mahāmahopādhyāya Gonrhi Śarmmā and to which the famous Mahāmahopādhyāya Gokulanātha had the honour to belong. A Paṇḍita can have a student learned enough to take up Śarayantra generally after 20-25 years after himself, and judged from this standard the period covered by this line of Masters may safely be taken to be 250-300 years.

Secondly, the terms in which the thirteenth descendant of this family, M.M. Datta Śarmmā, eulogises his ancestors deserve our consideration. They were all Masters, famous Masters all of them and every one of them had taken up Śarayantra, says M.M. Datta. Nevertheless there are clear indications in the description of the Masters to show that all of them were not equally respectable or at least, did not command the same respect of the posterity. Of the 12 names as many as seven have adjective clauses to describe them and they are गुरु's—Masters Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10 and 12. Then there are three names of Masters Nos. 3, 6 and 9 which are used in the plural number, perhaps, to show special reverence to them. There are likewise three names of Masters Nos. 4, 7 and 11 that have the bare title of Mahāmanopādhyāya. Lastly there

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is only one name, that of Master No. 5, which is used without any adjective whatsoever.

I shall have occasion to refer to all these adjectives when I attempt to identify them, but to me one thing seems clear from this declaration. Human nature is uniform both in space and time and it is not unreasonable to suppose that all these twelve Masters were not all of the same calibre, of the same eminence, of the same veneration, and though all of them had taken up Śarayantra in a formal assembly called for the purpose, the function itself could not have evoked the same interest, the same enthusiasm, the same spirit of rivalry in all the cases. A venerable old Paṇḍita with his students, students' students, and perhaps their students too, renowned, would not have been asked anything inconvenient and the whole function would have been what we would call only a tame affair, while a still-rising, self-confident young Paṇḍita declaring to take up Śarayantra in the flush of glory won in foreign lands, must have created a stir in the Paṇḍita-land of Mithilā and scholars, mostly the contemporaries of the Śarayantrī, must have mustered strong in the assembly with their questions. Is it, therefore, improper to read in this Vijñapti (declaration) a distinction of some such sort in the different sets of words used with the different Masters?

Thirdly, the interesting account of the origin of this family arrests our attention. It is here claimed that the knowledge of Nyāya-Śāstra was revealed to Gonrhi Śarmmā by the grace of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, as a fruit of whose devotions extraordinary powers of expounding the Śāstras are promised in the Tantras. It is suggested thereby that Gonrhi Śarmmā did not owe his eminence to any Master, but who, nevertheless, challenged a public test and having silenced all took up Śarayantra. This knowledge, moreover, is personified throughout and is said to descend from the Guru (Master) to one of his many disciples, who perhaps with the devotions of Dakṣiṇāmūrti continued unimpaired, inherited the knowledge, Vidyā, kept up the tradition set up by the Guru, Master, and took up Śarayantra. For twelve generations the Vidyā thus resides in the family and the 13th descendant from that self-made devotee Naiyāyika Gonrhi Śarmā, claims in this declaration to be the present possessor of that Vidyā, to be the greatest Naiyāyika of his time as his predecessors were in theirs.

This takes us to the main problem of the identification of the Masters of this school, but this is beset with difficulties. All these are very common names and there is hardly any

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family of Maithila Brāhmaṇas which has not produced one or more persons of these names. Had the family to which each of these Masters belonged been indicated or even the names of their fathers given, it would have been possible to identify them correctly, but in the absence of all that, one has to depend entirely on the chronology given here and just make an attempt.

Of the thirteen names given here there is, however, one name,—only one—which any educated Maithila can identify at once and that is the name of Gokulanātha who belonged to the famous Fanandah family of the Maithila Brāhmaṇas and was an inhabitant of the celebrated village of Mangarauni near Madhubani in the district of Darbhanga. This is the only light with the help of which one must try to reconstruct the history presented in this declaration. In one of his many works, Ekāvalī, (Ms. Darbhanga Raj Library) Gokulanātha says that it was composed for King Fateh Śāh, who can be identified with the famous Fateh Śāh of Garhwāl, a contemporary of Aurangzeb and who is said to have died in 1699 (Imperial Gazetteer, 1908 Edn. Vol. XI, pp. 212). Tradition places him in the reign of Mahārāja Rāghava Singh Bahādur who ruled over Mithilā from 1700 to 1739 A.D. I have, therefore, assumed, that M.M. Gokulanātha took up Śarayantra in the year 1700 on his return from Garhwal after the passing away of his great patron. Having thus fixed the date of the 9th Master of this school, if we go back to each preceding Master, we find that the Founder of this family must have flourished almost 200 years before Gokulanātha. This takes us to the days when the reins of the Government of Mithilā had not yet passed into the hands of M.M. Mahārāja Maheśa Thākur, the founder of the present Darbhanga Rāj, but when Mithilā was still ruled over by the kings of the Oinavāra family, the descendants of Siddha Kāmeśwara.

Master I: M.M. Gonrhi Miśra (1490 A.D.)

Fortunately there is in the Raj Darbhanga Library an old palm-leaf ms. which is also noticed on pp. 453-454 of the first volume of the Descriptive Catalogue of Mithilā Mss. This is a copy of Śūdrācāra (The Daily Duties of Śūdra) by M.M. Gonrhi Śarmmā, who is called here a Miśra. In the long introduction to this work, the author praises very highly one Vāsudeva, very learned and very liberal, son of Ravikara, and he calls him, "the gem to adorn the head of the land of Mithilā" but he was not a king. It was under orders of this Vāsudeva, who was perhaps a Śūdra, that Goṇrhi Miśra composed his

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Śūdrācāra. About himself, however, he says very little except that he "vanquished in the Court of King Rāmabhadra renowned scholars—योऽजैषीन्नृपरामभद्रसदसि प्रख्यातसंख्यावतः are his exact words. Now Mahārāja Rāmabhadra with the Viruda (title) Rūpanārāyaṇa was the last but one king of the Oinavāra family, son of the famous king Mahārāja Bhairava Singh Harinārāyaṇa (S. N. Singh—*History of Tirhut*, pp. 78-79) Rāmabhadra himself was a celebrated scholar and in his court there were such renowned scholars as Vācaspati and Varddhamāna, though both of them were very old by that time. If it was the court of this king Rāmabhadra that the author of Sūdrācāra did vanquish, then really he must have been a gifted scholar, a man blessed with invincible divine powers. Here the story related in the Declaration fits in exactly. No wonder Gonrhi Miśra did create a school of his own towards the close of the 15th century and the 9th Master of that School, 9th in the descent from him, comes forward to challenge the scholars of Mithilā in, say, about 1700 A.D. I therefore identify the founder of this school, with the author of Sūdrācāra and the victor of the court of the scholar king, Rāmbhadra.

MASTERS II AND III: M.M. MĀDHAVA ŚARMMĀ (1520 A.D.,) M.M. ARIĀ MĀDHAVA MIŚRA (1570 A.D.)

The next two names are the same and it is one of the commonest names. There is nothing to distinguish them except that with the first the Lady Logic is said to have lived long and the second is used in the reverential plural with the family title, Miśra, and is given another title Ariā which does not seem to be a Sanskrit but only a vernacular term. The real significance of this is not clear to me but I take it to be a variant of or at least in some way connected with Alayī which is the name of an important family of Maithilā Brāhmaṇas and to which family the second Mādhava might have belonged. It is therefore purposely prefixed here to his name to distinguish him from his Master who also bore the same name.

Now as many as three Mādhavas are known to me in their works. First of all is the author of Divyadīpikā (Raj Darbhanga Library Ms., Noticed in the first volume of the Mithilā Mss., pp. 225-226, No. 208 and 209) who was the son of M.M. Khāntara Miśra. There is another palm-leaf ms. in the Darbhanga Raj Library called Pratyakṣālokadīpikā by Mādhava where also the same Khāntara with his three brothers Dinakara, Śrīkara and Śrīhari are eulogised. Both these Dīpikās, therefore, may be taken to be the works of the same Mādhava, Mādhava Miśra.

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There is another ms. in the Raj Library, Adbhutadarpaṇa by name, which also is a work of Mādhava but this Mādhava calls himself the son of Raghunātha of the Budhabāla family and mentions Matinātha as his elder and M.M. Govinda as his younger brother.

There is yet another Mādhava with the surname Miśra, who in the opening verses of his Bhedadīpikā (R. L. Mitra, V. pp. 194 No. 1879) calls himself the son of Gadādhara and Śrīmatī.

There is still one more Ms. in the Darbhanga Raj Library called Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī, which is also by Mādhava, but here the author does not say anything about himself and hence it is impossible to identify him with any one of the three Mādhavas described above.

In this state of things I find myself unable to identify these two masters with any of these authors. I have only assigned a period of fifty years to the first Mādhava, the Master No. II, during which Lady Logic resided with him.

Master IV : M.M. Śaṅkara Śarmmā (1590 A.D.)

The next name Śaṅkara is equally, if not more, common and many Śaṅkaras are mentioned in the History of Dharmaśāstras by M.M. Kāne. At least three of them are quite well-known to me. First of all, there is the famous Śaṅkara, called Sanmiśra, the son of Ayāchee Bhavanātha Miśra and the author of Kaṇādasūtropaskāra, Vādivinoda, Gauri-Digambara-Prahasana etc. But he belonged to a generation or two older than even the founder of this school. Then there is another Śaṅkara, called Śaṅkara Jhā or Ojhā, the author of Smṛti-Sudhākara, of the family of Kuñjapallī, which is popularly known as Kujaulī. He mentions one Bhagīratha as his Master, and praises at length in the beginning of his work Emperor Akbar and Raja Todaramall. He must therefore be taken to be the disciple of the renowned author of the Jalada-Commentary on Udayanācārya's *Kusumāñjali*, the elder brother of the founder of the Darbhanga Raj M.M. Bhagīrath Thākur, who was also called Megha Thākur and a contemporary of Akbar. There is yet another Śaṅkara called Abhinava-Paṇḍita-Rāja who was the son of Paṇḍita-Rāja Raghunandana of the family of Baliāsa, the celebrated student of M.M. Maharaja Maheśa Thākur who accompanied him to Delhi and there helped his Master in getting the Raj of Tirhut. This Śaṅkara also must have been a contemporary of Emperor Akbar. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to say, without further light on the subject, if our Master IV M.M. Śaṅkara Śarmā is the one or the other of the last two

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Śaṅkaras or he is some other Sankara not yet known to me, but if he is either of the last two described above, then the date assigned to him is quite reasonable.

MASTER V: YAJÑAPATI UPĀDHYĀYA (1610 A.D.)

This is the only name in this list of 13 Masters which is not mentioned here with any title, not even the customary title of Mahāmahopādhyāya though as a Śarayatnrī he must be assumed to have been a M.M. also. But to me the reason of this omission is clear. Yajñapati is a very famous name in the annals of Nyāya Darśana. Śiromaṇi in his *Chintāmaṇi-Dīdhiti* quotes Yajñapati by name. There is in the Darbhanga Raj Library a very old ms. on palm-leaves which is a commentary called Prabhā on Gaṅgeśa's Chintāmaṇi and is the work of Yajñapati, son of Śivapati of the famous family of Māṇḍara. Śiromaṇi evidently quotes this Yajñapati who therefore must be taken to have flourished even before the founder of this school and hence cannot be our Master V. To avoid, therefore, any chance of mistaking our Yajñapati with the author of Prabhā, the older M.M. Yajñapati, he is mentioned here simply by name without even the customary title of M.M., the title Upādhyāya added to his name being only his surname. Nothing can therefore be said definitely of him.

MASTER VI: M.M. PARAŚURĀMA ŚARMĀ (1630 A.D.)

There is absolutely no data to identify the 6th Master of this school who is mentioned here in the plural number to suggest perhaps the old age to which he attained and the great veneration in which he was held.

MASTER VII: M.M. VĀMADEVA ŚARMMĀ (1660 A.D.)

His is a famous name. He belonged to the family of Sarisaba and was the son of M.M. Rucinātha. He was, moreover, the daughter's son of Vaidika Viśvambhara and daughter's daughter's son of M.M. Dāmodara Thākur, the elder brother of the founder of the Darbhanga Raj. Three of his works are known to me. They are (i) *Vaiśeṣika-Rahasya*, (ii) *Smṛti-dīpikā* and (iii) *Āhnika*. The last named work was written for the sake of Lālā Thākur who was the grandson of M.M. Mahārāja Śubhaṅkara Thākur who died in 1617 A.D. It was the great grandson of this Lālā Thākur who in 1785, became the Mithileśa as Mahārāja Mādhava Singh Bahādur. The date therefore assigned to him in this chronology, i.e. 1660 A.D., fits in exactly with the history of the Khaṇḍavalā family of Darbhanga Rāj also.

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MASTER VIII : M.M. PĪTĀMBARA ŚARMĀ VIDYĀNIDHI (1680 A.D.)

With this 8th Master of this school I seem to have come on surer grounds and the light here becomes sufficiently clear to identify with precision all the remaining six masters all at once. With this Vidyānidhi at its head, all the remaining five Masters of this school form not only one family by Vidyā (learning) alone, but by birth also and this declaration turns out to be the glorious page from the history of the Fanandaha family which dominated, ruled over, and shaped the intellectual life of Mithilā for more than a hundred years. I cannot do better than reproduce here the relevant portion of the genealogical table of the Fananadahas from which all these six Masters including the maker of this declaration will appear clearly to have been born in almost a single family. I have said almost because of the Master XI Vaṁśadhara who was Vidyānidhi's daughter's son and therefore of a different, Darihарā, family.

Rāmabhadra

- M. M. Madhusūdana
- *M.M. Pītāmbara Vidyānidhi* Master VIII
  - Abilamba-Saraswatī Maho. Trilochan
  - Sadupadhyāya Daṇḍapaṇi
  - *M.M. Gokulanātha Upādhyāya* Master IX
    - Sarvasvadātā *M.M. Raghunātha* Master XII
      - M.M. Jayakṛṣṇa
      - *M.M. Dattā* or Viṣṇudatta maker of the declaration
      - M.M. Bhavāninātha
    - M.M. Lakṣmīnātha
  - *M.M. Jagannātha* Master X
    - Daughter m. Chaturbhuja (Darihāra)
      - M.M. Theghoo or *Vaṁśadhara* Master XI
- Maho. Umānanda
- Maho. Bāgīśa
- Sanyasi M.M. Ratīśa

It is not my purpose to extol in this paper the glories of the Masters of the Fanandaha Family, nor to write here a history of the Fanandahas. Only the life and times of the third son of Vidyānidhi, M.M. Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, will require more than one such paper to do justice to it. There is no longer the problem of identification; the point fixed has been reached and the age of the remaining masters can very

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well be fixed. Let us now read therefore the declaration itself and see what virtues, excellences and exploits, the humble maker of this declaration claims for his father, grand-father and great-grand-father.

M.M. Pitāmbara has been called in the declaration "*Vidyānidhi-Padāṅkita*" (marked, decorated, with the title "Ocean of Learning"). It is exactly the phrase in the Maithilā Pañjī also. It seems, therefore, to have been the title by which he was known all over the country in his own days as Bhavanātha was known as Ayāchī and Jayadeva as Pakṣadhara even during their life times. Very possibly he was "decorated" with this title by the Assembly called to test him in Śarayantra. Anyway, the title shows the high position held by him in the realm of scholarship.

The other title, however, by which Pītāmbara has been distinguished, *Mādhyandina-Mūrdhanya*, is a new one. It means, "Head of the Mādhyandiṇas" who are popularly known as Vājasaneyins, followers of the Mādhyandina Śākhā of Śukla Yajurveda. I have not come across any scholar distinguished with this or a similar title. I therefore suppose that this phrase was coined by M.M. Datta Jha himself. The implications however are clear. Vidyānidhi is declared to have been the most orthodox follower of the Vedic Śākhā that he professed, the truest Brāhmaṇa of his times. This stress on Vedic learning is meant perhaps to distinguish him from his renowned son who is known all over Mithilā to have had Tāntrika leanings, though the declaration is silent about it.

Master IX: M.M. Gokulanātha Upādhyāya

Even if Vidyānidhi was great as an "Ocean of learning" or as an orthodox Brāhmaṇa, he was greater for being the father of four such renowned sons, chiefly the ninth Master of the school of Gonrhi Miśra, still known all over Mithilā as Gokulanātha Upādhyāya. Lady Logic, without the appellation "Vidyā", is introduced in a new sentence, as if anew, to Gokulanātha by his own father and there is no other title to this Master except the customary Mahāmahopādhyāya and the reverential plural. Then follows a long description of the life's work of that great *savant* which is said here to have been threefold, namely,

(i) to discredit Śiromaṇi and with that end in view,
(ii) to compose a large number of theses chiefly on Nyāya, and
(iii) to teach as a true Master,

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The first of these is mentioned so very clearly and unambiguously in the declaration that it seems to have been the one aim of the Master's life, indeed, the principle upon which the school was founded ; and this reminds us of the story, so often told, of Jayadeva called Pakṣadhara, the Master and Raghunātha, called Śiromaṇi, the pupil. The pupil is said to have openly challenged the Master as a consequence of which he was driven away from Mithilā, but he seems to have carried away with himself the leadership in the speculations of Nyāya from Mithilā to Nuddeā where he refuted with force, in his commentary called Dīdhiti on Gaṅgeśa's *Chintāmaṇi* many of the conclusions of his Maithila Guru, Jayadeva, contained in the Āloka. This commentary Dīdhiti became in course of time so very popular and tended to supplant all the older works on Nyāya so very completely, that it became later on the life's work of not a single school but of many schools of Maithilā Naiyāyikās to refute the objections raised by Śiromaṇi. Side by side with this school of Gonrhi Miśra at least in its early stages, there was the school of the Ghusotaya-Thākurs of whom M.M. Madhusūdana composed his different *Kaṇṭakoddhāras*. But all was of no avail and within less than 200 years from the date of this declaration, no student of Nyāya in Mithilā is seen taught either Āloka or Darpaṇa much less the highly-praised Siddhānta-Tattva but only Dīdhiti with the various other commentaries Jāgadīśi, Māthurī, Gādādharī, etc. Nevertheless we have here in this declaration a clear hint as to the motive with which these old Masters worked during their days. Very possibly the school founded by Gonrhi Miśra, who was evidently a contemporary of Śiromaṇi, became the training ground in Mithilā for young Naiyāyikas in the art of refuting the arguments and conclusions of Dīdhiti, and it can very well be supposed that in his many theses M.M. Gokulanātha embodied the essence of all the speculations in the realm of Nyāya carried out during the previous two hundred years by all the eight Masters of Gonrhi Miśra's school, perfected and embellished by himself, the ninth Master.

This brings us to the many theses that Gokulanātha composed and they are so widely known that we need not pause here to describe them. His grandson, M.M. Datta Jhā, the maker of this declaration, names *Siddhāntatattva* as his magnum opus which is perhaps the same as *Siddhāntatattva-Viveka* (Aufrecht, II. 172 and R. L. Mitra, V. 201) or *Nyāyasiddhāntatattva* (Aufrecht, I. 158). Gokulanātha, however, was a most prolific writer and composed works,—and learned works they all are said to be—on almost every subject such as "Nyāya,

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Vedānta, Literature, Poetry, Astrology and Rituals, so much so that there is a work of his called Pārasīprakāśa in which the Sanskrit equivalents of Persian words are given" (*Kavirahasya*, p. 74).

But more than anything else, Gokulanātha was famous as a Master and indeed in his days, his native home in the celebrated village of Maṅgarouni near Madhubani had veritably become in Mithilā the place of pilgrimage for all seekers of knowledge in all its branches, a University of the modern days, as Nuddeā was in Bengal or the holy city of Kaśī of eternal fame. All the famous scholars of those days had sat at his feet and even today there will be few Paṇḍitas, very few indeed, who, when they trace their descent-by-learning, do not betray their origin to Gokulanātha Upādhyāya.

The Śarayantra Test of Gokulanātha Upādhyāya has been very vividly described in the *Kavirahasya* on page 74. Tradition in Mithilā points him out as the last Śarayantrī, the last scholar of Mithilā, who was actually tested by the public. In the declaration on the other hand three more Śarayantrīṣ are described and the fourth is the maker of the declaration himself, an aspirant for that honour, who though fourth in descent-by-learning was only the grandson of Gokulanātha. Both can, however, be reconciled by taking the later Śarayantra Tests to have been held in the learned assemblies of Paṇḍitas in which the public took little or no interest. Anyway, the declaration is clear as to how the Guruship of this school descended from one master to the other for almost a hundred years after the passing away of Gokulanātha and all these Gurus, Masters, must be regarded as the leading Naiyāyikas of their days, if not the greatest in the whole of Mithilā.

It may be observed here that in the declaration one long and independent sentence has been given to describe Gokulanātha who is said to have "flourished" on this earth. Is it a hint from M.M. Datta to regard his grandfather as *the Master* among all the 13 masters of that school? Indeed, he is one of the proudest names in the annals of Maithila scholarship.

Master X: M.M. Jagannātha Śarmā

The Great Master is very possibly denied a long life. He does not live long enough to train his own son but he is survived by his younger brother whom he could train and polish, M.M. Jagannātha Śarmā, the 10th Guru of this school who is said in the declaration to have received Vidyā (Knowledge) from Gokulanātha. This Jagannātha must have been a scholar

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of very high eminence, a really talented teacher to have kept up the tradition of the Great Master unimpaired, a worthly successor of the Great Master, because Maṅgarauni still continues to be a University. The school of Gonrhi Miśra does not pass away, does not even fade in glory with the passing away of the Great Master. Pupils are still trained here to celebrity; important works are still being composed here, and what appears more clearly in the next generation, this holy place, now almost a permanent resort of Vidyā, knowledge, attracts, Śrī (श्री) Grandeur, also. Really, Maṅgarounī has witnessed feats too kingly even for the Kings. But of this with the 12th Master.

Only one work of Jagannātha is known, a drama Atandracandrikā, which is said to have been composed for Raja Fateh Sāh, (Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 196) indeed the same Fateh Śāh of Garhwal who patronised Gokulanātha also. So Jagannātha seems to have accompanied the great Master during his sojourn at Garhwal where he is said to have composed seven of his works of which Ekāvalī is only one. No other work of Jagannātha, however, is known.

In the declaration Jagannātha has been called the second Jagannātha. This is perhaps suggestive of the sanctity attaching to his name on account of the holiness of his life, the great veneration in which he was held all over the land by all, equally for his deep learning as for his noble living.

Master XI: M.M. Vaṁśadhara Śarmā

M.M. Jagannātha must have lived long to have succeeded to the Guruship on the passing away of his elder brother and then to have trained to such perfection our next Master M.M. Vaṁśadhara. His is a famous name. Aufrecht, I. 547) mentions three of his works of which Nyāyatattvaparīkṣā (R. L. Mitra, V. 193) contains in the two introductory verses very valuable information which tallies exactly with the story told by this declaration. Here Vaṁśadhara states to have begun learning Nyāya from Sūri (Sage) Gokulanātha which he perfected with his younger brother Jagannātha and both of them he calls his maternal uncles, *Mātulat* (from my maternal uncle) is his exact word. This Ms. was copied in 1187 fasli equivalent to 1780 A.D. The other work Vidhivāda (R. L. Mitra, No. 2362, Vol. VII, p. 132) does not throw any light on the subject.

M.M. Vaṁśadhara, who was also called Theghoo, appears from the Maithil Pañjīs to have been the son of Caturbhuja

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of Darihara family, and daughter's son of M.M. Pītāmbara Vidyānidhi. His family surname therefore must have been Upādhyāya or simply Jhā and the title Miśra added to his name by Aufrecht is perhaps reminiscent of his renown as a Vedāntin, because only the masters of both the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṅsās were called Miśras in Mithila originally. However, from the Pañjīs we gather that Vaṁśadhara had three sons, Citradhara, Dharaṇīdhara and Rudradhara and a daughter's son, Acala of the Budhabāla family and all four of them are styled Mahāmahopādhyāyas.

Master XII: M.M. Raghunātha Śarmā

M.M. Vaṁśadhara is said in the declaration to have imparted Vidyā, knowledge, to the son of Gokulanātha, our twelfth Master, who happens to be not only the father but also the Guru of the maker of this declaration. There is the word "Śrī" prefixed to his name. This may be taken to mean that Raghunātha was alive when his son challenged to take up Śarayantra as in Mithila it is a custom to use "Śrī" with persons alive. But this is improbable in face of the clear words of the declaration that the old Masters are no more. Thus it may have been used to suggest the kingly disposition of Raghunātha, the grandeur of his life.

But it is the other adjective clause that is significant and shows him a prince among scholars. Here Raghunātha is said to have "thrown into shade the glory of Karṇa by his series of Dānas, gifts." Maithil Pañjīs style him a *Sarvasva-dātā*" maker of the gift of his all.". Tradition says that Raghunātha made "the gift of his all" not only once but thrice and this finds support from the phrase "*Dāna-Santāna*" ("series of Dānas") of the declaration. It is said that after performing the Dāna every time in a right royal fashion, Raghunātha left his native land, toured all over the country and by virtue of his noble birth and vast scholarship, plain living and high thinking, integrity of character and exemplary manners, he found patrons everywhere whom his fame, travelling before him, had captivated and who felt proud to confer riches upon him, which all he took to his native village of Maṅgarauni to give away in the strict *śāstric* manner. What a kingly disposition! What a clear realisation of the vanity of human possessions! What a love of one's birth place! This is why I have stated earlier that Maṅgarauni is justly proud of having witnessed such princely acts of charity as may perhaps be considered 'too kingly even for the kings.'

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Master XIII : M.M. Datta Sarmā

M.M. Raghunātha had three sons, all of them Mahāmahopādhyāyas and evidently, the second of them, M.M. Datta Śarmā, was the most outstanding of all to have been nominated the Master of the school by their father who must have been their Master also, but which is not mentioned clearly in the declaration. This thirteenth Master of Gonrhi Miśra's school and 6th since the days when it was established permanently at Maṅgaraunī is an aspirant for the honour of a "Śarayantrī" and makes the declaration which is the subject of our present study.

The terms in which M.M. Datta Jhā, for so he must have been called, speaks of himself are full of humility. Even in the absence of the Masters of by-gone days, he, coming after so very many intellectual giants, feels himself too low to aspire for an honour so very much coveted by the Gurus of yore. He does not find himself equal to the task. But he must keep us the tradition of the school, must maintain the tradition of the family, must prove himself worthy of the rich legacy left to him and challenge the Paṇḍita-land of Mithilā as the greatest Naiyāyika of his time as his predecessors had done in theirs. There can absolutely be no doubt that M.M. Datta Śarmā came out successful in the Test and was declared a "Śarayantrī", perhaps the last Śarayantrī, not only of the school of Gonrhi Miśra but of the whole Mithilā.

There remains now only the date of this declaration to fix, but it is not difficult to fix the dates of the Masters coming after Gokulanātha. This declaration was made by the grandson of the Great Master, who was, however, fourth in descent-by-learning from him. It cannot, therefore, be too wide of the mark if we take 80 years to have intervened between the Śarayantra Test of Gokulanātha and the making of this declaration. It is valuable to note in this connection that though M.M. Datta Jha did not leave behind any issue, his younger brother M.M. Bhavānīnātha has his great-great-grand children flourishing at the present day. This supports the date assumed for the declaration.

This is the Vijñapti of a Śarayantrī which we have read and this is the story in brief this declaration unfolds to us, which is corroborated in almost every detail from entirely different and independent sources. There are points which are not clear and require more light. But even as it is, it is a glorious page from the history of Mithilā, not the legendary

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history of the prehistoric days but the true story of the Paṇḍita-land of Mithilā only two hundred years ago. And when we remember that it was not the only school of its kind, nor the most renowned, nor even the oldest, we are really filled with pride at the heights of eminence reached by these Maithilas in the realm of Vidyā, Knowledge or scholarship. What a strange contrast, it is nothing short of irony of Fate,—that the descendants of this race of scholars should have no place left to them even in their own home, that Mithilā, Maithila or Maithilī should not be recognised as such in the Province of Bihar.

P.S.—Since I submitted this Paper, I have come across another copy of the same Declaration in exactly the same words from the possession of one Pandit Modānand Jhā, a celebrated Pañjīkār, of Shivanagar in the district of Purnea. This lends support to my view, not then elaborated in my paper, that this was perhaps circulated by M.M. Datta Jhā, the would-be Śarayantrī, among all the renowned scholars of his day to apprise them of his intention to take up Śarayantra on that particular day.

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DHANAÑJAYAAND ABHINAVAGUPTA ON ŚĀNTA RASA[1]

By

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Dhanañjaya and Abhinavagupta were contemporariesl. The former was older. He, therefore, did not come under the influence of the latter. He partly followed Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. But Abhinava is an avowed opponent of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. They differ on many fundamental points. The difference is particularly pronounced on the Number of Rasas. The former holds that there are only eight Rasas and denies the existence of Śānta in drama. But the latter takes great pain to establish the existence and presentability of Śānta in Drama.

The views on Śānta known to Dhanañjaya and his brother Dhanika:

(A) REJECTION OF ŚAMA AS STHĀYIN.

1. Some reject Śānta Rasa, for the simple reason that Bharata has neither defined it nor has he stated the situation (Vibhāva), etc., in the context of which it is to be presented.

2. Others reject it on the ground that the Śama, which is supposed to be its basic mental state (Sthāyin) and which consists in the total uprooting of the beginningless desire and aversion, is impossible, because its condition, the absence of desire and aversion is impossible.

3. Still others included it in either Vīra or Bībhutsa etc. These three views are only summarily stated: they are not criticised. According to Dhanika and his brother, even if Śama be accepted to be independent basic mental state it does not admit of presentation in drama. For, it consists in the absence of actions of all types. How can then such a state of mind be presented in the drama the distinguishing feature of which is the presentation of action? Further, Rasa is nothing but a Sthāyin developed to its highest pitch. Such a state of Śama is naturally characterised by absence of pleasure, pain, anxiety, desire and eversion and coincides with the final emancipation. And because the final emancipation is nothing but

1. Summary of the original paper.

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self-realisation and as such is unpresentable in words even according to Śruti, therefore Śānta, though it may somehow be presentable in poetry, cannot at all be presented in drama. Nor can the experience of Śānta be possible in the spectator. For, the aesthetic experience consists in the rise of a sub-conscious to the conscious, but no such sub-conscious mental state as is necessary for the experience of Śānta can exist in the spectator.

(B) Rejection of Nirveda as Sthāyin of Santa

Dhanañjaya rejects Nirveda as the ninth Sthāyin. In so doing he seems to have taken it in the strict sense of self-dissatisfaction, self-disrespect or self-contempt (Svāvamānana). For, the definition of the Sthāyin, as a state of mind the continuity of which is not broken either by such states of mind as harmonise with it or even those which are antagonistic to it, does not apply to it; because its continuity is really interrupted by such transcient states as anxiety etc. He definitely refutes the view according to which the ground for its rejection as a Sthāyin is its incapacity to lead to any one of the well-recognised goals of human life. For, then, he says, we will have to reject Hāsa etc. also as Sthāyin, because they also do not lead to any goal. According to him, therefore, the view, which recognises Śānta to be an independent Rasa with Nirveda as its Sthāyin, is not sound.

Abhinava's criticism of the above theories

There were two recensions of the Nāṭya Śāstra, (1) earlier and (2) latter. The first is well reflected in the Chowkhamba edition in which the text on Śānta does not exist. The other is followed in the G.O.S. edition of the Abhinava Bharati in which it does exist. There is clear evidence in the Abhinava Bhāratī to show that Abhinava knew both the recensions. In his commentary, however, he follows the latter. In both there were stray remarks on Śānta such as "Kvacicchamaḥ" and "Mokṣe cāpi virāginaḥ".

The first view of the opponent of the Śānta is based on the latter recension. This, according to Abhinava, is untenable on the ground of both the experience and the text. It does not matter, he says, if Bharati does not define it. We have to admit Śānta because we experience it when all the desires and aversions for worldly objects cease. But there is Bharata's evidence also to show that he accepted it. For, even in the latter recension the statement "Kvacicchamaḥ" is found.

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The implications of the second view are not quite clear. If however, it be supposed to imply that under no circumstance the worldly desires and aversions can be uprooted, it would mean that the fourth object of human life, the final emancipation is impossible, a view which very few Indian thinkers will be prepared to accept. But if it means that such a state is not possible in the spectator, it would mean that no aesthetic experience is possible. Fo such a state is involved in all.

Dhanañjaya's view that Nirveda is not a Sthāyin is very sound. And according to Abhinava, it is not a Sthāyin, not only when it is taken in the sense of self-dissatisfaction but also if it be understood to mean the consciousness that all the worldly objects are unfit for pursuit, the consciousness which is consequent upon the realisation of the Ultimate. The rejection of Nirveda as a Sthāyin in the first sense needs no argument. It is rejected as such in the second sense on the ground that such an admission would mean that the realisation of the Ultimate is the Vibhāva of Śānta, and because such a situation is unpresentable according to all authorities, the Śānta would cease to be presentable. The additional ground for rejection is that the second conception of Nirveda involves misconception of the causal relation between Nirveda and Tattvajñāna. For, Nirveda is the cause of Tattvajñāna and not the vice versa according to the well known authority of Patañjali.

There is fundamental difference between Dhanañjaya and Abhinava on Śama as the Sthāyin of Śānta. The former rejects it on the grounds stated above. But the latter accepts it under certain conditions.

There are two views of the opponent which Abhinava refers to : (I) Śama in the sense of total absence of all affections of the mind (tṛṣṇā asadbhāva) as a Sthāyin of Śānta : and (II) Śama in the sense of a state of mind before the rise of any affection due to external causes as a Sthāyin of Śānta. The former view is more or less identical with that of Dhanañjaya, as stated above and Abhinava agrees with Dhanañjaya that such a state of mind, being of the negative nature cannot be presented as a Bhāva. But he holds at the same time that if Śama be not taken in the negative sense indicated above, but in the positive sense of a state of mind consequent on the destruction of all mental affections, and, therefore, synonymous with Tattvajñāna, it surely admits of presentation as Sthāyin, of Śānta. From the second view of Śama he differs but slightly. According to him Śama, as absence of all mental affections preceding all affections (Prāgabhāva) is not the Sthāyin of Śānta, but as

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freedom from all affections consequent on the destruction thereof is certainly the Sthāyin of Śānta. The latter position is sound inasmuch as it has the support of Patañjali who says "Vītarāga janmādarśanāt."

Abhinavagupta's theory of Śānta Rasa

His theory is very closely connected with the spiritual discipline and the philosophical doctrines of the Yoga system according to which Samādhi is of two kinds: (i) Samprojñāta and (ii) Asamprajñāta. The last stage of the former is reached when a Yogin concentrates on pure Sattva, perfectly-free from the impurities of Rajas and Tamas and Sattva being thrown into the back-ground the self-predominates. The consciousness at this stage is of mere Being (Sattāmātra). A Yogin, who finds satisfaction in this Samādhi is not able to realise the self. His Buddhi, however, merges into its origin, the Prakṛti, Hence he is called Prakṛtilaya.

Thus when Buddhi Sattva is reduced to mere residual trace and subordinates the residual traces of the objective cognitions, the state of total unaffectedness is reached. This state characterises Asamprajñāta Samādhi. It is in this state that the self attains Śama or is Śānta inasmuch as Buddhi Sattva, as mere residual trace, has continuous flow of pure Sattva, free from all affections whatsoever, not excluding even the consciousness of distinction between the Buddhi and the Self. It is because of this conception of Śama that Abhinava holds Śama, Ātman and Tattvajñāna to be synonymous.

In the initial stages the Śama is possible only so long as Asamprajñāta Samādhi lasts. But after a little practice of it, the Buddhi Sattva is so affected that it has a flow of Śama even after Samādhi is broken and the Yogin enters practical life (Tasyapraśānta vāhita saṁskārāt–3-10). This flow, however, is occasionally interrupted by the residual traces of the past objective experience, when they assert themselves. (Tacchidreṣu 4-27). A Yogin then behaves like an ordinary man in practical life.

Dhanañjaya, therefore, is right in holding that Śama, as presented above, does not admit of dramatic presentation. Abhinava, however still maintains Śama to be dramatically presentable, if the dramatist is able to find out a right type of hero. He holds that Śānta is never to be presented as the principal Rasa. It has always to occupy a subordinate position either to Vīra or Sṛṅgāra. Such a presentation is possible

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(i) if the hero of the plot is a Yogin, who has practiced Asamprajñāta Samādhi and is at a stage immediately preceding Kaivalya, for, such a hero will naturally have the flow of pure Sattva even after rise from Samādhi; and (ii) if the portion of the hero's life chosen for dramatisation is that wherein the flow of pure Sattva is temporarily checked by the revival of the residual traces of the objective experience, so that he temporarily lives the life of a practical man pursuing a practical goal and achieving it. In such a presentation Śānta is related to the basic mental state involved in the achievement of the objective (Śṛṅgāra or Vīra) exactly as Śṛṅgāra is related to Hāsya. The Nāgānanda of Harṣa is a good illustration of such a presentation of Śānta Rasa.

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AUTHORSHIP OF THE PORTION FROM THE PARIKARA ALAṂKĀRA UP TO THE END OF *KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA*

By

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The well-known verse:

"कृतः श्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यैः परिकरावधिः । प्रबन्धः पूरितः शेषो विधायाल्लटसूरिणा ॥"

lends support to the view of the old commentators that the portion from Parikara Alamkāra onwards was completed by another author whose name is given as Alaka or Alaṭa. That the fact of the joint authorship is concealed, is supposed to have been alluded to in the concluding verse of *Kāvyaprakāśa* इत्येषमार्गो etc. etc."

What leads us to assert this? The writer of the Vṛtti on the Kārikās from the Parikara does not show the same carefulness and accuracy as the writer of the earlier portion. Again Alaka seems to have been fond of mentioning the difference between Alamkāras of the allied nature. Let us examine all this in the light of the evidence furnished by the text:—

Vyājokti:—Vṛttikāra's explanation of the illustration is not correct. What is concealed is "पार्वतीविषया गूढारतिः" and not "पुलकवेपथ." *Alamkārasarvasva*-kāra observes "अत्र रोमाञ्चादिनोद्भिन्नः रतिभावः शैत्यप्रक्षेपेणापलपितः", again Vyājokti is differentiated from Apahnuti.

The reasons for discarding Hetu Alamkāra would have been appropriate at the time of commenting on Kāvyalinga. Instead of this, we find it mentioned along with Kāranamālā. Clearly this is an after-thought.

Anumāna, Kāvyaliṅga and Uttara are differentiated. Alaka shows also the distinguishing points of charm between Uttara of the second variety and Praśna-Parisamkhyā.

The special charm of contrast in the figure 'Virodha' in the form of "एकाश्रयनिष्टत्व" is not mentioned either in the Kārikā or in the Vṛtti on 'Virodha.' The definition of "Virodha" is too general and too vague to leave scope for Asaṁgati. Going out of his own way the new writer says, "विरोधे तु विरोधित्वम्·· ··निदर्शिनम्." This can be seen, he seems to say, even from the illustrations of his predecessor.

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His definitions and treatment of Sama and Viṣama are not such as to give us an idea that one is exactly the reverse of the other. So his remark "समविपर्ययात्मा विषम:" is out of place.

In Mīlita, the most important point is "यस्तु निगूह्यते". The real point of charm is stated in the first verse of illustration itself as "मदोदय: न संलक्ष्यते." The Vṛttikāra misses this point and shows only what is "स्वाभाविक and साधारण". The same sort of inadvertance is to be found in the explanation of the second illustration of Mīlita. Contrast this with the explanation of the same offered by *Alaṃkārasarvasva*-kāra.

When commenting on the third variety of Viṣama, the new writer quotes the dictum of Bhāmaha : "सैषा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्ति:" etc. The writer of the earlier portion has nowhere given us any indication of Vakrokti being regarded as the basic principle of all the Alaṃkāras. On the contrary, the basic principle of all the Alaṃkāras according to Mammaṭa seems to be "वैचित्र्यम्", e.g., "वैचित्र्यं चालंकार:". This is also corroborated by his comments on Anumāna, Raśanopamā and Parikara.

The essential point in Tadguṇa is "वस्तु तद्गुणतामेति." The Vṛttikāra in the explanation of the illustration shows only "प्रगुण-वर्णता." Again he says "तस्य अप्रकृतस्य गुण: अत्र अस्ति", whereas this is not adhered to in Atadguṇa.

In his comments on the illustrations of Saṁsṛṣṭi, he explains the figures as "यमकानुप्रासौ" and "उपमोत्प्रेक्षे" whereas really they are "अनुप्रासयमकौ" and "उत्प्रेक्षोपम" respectively.

Paramparita-Rūpaka is, no doubt, accepted as Ubhayālaṃkāra. The reasons for mentioning it along with Arthālāṃkāra are stated differently at two different places. "प्रसंद्ध्यनुरोध" is quite different from "अर्थ. वैचित्र्यस्योत्कटतया प्रतिभासनम्".

From all these arguments,—inaccuracies and inadvertance or negligence on the part of the new writer, explanations of the illustrations not in agreement with the Kārikā portion, disagreement in the view points of the earlier and later writers, fondness for noticing the differences between allied Alaṃkāras—we can conclude that the portion after Parikar Alaṃkāra is written by another hand. This is supported by such traditional verse as :—

"काव्यप्रकाश इह कोऽपि निबन्धकृद्भ्याम् कृतेऽपि कृतिनां रसतत्त्वलाभ: ।
लोकेऽस्ति विश्रुतमिदं नितरां रसालं बन्धप्रकारश्चितस्य तरो:फलम् यत्" ॥

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THE TRADITIONAL BASIS OF THE UDĀHARAṆAS IN THE KĀŚIKĀ AND THE MAHĀ-BHĀṢYA, AND THE MUTUAL RELATION OF THE TWO WORKS REGARDING THE SAME

By

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The importance of the *Kāśikā* and the *Mahābhāṣya* in the field of the literature on the Pāṇinian Grammar is recognized on all hands and need not be demonstrated here. But that they have a unique importance from the point of view of the Udāharaṇas (or even the Pratyudāharaṇas) of the Sūtras has not so far, it seems, been shown in detail by any scholar. Similar is the case with regard to the question of the mutual relation of the two works from the point of view of the same Udāharaṇas.

It is a well-known fact that the one special feature of the modern works like the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, as contrasted with the *Kāśikā*, is their attempt at substituting new, in many cases sectarian, Udāharaṇas for those found in the older works like the *Kāśikā*.

The following few instances will suffice to prove this point :—

Sūtra	*Siddhānta-kaumudī*	*Kāśikā*
प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च (I. 3, 23)	गोपी कृष्णाय तिष्ठते	तिष्ठते कन्या छात्रेभ्यः । तिष्ठते वृषली ग्रामपुत्रेभ्यः ।
वेः शब्दकर्मणः (I. 3, 34)	स्वरान् विकुरुते	क्रोष्टा विकुरुते स्वरान् । ध्वाङ्क्षो विकुरुते स्वरान् ।
पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः (II. 3, 10)	अप हरेः संसारः । आ मुक्तेः संसारः ।	अप त्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः । आ पाटलिपुत्राद्वृष्टो देवः ।
हीने (I. 4, 86)	अनु हरिं सुराः ।	अनु शाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः। अन्वर्जुनं योद्धारः ।
यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी (II. 3, 9)	उप परार्धे हरेर्गुणाः। अधि भुवि रामः।	उप खार्यां द्रोणः। उप निष्के कार्षापणम् । अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः ।
कृते ग्रन्थे (IV.3,116)	वाररुचो ग्रन्थः	वाररुचाः श्लोकाः । हैकुपादो ग्रन्थः । भैकुराटो ग्रन्थः । जालूकः ।
तेन प्रोक्तम् (IV.3,101)	पाणिनीयम्	माथुरी वृत्तिः । पाणिनीयम् । आपिशलम्। काशकृत्स्नम् ।

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We need not here enter into an enquiry as regards the history of, or the influences that led to, the above tendency. That the tendency is there, is obvious. The new Udāharaṇas may have some doubtful practical advantage, in view of the religious and social atmosphere in which these modern works were written. But it cannot be denied that they lack that traditional basis which, as we shall show in the following, can be ascribed to the older Udāharaṇas.

As against the above tendency found in the works like the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, if we compare the Udāharaṇas of the *Kāśikā* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, in the case of those very rare Sūtras that are in their regular order and proper place commented upon and illustrated through Udāharaṇas in the *Mahābhāṣya*, we find a clear agreement between the Udāharaṇas of the two works. We give in the following a few instances; for showing the contrast between the *Kāśikā* and the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, Udāharaṇas from the latter work also are shown here.

Sūtra	*Mahābhāṣya*	*Kāśikā*	*Siddhānta-kaumudī*
यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी (II. 3, 9)	अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः। अधि ब्रह्मदत्तः पञ्चालेषु।	अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः। अधि पञ्चालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः।	अधि भुवि रामः। अधि रामे भूः।
अकथितं च (I.4,51)	पौरवं गां याचते।	पौरवं गां याचते।	बलिं याचते वसुधाम्। अविनीतं विनयं याचते
अनुर्लक्षणे (I. 4,84)	शाकल्यस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत्।	शाकल्यस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत्।	जपमनु प्रावर्षत्।
आङ् मर्यादावचने (I. 4, 89)	आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः।	आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः। आ पाटलिपुत्राद्वृष्टो देवः आ सांकाश्यात्। आ मथुरायाः।	आ मुक्तेः संसारः। आ सकलाद् ब्रह्म।
अन्तर्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति (I.4,28)	उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते	उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते। उपाध्यायान्निलीयते।	मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः।
अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्ण्ययोः (II.3,70)	ओदनं भोजकः। ग्रामं गमी। शतं दायी।	ओदनं भोजकः। ग्रामं गमी। शतं दायी।	सतः पालकः। व्रजं गामी। शतं दायी।
तेन प्रोक्तम् (IV. 3, 101)	माधुरी वृत्तिः।	माथुरी वृत्तिः। पाणिनीयम्। आपिशलम्। काशकृत्स्नम्।	पाणिनीयम्।

The above comparison clearly shows that, as against the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, the *Kāśikā* has been true to the tradition as regards the Udāharaṇas, or, at least, that the author (or authors) of that work had no desire or ambition to coin new Udāharaṇas.

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Now let us go a step further and examine the question of agreement between the *Kāśikā* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, as regards the Udāharaṇas of those Sūtras that are not commented upon in their proper place in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but are only incidentally referred to, directly or indirectly only through their Udāharaṇas, in course of the discussions in the commentary on other Sūtras. As this examination has a direct bearing on the main point at issue, we shall here refer to rather a larger number of the instances.

Sūtra (only incidentally referred to in the Mahābhāṣya)	*Udāharaṇas in the Mahābhāṣya* (ed. Keilhorn)	*Udāharaṇas in the Kāśikā* (ed. Bhagavat-prasāda)
झलो झलि (VIII. 2, 26)	अवात्ताम्। अवात्तम्। अवात्त। (Mahā. on अइउण्)	अवात्ताम्। अवात्त।
सप्तम्यां जनेर्डः (III. 2, 97)	उपसरजः। मन्दुरजः। (Mahā. I. 1, 3)	उपसरजः। मन्दुरजः।
ॠदोरप् (III. 3, 57)	यवः। स्तवः। लवः। पवः। (Mahā. on ए ओङ्। ऐ औच्)	यवः। लवः। पवः।
ओर्गुणः (VI. 4, 146)	बाभ्रव्यः। माण्डव्यः। (Mahā. I. 1, 3)	बाभ्रव्यः। माण्डव्यः।
झयो होऽन्यतरस्याम् (VIII. 4, 62)	वाग्घसति। त्रिष्टुब् भसति। (Mahā. I. 1, 50)	वाग्घसति। त्रिष्टुब्भसति।
।त्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु क्षेपे (VI. 2, 69)	कम्बलचारायणीयाः। ओदनपाणिनीयाः। घृतरौढीयाः। (Mahā. I. 1, 73)	कम्बलचारायणीयाः। घृतरौढीयाः। ओदनपाणिनीयाः।
अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः (VII. 4, 25) }	चीयते। स्तूयते। (Mahā. I. 2, 27)	चीयते। स्तूयते।
अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् (II. 1, 21) }	उन्मत्तगङ्गम्। लोहितगङ्गम्। (Mahā. I. 4, 1)	उन्मत्तगङ्गम्। लोहितगङ्गम्।
उदकेऽकेवले (VI. 2, 96)	गुडोदकम्। तिलोदकम्। (Mahā. I. 4, 2)	गुडोदकम्। तिलोदकम्।
वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् (II. 1, 62) }	गोवृन्दारकः। अश्ववृन्दारकः। (Mahā. II. 1, 69)	गोवृन्दारकः। अश्ववृन्दारकः।
पोटायुवतिस्तोक० (II. 1, 65)	इभ्ययुवतिः। आढ्ययुवतिः। (Mahā. II. 1, 69)	इभ (?) युवतिः।
द्वन्द्व घि (II. 2, 32)	पटुगुप्तौ (Mahā. II. 2, 36)	पटुगुप्तौ
अजाद्यदन्तम् (II. 2, 33)	उष्ट्रखरौ (Mahā. II.2,36)	उष्ट्रखरम्।
स्वामीश्वराधिपति० (II. 3, 39)	गोषु स्वामी। गवां स्वामी (Mahā. II. 3, 22)	गवां स्वामी। गोषु स्वामी
तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् (II. 3, 72)	तुल्यो देवदत्तस्य। तुल्यो देवदत्तेन (Mahā. II. 3, 22)	तुल्यो देवदत्तेन। तुल्यो देवदत्तस्य।

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अत आदेः (VII. 4, 70)	आटतुः । आटुः । (Mahā. III. 1, 36)	आटतुः । आटुः ।
राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् (V. 4, 91)	मद्रराजः । कश्मीरराजः । (Mahā. IV. 1, 1)	मद्रराजः ।
अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् (IV. 2, 47)	आपूपिकम् । शाष्कुलिकम् । (Mahā. IV. 1, 85)	आपूपिलम् । शाष्कुलिकम् ।

This comparison also surprisingly shows an agreement between the Udāharaṇas of the *Kāśikā* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, which can be satisfactorily explained only by assuming the pre-existence of a common stock of the traditional Udāharaṇas, which was available to and was utilised by both the above works—an assumption also supported by the already referred to tendency of quoting the traditional Udāharaṇas found in the *Kāśikā*.

An examination of the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya* from the above point of view has convinced us of the truth of the statement that, unless forced by the circumstances (or logic) of the argument at issue, the *Mahābhāṣya* also, by an instinct as it were, quotes only the traditional Udāharaṇas for the Sūtras, either directly explained or only indirectly referred to.

That there was a thing like the traditional Udāharaṇas, not only in the case of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī-Sūtras*, but also in the other spheres of the Sanskrit literature, can be proved by the following arguments :—

(1) There is the expression मूर्धाभिषिक्तमुदाहरणम्, occurring only once in the *Mahābhāṣya*, which to my mind clearly means a traditional Udāharaṇa or an Udāharaṇa which most probably has come down from Pāṇini himself. It occurs in the following passage :—

> अथ निमित्तेऽभिसंबध्यमानें यत्तदस्य योगस्य मूर्धाभिषिक्तमुदाहरणं तदपि संगृहीतं भवति । किं पुनस्तत् । पट्व्या मृद्व्येति । (Mahā. I. 1, 57).

The comment of Kaiyaṭa on the word is as follows : "मूर्धाभिषिक्तमिति । सर्ववृत्तिषूदाहृतत्वात् ।"

(2) Passages like the following in the *Mahābhāṣya* in a way indicate the existence of a tradition regarding, not only the Udāharaṇas, but also the Pratyudāharaṇas :—

(*a*) नहि सूत्रत एव शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । किन्तर्हि । व्याख्यानतश्च । ननु च तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवति । न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानं वृद्धिः आत् ऐजिति । किन्तर्हि । उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति । (Paspaśāhnika, p. 11, ed. Kielhorn).

(*b*) लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम् । लक्ष्यं च लक्षणं चैतत्समुदितं व्याकरणं भवति । किं पुनर्लक्षणं लक्ष्यं च । शब्दो लक्ष्यः सूत्रं लक्षणम् । (Paspaśāhnika, page 12).

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(3) There is a tendency in the *Mahābhāṣya* according to which when a reference is made to a Sūtra, its Udāharaṇas also are generally referred to at the same time; e.g.

(*a*) हल्ग्रहणेषु च । किम् । आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धमित्येव । झलो झलि (८।२।२६) । अवात्ताम् । अवात्त । (Paspaśāhnika, p. 19).

(*b*) तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषो वर्णाश्रयः प्र ययो वर्णविचालस्यानिमित्तं स्यात् । क्व । अत इञ् (४।१।९५) । दाक्षिः प्लाक्षिः । (I. 1, 39).

(*c*) तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य (१।१।६६) । तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य (१।१।६७) । किमुदाहरणम् । इह तावत्तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्येति । इको यणचि (६।१।७७) दध्यत्र मध्वत्र । इह तस्मादित्युत्तरस्येति । द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत् (६।३।९७) द्वीपम् अन्तरीपम् समीपम् । (I. 1, 66-67).

Moreover, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* even when referring to the Udāharaṇas of Sūtras more than once generally always repeats the same Udāharaṇas, as if they were quotations from somewhere, or were reproduced from memory; e.g.

(*a*) आद्गुणः (६।१।८७)···वृद्धिरेचि (६।१।८८) खट्वा इन्द्रः खट्वेन्द्रः । खट्वा उदकं खट्वोदकम् । खट्वा ईषा खट्वेषा । खट्वा ऊढा खट्वोढा । खट्वा एलका खट्वैलका । खट्वा ओदनः खट्वौदनः । खट्वा ऐतिकायनः खट्वैतिकायनः । खट्वा औपगवः । खट्वौपगवः । (Paspaśāhnika, p. 23). The same Udāharaṇas, exactly in the same order, are again repeated in the *Mahābhāṣya* on I. 1, 1; I. 1, 50 and VI. 1, 87.

(*b*) ऋदोरप् (३।३।५७)····यवः स्तवः । लवः पवः । (Paspaśāhnika, p. 23). The same Udāharaṇas, in the same order, are again repeated in the Mahābhā. on I. 1, 1; I. 1, 50 and VI. 1, 87.

(*c*) आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः (३।२।३)···गोदः कम्बलदः । (Paspaśāhnika, p. 24). The same Udāharaṇas, in the same order, are similarly repeated in the Mahābhā. on I. 1, 3; VI. 1, 12 and VI. 4, 42.

This at least shows that, like the stock Udāharaṇas in Nyāya or Mīmāṅsā, there were also stock Udāharaṇas of the Sūtras of Pāṇini, which had their tradition at least going back to Pāṇini himself, if not to earlier grammarians.

(4) Udāharaṇas like दध्यत्र (Vātsyāyana. II. 2, 38), गोहितम्, गोसुखम् (Vātsyā. II. 2, 57) in the Nyāya-Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya also go to prove the same fact. The following passages of the *Mahābhāṣya*, having personal touches about Pāṇini, also show a continuity of tradition in many respects down from Pāṇini himself :—

(*a*) प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचाववकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्रं प्रणयति स्म···(I. 1, 1);

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(*b*) आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः (I. 4, 89);
(*c*) शोभना खलु पाणिनेः सूत्रस्य कृतिः (II. 3, 66).

(5) The *Aṣṭādhyāyī-Sūtras* are twice referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya* as Vṛtti-Sūtras and are contrasted as such with the Vārttikas; cf.

वचनप्रामाण्यादित्येव। किं वचनप्रामाण्यम्। कुगतिप्रादयः (२।२।१८) इति। अस्त्यन्यदेतस्य वचनस्य प्रयोजनम्। किम्। सुराजा अतिराजेति। न ब्रूमो वृत्तिसूत्रप्रामाण्यादिति। किन्तर्हि। वार्त्तिकवचनप्रामाण्यादिति। सिद्धन्तु क्त्वाङ्स्वतिदुर्गतिवचनात्प्रादयः क्तार्थं इति" (II. 1, 1, page 371), and "केचित्तावदाहुर्यद्वृत्तिसूत्र इति। संख्ययाव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये (२।२।२५) इति। अपर आह यद्वार्त्तिक इति।" (II. 2, 24). Nāgeśa explains वृत्तिसूत्रम् as "वृत्तियुक्तं सूत्रं वृत्तिसूत्रमित्यर्थः" (II. 1, 1).

The reference can be justified only if we assume that there existed from the very beginning a sort of a Vṛtti (i.e., Vyākhyāna in the above-quoted sense) on the Sūtras. Probably the word Vārttika itself, derived as it is from 'Vṛtti' (वृत्तौ साधु वार्त्तिकम्), pre-supposes the existence of a Vṛtti on the Sūtras.

(6) The above fact is also corroborated by the following reference to Kuṇi's Vṛtti on the Sūtras by Kaiyaṭa in his commentary on the Sūtra "एङ् प्राचां देशे" (I. 1, 75); cp. "कुणिना प्राग्ग्रहणमाचार्यनिर्देशार्थं व्यवस्थितविभाषात्वं चेति व्याख्यातम्।....अन्येन तु प्राग्ग्रहणं देशविशेषणं व्याख्यातम्..............। भाष्यकारस्तु कुणिदर्शनमाशिश्रियत्।". This at least proves clearly that according to Kaiyaṭa Kuṇi's Vṛtti pre-existed the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Happily we have another evidence which shows that the same Vṛtti was available to the author (or authors) of the *Kāśikā* and that the latter was based on that Vṛtti. The opening stanza of the *Kāśikā* reads as follows:

वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु।
विप्रकीर्णस्य तन्त्रस्य क्रियते सारसंग्रहः॥

The comment of the author of the *Padamañjarī* on this is as follows:—"तत्र सूत्रार्थप्रधानो ग्रन्थो वृत्तिः। सा चेह पाणिनिप्रणीतानां सूत्राणां कुणिप्रभृतिभिराचार्यैर्विरचितं विवरणम्।"

(7) Apart from the existence and continuity of the traditional (or stock) Udāharaṇas in the other branches of the Sanskrit literature, we have a very interesting piece of evidence in the *Mahābhāṣya* itself on this point. In the introductory remarks of the *Mahābhāṣya* we come across the four words—गौः, अश्वः, पुरुषः, हस्ती—in the passage: "शब्दानुशासनं शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम्। केषां शब्दानाम्। लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च। तत्र लौकिकास्तावत्। गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्ती..इति।"

Now these very words occur in the *Nirukta* in the following passage:—"अद इति सत्त्वानामुपदेशः। गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्तीति" (Nirukta I. 1).

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Again we come across these very words in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* in the following passage :—"तस्मात् पशवो वज्रेणैव षोळशिना परिगता मनुष्यानभ्युपावर्तन्ते । तस्मादश्वो वा पुरुषो वा गौर्वा हस्ती वा परिगत एव स्वयमात्मनेऽत एव वाचाभिषिद्ध उपावर्तंते ।" (*Ait. Br.* IV. 1).

This is an incontrovertible evidence for showing the very long continuity of the many Udāharaṇas—a continuity going back not only from one Ācārya to another Ācārya, but also from one branch of Literature to another branch of Literature.

CONCLUSION.

The above discussion proves, not only the importance of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Kāśikā* from the point of view of the Udāharaṇas of the Sūtras, but also the unique importance of the *Kāśikā*, even as contrasted with the *Mahābhāṣya* ; because while the *Mahābhāṣya* by its very nature has not commented upon all the Sūtras, the *Kāśikā* is a regular commentary on all the Sūtras and as such has preserved for us the old traditional Udāharaṇas for the same. In the above sense, *Kāśikā* is the only extant source for the traditional Udāharaṇas, probably going back to Pāṇini himself, if not to earlier Ācāryas. There will be no exaggeration in saying that the *Kāśikā* is a revised edition of Kuṇi's Vṛtti which pre-existed even the *Mahābhāṣya*.

The importance of the traditional Udāharaṇas we shall try to show elsewhere.

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JURIDICAL ASPECTS OF THE GĀNDHARVA FORM OF MARRIAGE

By

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According to Prof. P. V. Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 519) "in the Gāndharva form the principal object was the gratification of carnal desires." J. Jolly (*Recht und Sitte*, p. 51) says that Gāndharva-vivāha is "die Liebesheirat ohne elterlichen Consens" (the love-marriage without the consent of the parents). Gooroodas Banerjee (*Hindu Law of Marriage and Strīdhana*, being the Tagore Law-lectures for 1878, p. 85) says that "marriages in this form, which depend merely upon the agreement of the contracting parties, resemble to some extent what are called Gretna-Green marriages, that is runaway marriages by persons governed by the English law at Gretna-Green and elsewhere in Scotland to evade the provisions of that law against ill-advised and clandestine marriages."—John D. Mayne (*A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, Madras, 1900, par. 79) says that the Gāndharva-vivāha was contracted for the purpose of amorous embraces and proceeding from sexual inclination."

From the Smṛtis it is evident that the Gāndharva form of marriage is a voluntary (or spontaneous) (Mn. III-32, K. III-2, Kām. 26, G. IV-10) union (संयोग) (Mn. III-32, Ap. II-5, 12, 20, G. IV-10, B-1, 11, 20, 6, Sankh IV-6, VI. XXIV-23, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Kām. 26, Dev. Vīr. Saṁs. 855) of a loving (willing) (G. IV-10, Vas. I-33, B. 1-11, 20, 6, N. XII-42) maiden (bride, girl, damsel, woman), (Mn. III-32, Ap. II-5, 12, 20, Vas. I-33, B. I-11, 20, 6, Śaṅkh. IV-5, Aśv. Gṛh. I-6, 5, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Dev. Vīr. Saṁs. 855, Hār. Vīr. Saṁs. 856) and her lover (bridegroom) (Mn. III-32, Āp. II-5, 12, 20, G. IV-10, Vas. I-33, B. I-11, 20, 6, Śaṅkh. IV-5, Aśv. Gṛh. I-6, 5, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Dev. Vīr. Saṁs. 855, Hār. Vīr. Saṁs. 856), or as VI (XXIV-23) expresses himself, a union between two lovers constitutes this form of marriage. Aśv. (I-6, 5) adds that this form of marriage takes place after a mutual agreement has been made. Similarly Dev. (Vīr. Saṁs. 855). This mutual consent or reciprocal attachment is the "essentiale negotii" of this form of marriage, according to Y. (I-61). For

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the better understanding of this form of marriage some Smṛtis add that this form of marriage takes place through love (Āp. II-5, 12, 20, Śaṅkh. IV-5, Dev. Vīr. Saṁs. 855), or that it springs from desire and has sexual intercourse for its purpose (Mn. III-32). According to Vas. the lover has to take (Vas. I-33) a girl of equal caste (Vas. I-33), according to VI (XXIV-23) without the consent of mother and father and according to Dev. (Vīr. Saṁs. 855) to a sacred place.

Nār. and Gov. (ad. Mn. III-32) enter into a discussion of the question whether the prescribed offerings and wedding ceremonies are to be performed in the case of the Gāndharva-vivāha, Rākṣasa-vivāha and Paiśāca-vivāha. Relying on a passage of Devala and of the Bahvṛca Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa (Śaunaka) they are of the opinion that the "*homas*" must be performed, at least in the case of Aryan couples. But they hold with Manu's dictum (VIII-226) which restricts the use of the "Mantras" to women, married as virgins, saying that the Vedic nuptial texts must not be recited. From the comment of Medh, on verse 34 it would appear that opinions on the subject were divided, and that some held weddings with the recitation of "Mantras" to be permissible while others denied the necessity of any wedding.

Bāl. (ad. Y. I-61) says that in the case of the Gāndharva and other rites of marriage, in order to constitute the legal status of husband and wife, there the ceremonies of "*Homa*" and all the rest up to "Śaptapadī" must be performed.

In this connection I would like to quote the definition of this form of marriage which we find in Kām. (Part 3, Ch. 5). We read there: "When a girl, who has been courted by a young man, is entirely his, he behaves with her in public as if she were his wife. He gets a consecrated fire from a Brāhmaṇa, strews the ground with holy grass makes an oblation to the fire, and gets married according to the religious regulations relative to this form of marriage. There are no witnesses. After the ceremony the man informs the girl's parents of the accomplished fact. Such a marriage before the consecrated fire is indisdoluble. All the other relations are also advised and their consent solicited. This is the ceremony of the Gandharvas."

From this sentence it can be seen that the Gāndharva marriage is only a concubinage till the formal wedding ceremony, which takes place without the consent of the girl's parents (See VI. XXIV-23). For instance in Pañcatantra (Textus

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Ornatior, eine Altindische Maerchensammlung uebersetzt von Richard, Schmidt, Leipzig, Lotus Verlag, auch I, Erz. 8) we read that sexual intercourse with a married woman (adultory) is "a marriage concluded according to the Gāndharva-rite," similarly Pañcat. ibid. II-5. In the Ancient Indian Literature we can find many such examples in Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā, the story of Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta etc.

But a quite different point of view is found in Mn. (XII-44) where we read: "When the father of the girl, disregarding his own wishes, bestows his daughter upon a person whom the daughter likes and who reciprocates the girl's sentiments, the form of marriage, oh Yudhiṣṭhira, is called Gāndharva by those that are conversant with the Vedas". We see that according to Mn. it was a real form of marriage; it was one of the highest forms of marriage, where the father (guardian) had no more influence in the choice of a husband for the girl.

In Mn. III-26 we find the following sentence:

पृथक्पृथग्वा मिश्रौ वा विवाहौ पूर्वंचोदित्तौ ।
गान्धर्वौं राक्षसश्चैव धर्म्यौं क्षत्रस्य तौ स्मृतौ ॥

i.e. "The Gāndharva-vivāha and the Rākṣasa-vivāha, the two Vivāhas mentioned above have been declared to be lawful for the Kṣatriyas indifferently if they are separated or combined" (identically M.Bh. Adi Parva 73, 12, 13).

We can see from this sentence that there exist two subdivisions of this form of marriage i.e. the Gāndharva-vivāha "combined with the Rākṣasa-vivāha" and not combined with this form of marriage i.e. a "separate Gāndharva-vivāha."

A fine explanation of the Gāndharva-vivāha combined with the Rākṣasa-vivāha can be found in Medhatithi's commentary on Mn. III-26, where we read "a girl living in her father's house, happens to see a boy living in the same house and having heard praises from messengers, falls in love with him, but not being mistress of herself she cannot meet him, and then she enters into a contract with her lover, requests him to take her away; and the bridegroom, being possessed of great strength, carries her away after having 'killed and wounded' (her guardians); now in this case, since there is a 'voluntary union between the two' it fulfils the conditions of the 'Gāndharva' form, while, since he has carried her away, after 'having killed and wounded', the conditions of the 'Rākṣasa form are also fulfilled". Such a Gāndharva-vivāha combined with the Rākṣasa-vivāha ("a blameworthy Gāndharva-vivāha") is nothing but a specific form of the Rākṣasa-vivāha and has

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to be interpreted according to the rules prescribed for the Rākṣasa-vivāha although sometimes not all the essentiale negotii of this form of marriage can, be clearly seen; see for instance in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa for the story of the marriage of Rukmiṇī. Sometimes this kind of the Gāndharva-vivāha takes place after a mutual agreement of a boy and a girl against or without the consent of the father.

On the other hand we find quite a different form of marriage called also Gāndharva-vivāha (separated from the Rākṣasa-vivāha—a separate Gāndharva-vivāha). It is this form of marriage which we find in M.Bh. XIII-44 and which has to be considered as one of the highest forms where the father (guardian) had no more influence in the choice of the bridegroom for the girl.

This kind of the Gāndharva-vivāha was contracted for the happiness of the girl and was a real marriage in which the consent of the father was not an essential negotii. But the father (guardian) of the girl was obliged—irrespective of whether the suitor was convenient to him or not, to bestow the daughter. He had to act only for the happiness of his daughter and not to look for his own advantage.

Dividing the Gāndharva-vivāha into these two kinds of forms of marriage, which division is based on the law-texts (Mn. III-26, M.Bh. Ādi Parva 73, 12, 13), we can understand the contradictory conceptions of the Gāndharva-vivāha and the contradictory rules concerning this form of marriage as, for example, the rules concerning the admissibility of the Gāndharva-vivāha to members of different castes etc.

The Gāndharva-vivāha does not belong to the orthodox forms of marriage. Accordingly the usual consequences of this fact apply to the Gāndharva-vivāha with the exception of the rules contained in the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra (IX-196, 197) according to which if a woman married according to the Gāndharva-vivāha (probably not combined with the Rākṣasa-vivāha) dies without issue her property i.e. the Strīdhana belongs to her husband and not to her father. Also according to the Kauṭīlya's *Arthaśāstra* if the Strīdhana was used by the husband it should be "restored together with interest on it."

Concerning the "blameworthy Gāndharva-vivāha" it has to be pointed out that this form of marriage should be avoided according to Mn. (III-42) and Yama (Vir. Saṁs. p. 865) because it is a "blameworthy marriage."

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This kind of the Gāndharva-vivāha is fit for the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras (Mn. III-23) and according to other law-sources permitted to the Kṣatriyas (Mn. III-26, M.Bh. Ādi Parva 73, VI. XXIV-27, B. I-11, 20, 12, Panc. 10, 2526. See Śankh. IV-3).

On the contrary the second kind of the Gāndharva-vivāha i.e. the Gāndharva-vivāha separated from the Rākṣasa-vivāha is lawful for the Brāhmaṇa caste (Mn. III-23, 25, N. XII-44, G. IV-15).[1] But on account of the general character of this form of marriage based on love which does not know any caste differences, some recommend the Gāndharva-vivāha for all castes (B. I-11, 20, 16, N. XII-44).[2]

According to the law-sources we can say that the "blame-worthy Gāndharva-vivāha" was the rule and that is the reason that the Gāndharva-vivāha takes a low place in the list of forms of marriage. It takes the first place after the orthodox forms of marriage i.e. the fourth[3] place in the general list of the forms of marriage according to Āp. (III-5, 12) (after the Brāhma, Arṣa and Daiva) and Vas. (I. 29) (after the Brāhma, Daiva and Arṣa) and the fifth place according to G. (IV), B. (I. 11, 20), N. (XII. 38, 39), K. (III), (after the Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Arṣa and Daiva) and Aśv. Grh. (I. 6) (after the Brāhma, Daiva, Prājāpatya, and Arṣa). According to other sources it takes the second place after the orthodox forms of marriage i.e. the sixth place in the general list of the forms of marriage (Mn. III. 21), Y. (I. 59-61), Śankh. (IV-2), VI. (XXIV-8) (after the Brāhma, Daiva, Arṣa, Prājāpatya and Āsura).

This form of marriage is known to all law-sources.

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[1] The law-sources say "some say that...." (Mn. III-23, G. IV. 15). Another proof that there are two kinds of the Gāndharva-vivāha.

[2] It is another example of the high position of this form of marriage, although from the Indian view-point it was rather a humiliation of this form of marriage.

[3] Āp. and Vas. do not know one of the orthodox forms of marriage (Prājāpatya).

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WERE WOMEN ENTITLED TO PERFORM ŚRAUTA SACRIFICES ?

By

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Recently I have began to revise my article on "Dekkan of the Sātavāhana Period" which I contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* a quarter of a century ago. In that connection the Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Nāganikā is engaging my special attention. She is here credited with having alone performed a number of Vedic sacrifices as Bühler has, I now think, correctly interpreted, and not her husband Sātakarṇi in association with her consort Nāganikā as I then wrongly thought. Rapson[1] practically agrees with Bühler in saying that the inscription is a record of sacrifices performed and donations made by Queen Nāganikā, the wife of King Śātakarṇi, acting apparently as regent during the minority of her son Vedi-śrī. Bühler however admits that according to the Śāstras women are not allowed to offer Śrauta sacrifices, but that disabilities attaching to the sex are removed by the fact that the queen must have been ruling as guardian of her son, the prince Vēdiśri. The conclusion is agreed to by Rapson though he does not adduce any reason in support of it. Here two questions arise. The first is, whether Nāganikā was a widowed queen and ruled as a guardian during the minority of her son. And the second is : whether a woman could in any capacity whatever perform a Śrauta sacrifice or make a donation independently at any time in the period following the extinction of the Maurya rule, when the Smṛti ordinances were in the ascendant. The first question I do not want to discuss here because I confess that no clear evidence has been produced by Bühler or Rapson to show that Nāganikā was a widowed queen, acting as regent during the minority of her son. The text of the Nānāghāt Inscriptions, fragmentary as it is, tells us in my opinion, that at the time when it was engraved in the cave, Vedisrī, being the best of the princes (*kumāra-vara*) was a king and ruler of Dakshiṇāpatha, and, his father Śātakarṇi, husband of Nāganikā, was presumably the king of kings (*rāja-rāja*), as was the case with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, as is seen from Nasik Cave Inscription No. 2. I do not here

[1] *Cat. Ind. Coins, Andhras. W. Ksatrapas,* Intro. pp. XX and XLV;

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want to enter into the controversy that may rage round this point. But what I want to repeat here is that there is no clear evidence that Nāganikā was a widowed queen or reigned as regent during the minority of her son Vēdiśrī. What is clear is that she is mentioned as a queen, and as a woman who has performed a number of Śrauta sacrifices. But is it permissible for a woman or even a queen to perform Vedic sacrifices according to the Smṛtis? Manu e.g. does not allow even the initiation of woman. "The nuptial ceremony" says he "is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women (and to be equal to the initiation), serving the husband (equivalent) to the residence in (the house of the) teacher, and the household duties (the same) as the (daily) worship of the sacred fire."[1] Elsewhere he says: "For women there is no sacramental rite with sacred texts—thus the law is settled; women, being destitute of knowledge and not conversant with Vedic etxts."[2] Nevertheless, when the *Manu-smṛti* was being compiled, women did sometimes perform sacrifices. Why else should Manu lay down that "a Brāhmaṇa must never eat at a sacrifice that is offered by one who is not a Śrōtriya, or by a village priest (*grāma-yājin*), or by a woman . . ."[3] Thus Manu places a woman on the same footing as a non-Śrotriya, i.e., "a man who is a Brāhmaṇa but is not conversant with Vedic literature." Both, it seems, were in the habit of performing sacrifices in the time of Manu. But who could have performed sacrifices for them? Is this possible for anybody who is not a specialist in sacrificial knowledge and practice? He must surely be a Brāhmaṇa, and, I am afraid, for that specialisation, a Śrotriya also. *Manu-smṛti* was composed or was in the making when Hindu society was in a transitional state. At one time Manu is made to say that 'for women there is no sacrament', and at another time he admits that women can perform sacrifices though no Brāhmaṇa shall eat at these sacrifices.

We shall now turn our attention to another section of Sanskrit Literature, namely, to the 'Śrauta-sūtras, which deal with sacrificial literature, and which alone are the authority on the subject whether a woman is entitled to perform a Vedic sacrifice in her individual capacity. These are the Pūrva-mīmāmsā-sūtras composed by Jaimini alias Bādarāyaṇa and commented upon by Śabarasvāmin. Anybody who reads *Mīmāmsā-darśana*, VI. 1, 3, 6-16 will be convinced that woman

[1] *Manu-smṛti*, II. 67

[2] *Ibid.*, IX 18

[3] *Ibid.*, IV 205.

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is perfectly entitled to the performance of any Śrauta sacrifice. The opposition is here led by Aitiśāyana. It is very difficult to say whether he was a Smṛtikāra at all. But he leads the opposition by saying that in Vedic text *Darśa-Pūrṇamāsābhyāṁ svarga-kāmo yajeta*, the word *svarga-kāmo* is in the masculine gender; therefore man, not woman, can perform a sacrifice. Bādārāyaṇa, that is, Jaimini, answers this question by saying that the term *svarga-kāma* denotes a collective class consisting of persons who have the one characteristic of possessing the desire to attain heaven by means of sacrifice, without any distinction being made between the individuals constituting that class. Hence even women are understood by that term and included in that class.

Many other arguments have been advanced against the capacity of women to perform Vedic sacrifices. One such argument, the most important of them, is that wealth is necessary for performing sacrifices and that men are possessed of this wealth, whereas women are not. Women are like chattels, as they are liable to be sold and bought. They are sold by fathers and bought by husbands. They have thus no right to the property of their fathers or to that of their husbands. The Vedic texts say that "a hundred chariots shall be given to the guardian of the bride; and (in the Ārsha form of marriage) one ox and one cow." This is apparently a price to induce the bride's father to part with his daughter and cannot be construed as a religious act. Again, it may be urged that a woman may perform sacrifices with wealth which she has earned by cooking food for others or by savings from the food given her. But as she is another's property, the acquisitions must belong to him. Whatever she does is in the service of her husband. Whatever may thus be acquired by her belongs to her husband. The Smṛti has it: "A wife, a slave and a son have no property of their own. Whatever they earn is the wealth of the man to whom they belong."

Such is the line of argument urged by the exponents of the opposite view. Bādarāyaṇa begins the reply with the curt remark that so long as the earnestness to obtain the fruit of the performance of a sacrifice is common to both males and females, it presupposes the capacity of a woman to own wealth. If, by slavishly conforming to the Smṛti, woman is made a dependent upon others and considered destitute of all wealth, then obviously the Smṛti is in conflict with Śruti. This is not right, this is not just. Therefore, if she is desirous of the fruit of performing a sacrifice, she ought to set the Smṛti at naught, possess herself of wealth and perform a sacrifice. Surely it is

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impossible to see a greater disregard shown to the Smṛti when it is pitted against the Śruti. But, as a matter of fact, women are possessed of wealth, says Bādarāyaṇa. Thus at the time of marriage when the bride is presented to the bridegroom, the latter enters into the following agreement with the father of the bride: *dharme c-ārthe cha kāme cha na-āticharitavyā*, "she shall not be thwarted in the performance of religious acts (*dharma*), the acquisition of wealth (*artha*) and the fulfilment of legitimate desires (*kāma*)." When therefore the Smṛtis speak of the incapacity of the wife to possess wealth, that is very unjust and is antagonistic to the Śruti. Again, what is called the purchase of a girl, is not a purchase at all. It is a religious act, pure and simple. In the case of a purchase there is always the variation of price. The gift of a hundred chariots (*śatam-atirathaṁ*) does not vary and is a constant quantity, whether the girl is beautiful or not beautiful. Śabarasvāmī remarks that this may be a sale in conformity with the Smṛtis, but is opposed to the Śrutis. The Śrauta School therefore disapproves of it, and stands fast to the conclusion that the girls are not sold. There are Vedic texts also in support of the proposition that women have the capacity of owning and possessing wealth. Śabara quotes at least two. But thus much is certain, says he, that woman is the owner of *pāriṇāyya*, property received by her at the time of marriage. Śabara further remarks: *paty-aiva gatam-anumataṁ kriyatē*, "even that which is acquired by the husband is admitted (as hers)."

What is the upshot of the above discussion? The woman according to the Śrutis not only can have her own wealth but can also participate in the possession of her husband's wealth. She is neither bought nor sold at the time of marriage. And if she has but the desire of attaining the fruit of a Śrauta sacrifice, she can very well do so alone and on her own behalf or jointly with her husband if both so will it. If there is any Smṛiti which lays down an ordinance to the contrary, it has to be ignored, disregarded and completely set at naught. If such was once the state of things, it is no wonder if Nāganikā, wife of Śātakarṇi, could perform not one or two but several Śrauta sacrifices and make any number of donations in money, elephants kine and so forth, as is quite clear to any scholar who studies the Nāṇāghāṭ Cave Inscriptions.

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A CARMELITE ORIENTALIST IN TRAVANCORE

By

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The contribution of Christian Missionaries in the promotion of oriental learning is a subject of fascinating interest to scholars and research workers. Nowhere in India have the Christian Missionaries received such encouragement and patronage in the pursuit of their labours as in the Hindu State of Travancore whose Rulers had always afforded great toleration to men of other religious faiths. Many of the Maharajas of Travancore have been men of letters and patrons of poets and scholars; and the most distinguished among them was His Highness Karttikatirunal Rāma Varmā (1758-1798 A.D.) who combined in himself the rare qualities of a good ruler and consummate scholar. His Highness had mastery in many languages such as Sanskrit, Persian, Hindustani and Malayalam and was conversant with some of the European languages such as English[1] and Dutch. His Highness also studied Portuguese from one Pietro De Vegas, a gentleman from Portugal. "He stood out among the princess of his time as an example in many ways and his fame spread to many countries. He was the Rama Raja of whom the French, English, Mysorean and Carnatic correspondence had spoken."[2]

The Maharaja patronised and supported Christian Missionaries with parential generosity.[3] One of those scholars who commanded the respect and admiration of His Highness was an eminent Carmelite friar Rev. Fr. Paulinus who came over to Travancore from Italy. "Fra Paolino da san Bartolemeo" was his Christian name and his work of voyage to the East Indies is of absorbing interest and contains much valuable historical information.[4] Fr. Paulinus was born in Germany on the 23rd April 1748. His baptised name was John Philip Verdin. He had his early education at Prague and he studied some of the oriental languages at Rome. On the 21st of July 1769 he took the sacred oath and joined the Missionary order.

[1] History of Travancore *by* P. Sankunni Menon, p. 268.

[2] Malabar and the Dutch *by* K. M. Panikker, p. 95.

[3] Travancore State Manual, Vol. I *by* V. Nagamaiya, p. 387.

[4] The Church History of Travancore *by* C. M. Agur, p. 421

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After his religious education was completed he was sent over to Malabar at his own discretion. In A.D. 1777 he reached Varapula in Travancore and stayed there for more than 13 years. During this time he came to understand intimately the manners and customs of Malabar and wrote many descriptive articles about them.[1] His writings are considered to be of immense use for the understanding of the history of Malabar and its Society.

Fr. Paulinus[2] visited His Highness the Maharaja on the 20th June 1780 and consigned the divine message of the Pope Clement XIV (dated 2nd July 1774) to His Highness which was sent in recognition of the kindness and consideration shown by the king to his Christian subjects, whose disabilities were abolished by him. His Highness accepted Fr. Paulinus as his Guru and in return the Carmelite Friar acknowledged His Highness as his preceptor in Sanskrit studies. With a view to the learning of English, Portuguese and Malayalam, the Maharaja asked Fr. Paulinus to write a grammar on these languages. The work was completed in 1784 and was dedicated to the Maharaja on the 21st April 1784 when His Highness was at Padmanabhapuram, the ancient capital of Travancore.

The fame[3] of Paulinus in the meanwhile, had reached Europe and the Royal Academy of Science accepted him as a member of the Society. The services rendered by him to the Roman Cathloic Mission was so great that in recognition thereof he got the title "The Vicar Apostolic". Later on, he was raised to the position of Apostolic Visitor. In 1790 Paulinus was invited to Europe by the Propaganda Society to give authoritative information of the Missionary societies in India. His office was at Rome. Not long after, he became the Secretary of the College of Propaganda. On account of the war that was started in Europe at that time, the French invaded Italy, and Paulinus shifted his office to Vienna. In 1800, he returned to Rome and received many titles of honour. Paulinus died in 1806 and his demise was considered as a great loss to the Catholic Society as well as to literature. Fr. Paulinus was an eminent member of the Universities of Padua Naples and France.[4] He wrote about 24 books which are of great

[1] Christian Literature in Kerala (Malayalam) *by* P. J. Thomas, p. 115.

[2] Correspondence between the Popes and the Rajas of Travancore in xviii century *by* C. J. Varkey, p. 3.

[3] The Latin and Syrian Hierarchies of Malabar *by* V. A. Paseal,p. 116.

[4] Malabar Quarterly Review, Vol. V, pp. 184-202.

[5] A Vopage to the East Iudies *by* Fr. Paulinus, pp. 178-180.

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help to the students of oriental learning. The most important of them are :—

1. Systema Brahmanicum (1791)
2. A treatise on the Indian Manuscripts in the library of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide (1792)
3. A treatise on the manuscripts in Penang, Siamese, Malayalam and Hindustani languages in the Museum of Cardinal Borgia (1793)
4. India Orientalis Christiana (1794)
5. A treatise on ancient India (1795)
6. A voyage to the East Indies (1796)
7. De Codicibus Indico Manuscripti R. P. Joannis Hanxleden (1799)
8. Adagia Malabarica (Malayalam Proverbs)
9. Siddaroupam, Grammar of Sanskrit languages (1790)
10. Amarasimha, an old Indian Mss.

It is remarkable that such an eminent orientalist, as Paulinus, came to Travancore during the reign of a great Ruler, who though a conservative Hindu had a wide catholicity of sympathies and rendered considerable help and encouragement to Christian missionaries. The Pope Clement XIV thanked the Maharaja for his kindness towards the members of the Church resident in Travancore and Fr. Paulinus who presented the message to His Highness has left a graphic account[9] of his reception which it was his privilege to enjoy at the hands of the Maharaja. "For my part", says he, "I could not help admiring the goodness of heart, affability and humanity of this prince as well as the simplicity of his household establishment and way of life."

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BHARUCI,
A NEW COMMENTATOR ON MANUSMṚTI

By

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Part I.

The period between the 7th and 10th centuries in the literary history of India ranks very high in comparison to any other period. This period witnessed the greatest of writers in almost all the branches of Indian Thought. Bhartṛhari, Kumārila, Prabhākara, Śaṅkara, Mandana, Viśvarūpa, Śāli-Kanātha, Udayana, Asahāya, Medhātithi, Bhartṛyajña, Skanda-svāmin, Vimuktātman, Prakaśātman, Savajñātman to name only a few, belonged to this period. Bhāruci is another author of this period and we shall state and discuss what little we know of him in this paper.

Ramaniyācārya in the *Vedārthasaṅgraha* refers to Bhāruci thus :—

भगवद्बोधायनटङ्कद्रमिडगुहदेवकपर्दिभारुचिप्रभृत्यविगीतशिष्टपरिगृहीतपुरातनवेदवेदान्तव्याख्यानसुव्यक्तार्थं श्रुतिनिकरनिदर्शितोऽयं पन्थाः ।

Srīnivāsa, the author of the *Yatīndramatadīpikā*, referring to Ramaṇīya and his predecessors remarks :—

व्यासबोधायनगुहदेवभारुचिब्रह्मनन्दिद्रमिडाचार्यश्रीपरांकुशनाथमुनियतीश्वरप्रभृतीनाम् मतानुसारेण ।

The date of Rāmānuja, we know for certain. He is supposed to have lived between 1017 and 1125. Thus the beginning of the 11th century is the lower limit for the date of Bhāruci. Mr. Kane is of opinion that Śrīnivāsa mentions the author in chronological order.

What work Bhāruci wrote in Vedānta we do not know at present. But since he is relied upon as an authority by Rāmānuja and his followers, it is fairly certain that he held such views as were acceptable to Rāmānuja.

Apart from the fact that Bhāruci was a great Vedantin, he seems to have been an equally famous jurist. The earliest reference to Bhāruci as a jurist is found in the *Mitākshārā* of Vijñaneśvara. In one place he says :—

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तस्मादृतावेव गच्छेन्नान्यत्रेति परिसंख्यैव युक्ता। तदिदं भारुचिविश्वरूपप्रभृतयो नानमन्यन्ते, यतो नियम एव युक्तः। पक्षे स्वार्थविधिसम्भवात् अगमने दोषश्रवणाच्च। I,81

In another place

यदपि कैश्चिदुच्यते अंशदानविवक्षायां बहुभ्रातृकायां बहुधनत्वं बहुभगिनीकस्य च निर्धनता प्राप्नोतीति तदुक्तरीत्या परिहृतमेव। न ह्यत्रात्मीयभागादुद्धृत्य चतुर्थांशस्य दानमुच्यते येन तथा स्यात्। अतोऽसहायमेधातिथिप्रभृतीनां व्याख्यानमेवचतुरश्रं न भारुचेः।II,124

In the only reference to Bhāruci in the *Parāśara-Mādhavīya* in the Vyavahāra section, we find :—

भारुचिस्तु चतुर्भागपदेन विवाहसंस्कारमात्रोपयोगिद्रव्यं विवक्षितम्।
अतो दायभागत्वं असंस्कृतकन्यानां नास्ति इति मन्यन्ते ॥ p, 346

The only place where we have fuller reference to the views of Bhāruci is the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* of Pratāparudra Mahādeva. From the remarks made therein one is likely to conclude that Bhāruci commented upon the Dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu. I could not consult the Vaijayantī of Nanda-paṇḍita and cannot, therefore, say definitely whether he did comment on the Viṣṇu-Sūtra. But it is certain that whatever he wrote, the views of Viṣṇu found an important place in it.

In the following pages I have brought together all the extracts in the name of Bhāruci. The views of Bhāruci have been indicated in a general manner by Mr. Kane and I have not repeated them.

But the main object of this paper is to bring to the notice of scholars the existence of a commentary on the *Manusmṛti* by Bhāruci and the discovery of a large fragment of that commentary.

Fragments of Bhāruci

Fragment

1. उदिते राज्ञः पट्टबन्धसमये उदितः संपाद्यः ॥ S. V. p. 20.
2. कार्यव्यासङ्गेऽपि शक्तौ सत्यां न पुरोहितकृत्यं सन्ध्योपासनमिति ज्ञापनार्थम् ॥ S. V. p. 32
3. यत्तु "आधिः प्रणश्येद्द्विगुणः" इत्यादौ तिलविनिमयवत् धनद्वैगुण्यं स्वत्वापादकं न भवति, अपि तु क्रयान्तपर्यवसानात् स्वत्वापादकमित्युक्तम्; तत्तु विनिमयस्य स्वत्वापादकत्वं नास्तीत्येवंपरं न भवति, किन्तु तस्मिन् स्थले क्रयान्तपर्यवसानादेव स्वत्वापादकत्वम्। अन्यत्र तु तिलविनिमयादौ विनिमयपरिवृत्त्योरपि क्रयादीनामिव स्वत्वापादकत्वं लोकसिद्धं नापह्नोतुं शक्यम् ॥ S. V. p. 50.
4. समाख्या तु विनिमयपरिवृत्त्यनुशययोरपि लक्ष्या ॥ S. V. p. 51.
5. सहस्रसंख्यासंख्येयत्वं सुवर्णमाषाणाम् ॥ S. V. p. 150.
6. असिद्धं सर्वलिखितं भुक्तिप्रभृत्यवरुद्धं आ समन्तात्सिद्धं न भवति कदापि सिद्धं न भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ S. V. p. 160.

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7. सिषाधयिषितार्थविषये[1] आसेधयेत्—तद्गृहीतं स्वं सिषाधयिषितार्थं राजाज्ञयावरोधयेत् । तदभावे तद्गहीतारं तन्नाशक्तं वावरोधयेत् इति मुख्यवृत्त्य. द्रव्यासेधपरमिदं वचनम् ॥ S. V. p. 161.

8. बलवता[2] आसेध एव कर्तव्यो नाक्रोशः ॥ S. V. p. 163.

9. कृत्तोपजीवी[3] कौत्तिकः। कुत्ता प्रदातोत्तमः। कुत्ता नाम गृहक्षेत्रारामग्रामदेशादिपदार्थसमृद्धफलप्राप्त्यर्थं यस्मै कस्मैचिद्व्यवहारिणे तद्गृहादिपदार्थजातसन्दानम् ॥ S. V. p. 165

10. सोऽयमुपचयः[4] कुत्तातः पादमात्रं चेत्तस्मिन्नेवोपचये उत्तमो मनसा इममुपचयं कौत्तिको गृह्णीत । अन्यदायनाशयोः स्वाम्यधीनत्वं न तु कौत्तिकस्य, पादाधिक्य एव स्वाम्यात्तस्येति स्मरति । तदा तस्मिन् पादमात्रोपचितद्रव्ये उत्तमस्य स्वत्वनिवृत्तिः परस्वत्वापत्तिपर्यन्ता भवतीति तात्पर्यम् ॥ S. V. p. 166.

11. नीचविषयेऽप्युपनिधिव्यतिरिक्ता ॥ S. V. p. 269.

12. यस्तु[5] शुल्कं दत्वा दास्यामपत्यमुत्पादितवान् तदपत्यं तस्यैव बीजप्राधान्यात् । शुल्कमदत्वैव गच्छति बीजं चोत्पन्नं तदपत्यं दासीस्वामिन एव ॥ S.V.p.295.

13. भूमिविषयत्वात्प्रतिवन्धकक्रयविषयो[6] न भवति ॥ S. V. p. 321.

14. तत्कर्म[7] ज्ञातीनेवानुसरतीत्यर्थः ॥ S. V. p. 322.

15. असम्भवे तु भूक्रये ज्ञातिसामन्तसन्निधानात्मकधर्मत्रयमवश्यमङ्गीकर्तव्यम् । ......स्वत्वस्य लौकिकत्वेऽपि भूक्रयस्य निषिद्धत्वात् तद्दानाङ्गतया धर्मपञ्चकस्य नियतत्वम् । S. V. p. 325.

16. त्रिपक्षप्रतीक्षणं[8] एतावत्पर्यन्तं प्रतिघाते च माभूदिति दृष्टप्रमाणेभ्यः तुलादिभ्यः कुकलधारणं भिन्नत्वेन स्मृतमिति ध्येयम् । S. V. p. 336.

17. विभागार्हं पितृद्रव्यं दायम् । S. V. p. 344.

18. अजीवद्विभागे श्रोत्रियागारात् ज्येष्ठेनानीतमग्निं भ्रातरो विभजेयुः । अत्र पैतृकत्वमग्नेरुपचरितम् । जीवद्विभागे पित्रानीतमग्निं विभजेयुः । पित्रानीतं पैतृकं इति मुख्यं पैतृकत्वमग्नेः । अस्मिन्पक्षे तथाविधस्यैवाग्नेः पित्रा स्वभ्रातृभ्यः आनीतत्वात् । S. V. p. 345.

[1]. This is found while commenting on the verse of Nārada—

वक्तव्येऽर्थे न तिष्ठन्तमुत्क्रामन्तं च तद्वचः ।
आसेदयेद्विवादार्थी वादी तत्प्रतिवादिनाम् ॥

[2] This is probably Bh.'s comments on Viṣṇu दुर्वलप्रवलकृतावाक्रोशासेधौ, p. 162.

[3] Tihs is on Viṣṇu कौत्तिकोऽपचयभारसहिष्णुरुत्तमस्तूपचयापचयासहिष्णुः p. 163.

[4] This is on Viṣṇu पादमात्रोपचये कौत्तिकस्य स्वाम्यम्, p. 166.

[5] This is based on Vyāsa अन्यदीया तु या दासी दास्यन्यस्य तु सा भवेत् । शुल्कं दत्त्वा तु तां गच्छेत् अगन्ता दास्यमर्हति ॥ p.295.

[6] This is on the Sūtra of Viṣṇu—स्थावरजङ्गमात्मकद्रव्यं क्रेयमुच्यते ।

[7] This is based on the base of Bṛhaspati which reads—

प्रष्टव्याः सन्निधिस्थाश्चेत् क्रेता ज्ञात्यादयः स्मृताः ।
अन्यथा चेत्कृतं कर्म ज्ञातीच्छां दर्शयेत्ततः ॥ p. 522.

[8] This probably represents only Bhāruci's views and not a direct citation.

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19. विभागो नाम द्रव्यधर्मयोरन्यतरस्य पृथक्करणम् । S. V. p. 347.

20. दायधर्मशब्देन[1] दायविभागो धर्मविभागो लक्ष्यते । S. V. p. 348.

21. "जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते" इत्यापस्तम्ववचनैर्यत्र सहत्वचोदना तत्रैवेति मन्तव्यम् । S. V. p. 352.

22. भारुचिमते[2] पत्नीनां बहुत्वसद्भावे तासामेव विभागः । S. V. p. 354.

23. पुत्राभावे[3] मातृधनं दुहितरो विभजेरन्; तदभावे स्वान्वयः पितृव्यादिः गृह्णीयात् "दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयुः" इति स्मृतेः । ऊर्ध्वं धनस्वामिनः पुत्रिकादेरभाव इत्यर्थः । दायादाः धनस्वामिपुत्रिकापितृव्यादयः । अत एवोक्तं संग्रहकारेण

"पितृद्वारागतं द्रव्यं मातृद्वारागतं च यत् ।
कथितं दायशब्देन तद्विभागोऽधुनोच्यते ॥" इति ।

मातृद्वारागतद्रव्यस्य दायशब्दवाच्यत्वात् दायोर्हत्वं पुत्राणामेव न तु स्त्रीणाम् । "तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादाः" इति श्रुतेः, "स्त्रीणां दायविभागो नास्ति निरिन्द्रियत्वात्" इति गौतमस्मृतेश्च भ्रातृसद्भावे दुहितॄणां मातुरलङ्कारादिकं भ्रातॄणामिच्छया यत्किञ्चिद्देयम्, तदेव ग्रहीतव्यं नान्यत् । S. V. p. 363.

24. याजनसकाशादुत्पन्नो लाभो विभजनीयः; क्षेत्रं चाखिलदायादानुमत्या विभजनीयम् । S. V. p. 371.

25. शुल्कशब्देन कन्यामूल्यमुच्यते । तत्तु आसुरादिविवाह एव । S. V. p. 380.

26. षोडशश्राद्धेष्वेव[4] पुत्रपौत्रधनसंसर्गः, तत्प्रेतत्वनिवृत्तेः उभयाकाङ्क्षितत्वात् । S. V. p. 345.

27. स्वमातृद्वारागतं द्रव्यं दीयते ददातीति वा व्युत्पत्त्या गौणवृत्त्या दायशब्दार्थः । S. V. p. 387.

28. शय्यापरिपालनात् सन्तानर्निवाह एव श्रेयान् । S. V. p. 390.

29. "एक[5] एवौरसः पुत्रः" इत्यादिवचनात् एकपुत्रविषये दत्तादिस्वीकारोऽस्ति; तथा च दत्तपुत्रादिस्वीकारात् पूर्वं स्थितस्य पुत्रस्यदत्तादीनां प्रजीवनप्रदानं नान्येषाम् । S. V. p. 393-4.

30. पुत्रस्यैव[6] न तु पुत्रिकायाः । S. V. p. 402.

31. अप्रतिबन्धे दायादे संबन्धातिरिक्तं जन्मापेक्ष्यते । सप्रतिबन्धे दायादे तु प्रतिबन्धाभावो न कारणं तुच्छत्वात् । S. V. p. 403.

[1] This probably found a place in the commentary upon Manu—

एष स्त्रीपुंसयोरुक्तो धर्मो यो रतिसंज्ञितः ।
आपद्यपत्यप्राप्तिश्च दायधर्मं निबोधत ॥

[2] This is only a statement of his views and not an actual citation—

[3] Bhāruci while referring to the views of Yājñavalkya, probably referred to the views मातुर्दुहितरः शेषमृणात्ताभ्य ऋतेऽन्वयः । and remarked as found below in that connection.

[4] This is perhaps on the Sūtra of Viṣṇu—

पुत्रपौत्रद्रव्यसमुदायेनैव और्ध्वदेहक्रियां कुर्युः ।

[5] This is perhaps based on the verse of Manu—

एक एवौरसः पुत्रः पित्र्यस्य वसुनः प्रभुः ।
शेषाणामानृशंस्यात्तु प्रदद्यात्तु प्रजीववम् ॥

[6] This is perhaps on the Sūtra of Viṣṇu जन्मनास्वत्वमापद्यते ।

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32. महापातकादौ भार्यात्वस्यापि वियोग इति गुरुग्रन्थस्य अयमर्थः—भार्यात्वं नाम स्वत्वं न तु पत्नीत्वम्; अन्यथा प्रायश्चित्ते कृते पुनः पत्नीत्वं न स्यात्। S. V. p. 4S7.

33. सब्रह्मचारिणां[1] भ्रातृतुल्यतया तत्पुत्राणां तत्पत्न्यादीनामभावे श्रोत्रियब्राह्मणगामित्वम्। S. V. p. 419.

34. बीजशब्दः[2] पिण्डवाची। S. V. p. 423.

35. निष्कारणमिति[3] वदता विष्णुना भङ्ग्यन्तरेण समानकर्तृणां पुत्रादीनां विद्यमानत्वे दौहित्रस्य कर्तृत्वमसंक्रान्तिः। S. V. p. 427.

36. यः श्राद्धाधिकारी[4] यतो यस्मात्सकाशात् धनमादद्यात्तेन गिलितेन द्रव्येण तस्मै तदर्थं तत्प्रतिनिधिर्भूत्वा कुर्यात्। S. V. p. 428.

37. अविभागदशायामिव[5] संसृष्टिदशायामपि धनमनेकपुरुषस्वत्वसमावेशादेकपुरुषापायेन तत्स्वत्वनिवृत्तावपि पुरुषान्तरस्वत्वानां तथैवावस्थानात् को गृह्णीयादित्यपेक्षाया अनुत्थानात् तादृगपेक्षोपनिपातिनः पत्नीदुहितरन्यायस्य बाधकत्वेनान्यसंसृष्टिन्यायस्यावतारः। S. V. p. 430.

38. वैकल्पिकोऽयं[6] संसर्गविधिः। S. V. p. 431.

39. "पिण्डदोंऽशहरश्चैषाम्[7]" इत्यत्र पिण्डदत्वमेवांशग्रहणे प्रयोजकम्। S.V.d.432.

40. भिन्नोदराणामिति[8] निर्धारणे षष्ठी। भिन्नोदराणां मध्ये संसृष्टिन एव धनं गृह्णीयुः। S. V. p. 438.

41. अपिशब्देन[9] "सोदरस्य तु सोदरः" इत्यत्र सोदरोऽनुकृष्यते। S. V. p. 435.

42. संसृष्टानामसंसृष्टानां पुत्राणां पितृकृतर्णापाकरणं तुल्यतयाभ्याय्यम्। S.V.p.436

43. सर्वाभावे[10] दिव्यानवतारात् स्वरुचिपक्षस्यानवतारात् शुद्ध एव विभागः कर्तव्यः॥ S. V. p. 446

44. अपित्र्यं अविद्यमानपितृद्रव्यम्[11]। एतत्त्रितयविशेषणम्। गार्भं स्त्रीधनम्। धार्मिष्टापूर्तादिकम्। मैत्रं मित्रसकाशाल्लब्धम्। वैद्यं विद्यातो लब्धम्। आकस्मिकमकस्माल्लब्धम् निध्यादिकम्। प्रतिग्रहादिनालब्धम्। एतत्पञ्चविधद्रव्यमध्ये उत्तरत्रयं धर्मविभागाभाव अविभक्तत्वाद्विभाज्यम्। दशवर्षपर्यन्तावस्थितिरूपधर्मविभागसद्भावेऽपि अविभाज्यमेव॥ S. V. p. 447.

[1] This is probably only a statement of views and not a direct citations.
[2] This is on the Sūtra of Viṣṇu बीजग्रहणानुविधायमशं गृह्णीयात्।
[3] This is on the Sūtra of Viṣṇu दौहित्रस्य मातामहश्राद्धं निष्कारणम्।
[4] This is perhaps on Viṣṇu यो यत आदधीत स तस्मै श्राद्धं कुर्यात्।
[5] This is on Viṣṇu संसृष्टधनं न पत्न्यभिगामि।
[6] This is on Viṣṇu पितृव्यपितृभ्रातृभिरेव संसर्गो नान्यैः।
[7] This is on Viṣṇu संसृष्टीनां पिण्डकृदंशहारी।
[8] This is on Viṣṇu भिन्नोदराणां संसृष्टिनो गृह्णीयुः Viṣṇu xvii, 11.
[9] This is based on the śloka of Yājñavalkya असंसृष्टचपि चादद्यात्।
[10] This is on Viṣṇu सर्वाभावेऽपि पुनर्विभागः कर्तव्यः॥
[11] This is on Viṣṇu अपित्र्यं गार्भं धार्मं मैत्रं वैद्यमाकस्मिकमादशाब्दं प्रविभाज्यं। अत ऊर्ध्वं सर्वमविभाज्यम्॥

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45. नाणकादिसन्दर्शनार्थं दत्तं तत्क्षणादेव हस्तलाघवेनान्यथयति सः [उत्क्षेपक] ॥ S. V. p. 461.

46. एतच्चावरोधस्त्रीविषयम्[1] ॥ S. V. p. 469.

47. आनुलोम्येन[2] स्त्रिया नासादिकर्तनम् । असवर्णानुगमने वधदण्डः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ S. V. p. 470.

48. वैश्यस्य भार्यायां यः क्षत्रियो व्रजति तस्यैव भार्यायां वैश्यो व्रजति चेत् शतपणात्मको दण्डो वेदितव्यः । तथा अन्यस्य यस्य कस्यचिद्वैश्यस्य भार्यायां क्षत्रियो गच्छति सहस्रपणाम् दण्ड्यः । क्षत्रियायां वैश्यो गच्छत् सहस्रपणान् दण्डयः ॥ S. V. p. 471.

49. एतच्च दण्डविधानं सवर्णासवर्णमध्यमहीनोत्तमादिकन्यासाधारणम् ॥ S. V. p. 472

50. दण्डप्रणयनं दण्डविधानम् ॥ S. V. p. 477.

Part II.

The oldest of the commentaries on the *Manusmṛti* now available is that of Medhātithi, which is both very extensive and erudite. Though this is the oldest of the extant commentaries, it is not by any means the oldest ever written. Medhātithi himself refers to the views of older commentaries in several places :—

II, 109. उपाध्यायस्त्वाह—धर्मशास्त्रव्यवस्थोच्यते—एतैरध्यापितैर्धर्मातिक्रमो न भवति; न पुनरर्थदे अध्यापिते विद्यादानलक्षणो धर्मो भवति। न हि स्याद्ब्राह्मणान् etc.

IV, 162. उपाध्यायस्त्वाह—नायं प्रतिषेधः पर्युदासोऽयं सङ्कल्पविधानार्थो वा "नोद्यन्तमादित्यमीक्षेत" इतिवत् । अतः प्रयत्नेनातिक्रान्तं भवति सङ्कल्पप्रतिषेधश्च—इति ।

V, 43. उपाध्यायस्त्वाह—युक्तं ब्रह्मचारिणः । वानप्रस्थस्य तु "अपराजितां वास्थाय" इत्यादिना आत्मत्यागोऽपि विहितः ।

IX, 141. उपाध्यायस्त्वाह—पुनर्वचनात् विशेषनिर्देशाभावाच्च क्षेत्रजान्यना कल्पना युक्ता, न त्वभागता, नाऽपि सममागता, न क्षेत्रजतुल्यता इति ।

VIII, 3. व्याख्यानान्तराणि भर्तृयज्ञेनैव सम्यक् कृतानीति तत एवावगन्तव्यानि ।

VIII, 151. यत्तु नवं महार्घमलङ्करणवस्त्रादि परिधीयमानं नासितं तत्र न केवलं वृद्धिहानिः यावद्धनं न नष्टं तत्परिपीडय मूलतः प्रविशति इति महत्तरैर्व्याख्यातम् । यज्वना तु व्याख्यानम् यत्र स्वामी व्यवहरति अध्यधीनश्च तत्राप्यधीनेन बन्धो दत्तः स्वामिना च दृष्टः तत्र धारणकेन कस्मिश्चिदनसरेऽप्यधीनः पृष्टः प्रयोजनं ममानेन बन्धेनास्ति तत्रोपनिधिन्यायेन तेनानुज्ञातः कालान्तरे भुञ्जानं यदि स्वामी पश्यन् तदनुज्ञातं बन्धं क्षपितवान् सतीदृशे विषयेऽर्धवृद्धित्यागः ।

[1] This is on Viṣṇu प्रतिषिद्धे प्रवर्तमानयोः स्त्रीपुंसयोः संग्रहेण वर्णानुसारेण दण्डः ॥

[2] This is on Viṣṇu आनुलोम्येन वासवर्णां वा व्रजन्त्याः नासादेः कर्तनं वधदण्डो वा कल्प्यः ॥

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III,156. यज्वासहायनारदानां तु मते काकिणीमात्रमपि शक्तः करणपरिवृत्तिकाले दापयितव्यः।

II, 134. अन्ये तु व्याचक्षते—नानेन स्थविरत्वं लक्ष्यते। किं तर्हि ? सखित्वमेव। यथाश्रुतत्यागेन स्थविरलक्षणं स्यात्। इयता कालेन सखा, परतस्तु ज्येष्ठ इति।

IV,176. एतदुक्तं पूर्वैर्व्याख्यातमित्यनुगतम्।

V, 127. तत्र चिरन्तनैर्व्याख्यातम् लिङ्गदर्शनेन यथा वै गोः। सास्त्राम्भसि प्लाव्येति।

VII, 155. अपरे त्वाहुः—

आदाने च विसर्गे च तथा प्रैषनिषेधयोः।
पञ्चमे चार्थवचने व्यवहारस्य चेक्षणे॥
दण्डशुद्धयोः सदायुक्तः तेनाष्टगतिको नृपः।
अष्टकर्मा दिवं याति राजा शत्रुभिरर्चितः॥

इत्यौशनसौ श्लोकौ। etc.

This passage occurs in the commentary of Bhāruci on the same verse. P 72.

X, 21. पूर्वैस्तु व्याख्यातम्—तत्पुत्रपौत्राणामेता आख्या।

VIII, 152. Commenting on the verse कुसीदवृद्धिः etc.

एतत्तु ऋजुना पुरुषान्तरमसंक्रान्तमिति व्याख्यातम्······यदि वास्मादन्यद्गृह्यते ग्रहीता देशान्तरं गमिष्यन्, कार्यान्तरेण चान्यत्र संचारयति। ऋजुस्तु तस्मादेवाधमर्णात् अनवीकृते प्रयोगे द्विगुणाधिकां वृद्धिं नेच्छति। अत आह—पुरुषान्तरमसंक्रान्ते पुनः क्रियाप्रयोजनं च वक्ष्यामः। etc.

X. 1. "वैश्यशूद्रोपचारं च संकीर्णानां च संभवः" इति कश्चिदाह।

We are concerned in this paper with the last two of the references. The extract from Medhātithi on Manu VIII, 152 refers to the comments of one Ṛju. Who is this Ṛju?

A large fragment of a commentary on the *Manusmṛti* was recently acquired for the office of the Curator for the Oriental Manuscript Library, Trivendrum. It extends from almost the beginning of the VIth Adhyaya (Verse 9) and ends with XII, 126—the last verse in the Smṛti of Manu. The colophon and concluding passage, if any, is not available. The following colophons occur in the course of the work :—

1. इति ऋजुविमलस्य कृतौ मनुशास्त्रविवरणे षष्ठोऽध्यायः।
2. " " " सप्तमोऽध्यायः।
3. इति भारुचेः कृतौ अष्टमोऽध्यायः।
4. इति भारुचिकृते मनुशास्त्रविवरणे नवमोऽध्यायः।
5. " " दशमोऽध्यायः।
6. इति भारुचेः कृतौ मनुशास्त्रविवरणे एकादशोऽध्यायः।

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From these, it is made out that the commentary was called Manu-Śāstra-Vivaraṇa. One Ṛjuvimala is made the author in two of the colophons, and in three others Bhāruci is made the author. Now is it possible that the scribe has copied from one commentary for two *adhyāyas* and from a different one for three other *adhyāyas*? Or in the alternative, was the commentary of the same individual referred to in one colophon by one of his names and by another of his names in others? The latter possibility seems to be nearer the truth than the former. Bhāruci was probably called by another name Ṛjuvimala. This suggestion is based on the following extract from the, new commentary to which attention is now invited.

कुसीदवृद्धिद्वैंगुण्यं नात्येति सकृदाहिता ।
धान्यें लवे सदे वाह्ये नातिक्रामति पञ्चताम् । VIII 152.

वृद्धिद्वैंगुण्यं नात्येति कालमहत्वेऽपि सति सकृदाहिता पुरुषान्तरमसंक्रान्तर । संक्रमिते तु धने प्रयोक्तान्यत्र पुनर्वर्धंत एव । ग्रहीतृदोषादप्रतिपादनेन पूर्वं प्रयोक्तुर्धनस्य हिरण्ये तावदेवम् । धान्ये तु फलकाले शदकाले प्रतिवर्षं भागशो वर्धमानं तं प्रयुक्तं धान्यं नातिक्रामति पञ्चताम् । हिरण्यवद्द्वैगुण्ये प्राप्त इदं तत्प्रतिषेधार्थं पञ्चगुणत्वमारभ्यते । एवं शदे पञ्चतां परिवर्तमानः नातिक्रामति । एवं लवे प्रयुक्ते व्याध्यूर्णाजानां लवकाले भागशो वर्धंते । तत्प्रयुक्तं वाह्ये तु बलीवर्दादावेष एव न्यायः ।

A comparison of this passage with the one in Medhātithi, wherein the views of Ṛju are cited, will clearly show that the views found in the present commentary are identical with those attributed to Ṛju. Ṛju, I take, is a contraction of Ṛjuvimala. Medhātithi refers to the views of Ṛjuvimala, a large fragment of whose commentary is now recovered. It may be noted that the colophon in the *adhyāya* where this passage is found attributes this commentary to Bhāruci. In other words the views of Ṛju are found in the portion that goes in the name of Bhāruci, while other portions go in the name of Ṛju. This had induced me to identify Ṛju with Ṛjuvimala and again with Bhāruci.

In this connection it is worthy of note to mention that the commentary of Śalikanātha on the *Bṛhat* of Prabhākaramiśra goes by the name of *Ṛjuvimala*. It is not perhaps an unaccountable coincidence. Very probably there was something in common between Śalikanātha and Bhāruci. That they belonged almost to the same period may be made out from other evidences. Śālikanātha was the pupil of Prabhākara and, therefore, belonged to the 8th century A.D. Medhātithi is generally ascribed to the period about 850 A.D. Bhāruci is, therefore, older than 850 A.D. If it is granted that Bhāruci is older than 850 A.D. and if we accept the suggestion of Mr. Kane that Srinivasa had the chronological order in view when

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he referred to Bhāruci, would it be too much to regard Bhāruci as older than Viśvaūrqa? In this case, he becomes one of the oldest *nibandhakāras* whose works are now extant. If there were any relationship between these people, we are not in a position to say what it was.

Bhāruci, it was said at the outset, should have held views that should have been acceptable to Śri-Rāmānuja. We know that one of the cardinal tenets of the philosophy of Rāmānuja is that *Jñānakarma-samuccaya* is the means to the goal. And in the commentary on the *Manusmṛti* this view is clearly expressed by Bhāruci commenting on verses VI, 74 and 75. Bhāruci says :—

सम्यग्दर्शनसंपन्नः कर्मभिर्न निबध्यते ।
दर्शनेन विहीनस्तु संसारं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ VI, 74.

सम्यग्दर्शनं नाम परमात्मदर्शनम् । संसार्यात्मनोऽसंसार्यात्मनो वा देहेन्द्रियमनोबुध्यादिव्यतिरिक्तस्य संसार्यात्मनोऽधिकारिपुरुषस्य वा प्रधानपुरुषयोर्वा नानात्वकस्व कर्माङ्गदेवताया वा संसारस्वभावस्य च वा अपेक्षेते । " गती नृणाम् " इत्येवमाद्युक्तं प्रसंख्यानविज्ञानं वा शरीरगतं शुक्लशोणिताद्युत्पन्नमिति विषयगतं च सम्यग्दर्शनशब्देनोच्यते । सामर्थ्यादेवं ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयमुपदेक्ष्यति अनन्तरश्लोक एवमतश्चैतदेवमतः । दर्शनेन विहीनस्तु केवलकर्मकृत संसारमावृत्तिं प्रतिपद्यते पितृलोकद्वारेण । सैषा ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयस्तुतिः विज्ञानमात्रस्तुतिर्वा । तथा च दर्शयति ।

अहिंसयेन्द्रियासंगैः वैदिकैश्चैव कर्मभिः ।
तपसश्चरणैश्चोग्रैः साधयन्तीह तत्परम् ॥

अहिंसयेति सामान्यमपीदं प्रव्रजितस्य विशेषसाधनम् तद्धर्माणामपि शेषाणां निदर्शनार्थम् । एवमिन्द्रियासङ्गैः ब्रह्मचारिणः वैदिकैश्चाग्निहोत्रादिकर्णभिः । गृहस्थस्य तपश्चरणैरिति तापसस्य । तदेवं सर्वाश्रमेष्वयं ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयः ब्रह्मत्वप्राप्तिहेतुर्विज्ञेयः समुच्चयविकल्पपक्षयोराश्रमाणाम् । न तु बाधपक्षे । प्रकरणाद्वायं प्रव्रजितस्य विज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयः । एवंच सति "वैदिकैश्चैव कर्भभिः" इत्यत्र वेदान्तचोदिता परमात्मोपोसना गृह्यते, नाग्निहोत्रादीनि कर्माणि । तप [स] श्चरणैरित्यत्रापि तद्धर्मा एवानूद्यन्ते । तथा चोपनिषत्स्वेवाह—"तस्म। देवंविधान्तो दान्त उपरतस्तितिक्षुः समाहितो भूत्वात्मन्येवात्मानंपश्यैत्" इति । न वानप्रस्थधर्माः । एवं च सति अयमनेन सम्यग्विज्ञानसमानभावनाक्रमेण प्रसन्नतत्त्वज्ञानो वैराग्यप्रकर्षात् ॥

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DEFECTS OF THE TRADITIONAL METHOD OF INTERPRETING THE BRAHMASŪTRAS

A STUDY OF ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA AS A BHĀṢYAKARA

By

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There have been several efforts to find out which of the Ācāryas has interpreted the *Brahmasūtras* most exactly. Thibaut, Ghate and Teliwala have tried to compare the system of the Brahmasūtrakāra with those of the latest Ācāryas and have respectively come to the conclusion that Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Vallabha represent the view of the Sūtrakāra more correctly than the rest. This difference of opinion among the modern scholars is very much like the difference of view among the Ācāryas, both of them being due to the want of a definite method of interpreting the *Sūtras*. They all claim to have followed the method of interpretation summed up in the following verse :

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वता फलम् ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

This method seems to us to be defective for the simple reason that persons who claim to have followed it have widely differed in their views of the teaching of the *Sūtras*.

We take here Śaṅkarācārya as a representative of the method of interpretation of the Ācāryas and study the defects underlying his method as typical of the old bhāṣya-method.

(1) As is well known, Śaṅkara follows the scheme of परा विद्या, अपरा विद्या and अविद्या in his interpretation of the Upaniṣads as well as the Brahmasūtra. Śaṅkara quotes no Sūtra to show that the Sūtrakāra *himself* mentions the scheme. (*b*) He gives no definite order for grouping the *Sūtras* into these three classes. The result is that he would *suddenly* say that a particular Pāda, a particular Adhikaraṇa or a particular Sūtra begins a topic of अविद्या or अपरा विद्या or परा विद्या, though the immediately preceding one had a different topic. Thus, *Bra. Sū.* III. 2.11-37 describe the निर्गुण ब्रह्म but *Bra. Sū.* III. 2.38 begins the description of सगुणब्रह्म (फलमत उपपत्तेः—III. 2.38). If he had taken मुक्तिफलम् by the word फलम्, there would be no objection, but he takes जीवात्मनः कर्मणां फलम्. (*c*) According to this scheme of Śaṅkara, some Sūtras of अपरा विद्या are to be found in all पादs,

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while no Sūtras of परा विद्या or अविद्या are found in some Pādas. This situation is itself suggestive of the original intention of the Sūtrakāra. (*d*) Śaṅkara says that the उत्क्रान्ति described in *Bra. Sū.* IV. 2 belongs to अपरा विद्या and अविद्या. But it is rather strange, then, that देवयानगति which takes place at the end of the उत्क्रान्ति, should belong only to the अपरा विद्या, as it does according to Śaṅkara. (*e*) The Nirṇayasāgara Press Pandit could not decide where according to Śaṅkara Bra. Sū. I. 3 described the परा विद्या or the अपरा विद्या so, he says that "अत्र प्रायो ज्ञेयब्रह्मवाक्यानि विचारितानि. प्रायः is noteworthy. In our opinion, there is no support from the *Sūtras* themselves for Śaṅkara's threefold scheme.

(2) If we follow Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya*, there are several Sūtras dealing with topics which have nothing to do with ब्रह्म-जिज्ञासा, but which should rather find and have actually found—a place either in a धर्मसूत्र or in a कर्मसूत्र. प्राणस्य अनग्नताचिन्तनम् and आचमनम् (III. 3. 18), the discussion whether the Āśramas other than Gṛhasthāśrama depend for their authenticity on Smṛti and Ācāra only or on Śruti also (III. 3. 18-20), the question whether the sin committed by गुरुतल्पग-अवकीर्णिन् is a महापातकor an उपपातक (III. 4. 41-42) should find a place in a धर्मशास्त्र. Śaṅkara finds the question of कर्माङ्गभूतविज्ञानs in III. 3. 43, III. 3. 55-56, 61-66, III. 3. 44-46 (which, Śaṅkara says, discuss the question whether कर्माङ्गविज्ञानs are to be performed by the priest or the यजमान himself), etc.

(3) Śaṅkara gives the names of the four Adhyāyas of the *Brahmasūtra*, but we find cases where the topics discussed in an Adhyāya are inconsistent with the name of that Adhyāya, e.g. II. 3. 41 discusses the question of the कर्तृत्व of the जीव while the फल of the ordinary कर्मन्s of the जीव is discussed in III. 2. 42 i.e. in the साधनाध्याय. (*b*) The question of गति (going to Brahman) is discussed both in the साधनाध्याय (III. 2. 29-30) and also in the फलाध्याय as Śaṅkara himself notices. The interpretation of the Muṇḍaka Upa. Śruti mentioning the two birds is the topic both in III. 3. 34 and in I. 2. 11, as Śaṅkara himself says. We think that this kind of overlapping of the topics of discussion is not possible in the *Sūtras*, though references to the *Sūtras* in the *Sūtras* themselves are there.

(4) Śaṅkara in his commentaries on the Upaniṣads takes अक्षर in *Mu. Upa.* I. 1 and अक्षर in *Bra. Upa.* III. 8. 8 (याज्ञवल्क्यगार्गी संवाद) as the निर्गुणब्रह्मन्. He is never tired of quoting a thousand times the latter नेतिनेतिश्रुति in support of his doctrine of पर ब्रह्मन् and परा विद्या. But in his com. on the *Bra. Sū.* he has to interpret both these Śrutis as dealing with the अपरब्रह्मन् or ईश्वर,

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because the Sūtrakāra says that the रूप of the अक्षर is mentioned in the Muṇḍaka Upa. रूपोपन्यासाच्च—*Bra. Sū.* I. 2. 22) and because he holds that अक्षर of *Bṛ. Upa.* has the attribute of अम्बरान्तधृति or अम्बारान्तप्रशासन. There are other cases of a *double* interpretation of Śrutis, if we compare his com. on the Upa. and his com. on the *Bra. Sū.* on the same Śrutis. The case is like that of his interpretation of कृष्ण in ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठाहममृतस्याव्ययस्य च (*Bha. Gi.* XIV. 27). Śaṅkara offers three interpretations and is ready to take "अहम्" (i.e. कृष्ण referred to by अहम्) as निर्विकल्पक ब्रह्मन् and "ब्रह्मन्" as the सविकल्पक ब्रह्मन्, though throughout his com. on the Gītā he follows the reverse view about 'कृष्ण' and 'अहम्'.

(5) Śaṅkara professes to follow the *Sūtras* and their teaching but on some occasions he does set aside the Sūtrakāra's view, and he clearly says so. Vide the interpretation of प्रियशिरस्त्वादि in *Bra. Sū.* III. 3. 12. The Sūtrakāra takes them as ब्रह्मधर्माः while Śaṅkara holds them to be कोशधर्माः. The Sūtrakāra takes the शुक्ल and कृष्ण गतिs of *Gītā* XIII. 21-26 as dealing with the ब्रह्मज्ञानिन् who is योगिन्, he takes अग्नि, ज्योतिः, अहः, etc. as time-terms and discusses them as meaning the time of the departure of the ब्रह्मज्ञानिन् and he clearly says that the two गतिs of the Gītā are "स्मार्त" and not श्रौत and that therefore they are not consistent with the देवयान and पितृयान गतिs of the *Chhāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads*. But Śaṅkara at first interprets the Sūtra literally and then tries to show that there is no conflict between the *Gītā* and the Upaniṣads on this point. To prove this he has to say that शुक्लगति and कृष्णगति of the Gītā deal with अपरब्रह्मोपासना and with सकामवैदिक कर्माणि respectively. He also says that अग्नि, ज्योतिः, etc. are आतिवाहिकीदेवताs.

(6) About the विषयवाक्यश्रुतिs referred to by the *Brahmasūtras* we must note that in *Bra. Sū.* Chap. I each Adhikaraṇa and hence each Sūtra in each Adhikaraṇa discusses one and the same Śruti. So in *Bra. Sū.* Chap. I we find help from *all* the Sūtras of each Adhikaraṇa to trace the विषयवाक्य to the Upaniṣads. The case is different when a Śruti is quoted or rather referred to in *Bra. Sū.* Chaps. III and IV. In these latter the Śrutis are not discussed but they are referred to as authority on the matter in hand. It is due to this fact that the विषयवाक्यs given by Śaṅkara in his *bhāṣya* on *Bra. Sū.* Chaps. III and IV are often not correct. In some cases no विषयवाक्य is intended by the Sūtrakāra though Śaṅkara gives a विषयवाक्य, e.g., न स्थानतोऽपि परस्योभयलिङ्गं सर्वत्र हि. Śaṅkara—सर्वत्र = ब्रह्मस्वरूपप्रतिपादमपरेषु वाक्येषु. In other cases Śaṅkara gives a विषयवाक्य which is not the one which the Sūtrakāra had in mind e.g. प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः should refer to अस्ति भगवो नाम्नो भूयः, नाम्नो वाव भूयोऽस्ति इति, तन्मे भगवान् ब्रवीतु इति, वाग्वाव नाम्नो भूयसी.

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(7) The Sūtras are by their very Sūtra-style elliptical and require several words to be added to them in order to get a sense out of them. These additions ought to be founded upon the context. But the Ācāryas have added to the words of a Sūtra as many more words as they liked. (*a*) In *Bra. Sū.* III. 3. 2 (भेदान्नेति चेन्नैकस्यामपि Śaṅkara takes भेदात् as गुणभेदात्, but चोदनाद्यविशेषात् in the preceding Sūtra (III. 3. 1) suggests "चोदनादि भेदात्". Moreover, चोदनादि in III. 3. 1 is interpreted as referring to all the *four* in the जैमिनिसूत्र-संयोगरूपचोदनाख्याविशेषात्. But I would ask, why does the Sūtrakāra not say 'संयोगाद्यविशेषात्', if he wants to refer to all the four? So, I suggest that चोदनाद्यविशेषात् refers to the identity of only two viz. चोदना and आख्या. Then, again, Śaṅkara's interpretation of सर्व as referring to only the वैश्वानर श्रुतिs of the *Chhāndogya* and Bṛhadāraṇyaka *Upaniṣads* shows that he takes सर्ववेदान्त as *some* Vedantas, though the Sūtrakāra refers to *all* the Vedantas. Śaṅkara does not notice that वेदान्तs should exclude the संहिता and ब्राह्मणारण्यकश्रुतिs. Lastly, to एकस्याम् in III. 3. 2 he adds विद्यायाम्. I suggest that on the ground of the Jai. Sū. referred to by चोदनाद्यविशेषात् in *Bra. Sū.* III. 3. 1 एकस्याम् should mean एकस्यां शाखायाम्. शाखायाम् is also suggested by शाखासु in अङ्गावबद्धास्तु न शाखासु हि प्रतिवेदम्—*Bra. Sū.* III. 3.

Bra. Sū. III. 3. 17 and 18. Śaṅkara adds न to these Sūtras. Śabara says that the वृत्तिकार added न to some of the *Jai. Sū. Bra. Sū.* III. 3. 11 (आनन्दादयः प्रधानस्य) should mean that आनन्द and others belong to the प्रधान or अरूपवत् ब्रह्मन्. But Śaṅkara adds "धर्माः सर्वे सर्वत्र प्रतिपत्तव्याः." This addition helps him in bringing out his doctrine of उपसंहार from this Pāda.

Bra. Sū. III. 4. 27. शमदमाद्युपेतः स्यात् तथापि तु तद्विधेस्तदङ्गतया तेषामवश्यानुष्ठेयत्वम्. This should mean, "Even though a मुमुक्षु be possessed of शमदमादि, they (यज्ञ, दान and तपः mentioned in *Bra. Sū.* III. 4.) must be performed because the विधि about those शमदमादि is subordinate to the विधि about them (यज्ञादि). But Śaṅkara adds—यदि कश्चिन्मन्येत यज्ञादीनां विद्यासाधनभावो न न्याय्यो विध्यभावात् ·····तथापि तु शमदमाद्युपेतः स्याद्विद्यार्थी. This is how he brings in his view of शमदमादि in the साधनचतुष्टय. The very force of तथापि तु which follows शमदमाद्युपेतः स्यात् in the Sūtra, is not only lost but a reverse doctrine is drawn out of the Sūtra, never intended by the Sūtrakāra.

Bra. Sū. III. 4. 19. विकारावर्ति च should mean विकारावर्ति च मुक्तस्वरूपम् and तथाहि स्थितिमाह should mean मुक्तस्वरूपस्य स्थितिमाह श्रुतिः Śaṅkara adds पारमेश्वरं रूपम् to विकारावर्ति and interprets स्थिति as सत्ता instead of as "continuation."

(8) Śaṅkara sometimes takes the liberty of adding remarks

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which amount to the addition of altogether a new Sūtra or *Sūtras*. Thus in his *bhāṣya* on *Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 3 तडितोऽधि वरुण: सम्बन्धात्) he adds—वरुणादधीन्द्रप्रजापती स्थानान्तराभावात् पाठसामर्थ्याच्च He wants us to add इन्द्रलोक and प्रजापतिलोक to the worlds mentioned by the Sūtrakāra. But I beg to suggest that probably the Sūtrakāra does not take इन्द्रलोक as different from देवलोक which follows the संवत्सर. And about the प्रजापति or प्रजापतिलोक, the Sūtrakāra gives his view in the discussion of कार्यम् and मुख्यम् in IV. 3. 7-16. बादरि and जमिनि held that प्रजापतिलोक was a कार्य of ब्रह्मन् ; but बादरायण did not believe in this विशेष (विशेषं च दर्शयति IV. 3. 16) between प्रजापति and ब्रह्मन् (Neu.). He seems to have held that प्रजापति was the साकार aspect of the कारण or ब्रह्मन् (neu.) itself. In III. 3. 51 (न सामान्यादप्युपलब्धेर्मृत्युवन्नहि लोकापत्तिः) he seems to say that प्रजापतिलोक is not subject to the लोकापत्तिदोष.

We suggest that no additions of this type should be allowed. But as Dr. Belvalkar has shown, the Ācāryas have added or removed even *Sūtras* themselves.

(9) We also meet with cases in which Śaṅkara gives a wrong sense to the words in the *Sūtras* e.g. प्रकरण is taken as प्रक्रम (III. 3. 7), चं as तु in III. 3. 9.

He also gives two meanings to one and the same word e.g. पाद in III. 2. 33, three meanings to अवधारण in III. 2. 17.

(10) Śaṅkara interprets स्मरन्ति, स्मर्यंते, स्मार्तम्, स्मृते: (II. 3. 47, III. 1. 14, IV. 1. 10 etc. etc.), स्मर्यमाणम् etc. as referring to the गीता or the महाभारत, but in the स्मृतिपाद he takes स्मृति as सांख्य. I have shown elsewhere that स्मृत्यनवकाश refers to the fact that Gītā doctrine of प्रकृति will have no scope if प्रकृति is to be identified with ब्रह्मन् itself as proposed by the Sutrakāra in प्रकृतिश्च प्रतिज्ञादृष्टान्तानुपरोधात् (I. 4. 21). So, in the स्मृतिपाद the Sūtrakāra does not *refute* सांख्य, but he interprets (व्याख्याताः) those principles of the Gītā which are not consistent with the same of the accepted Upaniṣads. एतेन शिष्टापरिग्रहाः अपि व्याख्याताः—व्याख्याताः means 'interpreted',—not प्रतिषिद्धतया व्याख्याताः as Śaṅkara says. Cf. एतेन मातरिश्वा व्याख्यातः.

(11) Śaṅkara's पूर्वपक्षs are also often doubtful and sometimes absurd.

(*a*) III. 2. 32—An opponent argues that ब्रह्मन् is called सेतु (bridge) and therefore there must be some principle beyond the निरस्तप्रपञ्च and चेतनब्रह्मन् discussed in the preceding *Sūtras*, because there is a place beyond the ordinary bridge, which is reached after crossing the bridge. The सिद्धान्तिन् simply says that ब्रह्मन् is not actually a bridge, it is called सेतु because it is *like* the सेतु.

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(*b*) III. 3. 14-15. A पूर्वपक्ष holds that in इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मनः etc. the परत्व or higherness of each of अर्थाः, मनः बुद्धि etc. is intended by the Śruti. The Siddhāntin simply says that the परत्व of पुरुष alone is intended to be conveyed.

(*c*) III. 3. 57 gives a पूर्वपक्ष about the meaning of the वैश्वानर श्रुति, which is the very view for holding which each of the six pupils were severely rebuked by Aśvapati Kekaya in the story of the Upa. itself.

(*d*) III. 4. 18-20—A discussion between the पूर्वपक्षिन् and the सिद्धान्तिन् takes place about the three आश्रमs other than गृहस्थाश्रम. Then a gentleman belonging to a third party tells Śaṅkara that the point at issue is clearly stated in the Jābāla Śruti. Śankara simply replies that the discussion took place *without* considering that श्रुति (अनपेक्ष्य त्वेतां श्रुतिमयं विचारः इति द्रष्टव्यम्).

(*e*) III. 4. 50. Meaning of बाल्य is discussed. The पूर्वपक्षिन् opposes the सिद्धान्तिन् who holds बाल्य prescribed for the मुमुक्षु to mean भावविशुद्धि, अप्ररूढेन्द्रियत्व, दम्भदर्पादिरहितत्व. The opponent says that बाल्य must mean कामाचारवादभक्षणता and यथोपपादमूत्रपुरीषत्वम् because these are the प्रसिद्धतरं लोके बाल्यम्.

(12) Neither Śaṅkara nor any other Acārya seems to have given a satisfactory answer to the question : Why the Sūtrakāra gives three Pādas (*Bra. Sū.* I. 1, 2 and 3) instead of one very long Pāda in his statement that all the श्रुतिवाक्यs discussed in I. 1-3 deal with ब्रह्मन् ? According to Śaṅkara I. 1 discusses श्रुतिs which use words denoting non-Brahman e.g., आकाश, प्राण, ज्योतिः, but which have स्पष्टब्रह्मलिङ्गs. But we must note that *Bra. Sū.* I. 3. 39-40 and 41 discuss श्रुतिs which have also the same words, प्राण (in प्राणे एजति निःसृतम्), ज्योतिः (ज्योतिर्दर्शनात्—I. 3. 40) and आकाश (आकाशोऽर्थान्तरत्वादिव्यपदेशात्. In these Sūtras also the decision is arrived at on the ground of स्पष्ट ब्रह्मलिङ्गs in the श्रुति in question. In *Bra. Sū.* I. 2 and 3 we generally have the argument of the mention of a धर्म, गुण or विशेषण in the श्रुतिवाक्यं, which can belong only to ब्रह्मन्. Śaṅkara does not say that उपास्यब्रह्मन् and ज्ञेयब्रह्मन् are the topics respectively in *Bra. Sū.* I. 2 and 3. It is the Pandit of the Nirṇayasāgara Press who says so and he too had to say that in I. 3 प्रायः ज्ञेयब्रह्मवाक्यानि विचारितानि ; प्रायः is noteworthy.

(13) Let us see what remarks he makes in his भाष्य on *Bra. Sū.* III. 3 :—

(*a*) He gives two meanings to 4 Sūtras of this Pāda (16, 17, 26, 35).

(*b*) He connects Sūtras 29-30, 31, 33, 34, 48 and 53 wtih respectively *Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 15, III. 3. 11, I. 2. 11, III. 3. 44

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and the very beginning of the book itself. On III. 3. 53, he remarks ननु शास्त्रप्रमुख एव प्रथमे पादे शास्त्रफलोपभोगयोग्यस्य देहव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनोऽस्तित्वमुक्तम्। सत्यमुक्तं भाष्यकृता न तु तत्रात्मास्तित्वे सूत्रमस्ति। इह तु स्वयमेव सूत्रकृता तदस्तित्वमाक्षेपपुरःसरं प्रतिष्ठापितम्। We ask: Why could the Sūtrakāra himself not place this Sūtra (III. 3. 53) before *Bra. Sū.* I. 1. 1?

(*c*) In III. 3. 58, Śaṅkara says :—स्थिते चैतस्मिन्नविकरणे सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययमित्यादि द्रष्टव्यम्. So Śaṅkara says that the 58th Sūtra should precede III. 3. 1.

(*d*) In Bra. Sū. III. 3. 39 the पूर्वपक्ष opposes the गुणोपसंहार of the गुण्s in certain Śrutis and the सिद्धान्तिन् is made to argue for, and to establish the necessity of the उपसंहार of the गुण्s. And, then, Śaṅkara adds :—गुणवतस्तु ब्रह्मणः एकत्वाद्विभूतिप्रदर्शनायायं गुणोपसंहारः सूत्रितो नोपासनायेति द्रष्टव्यम्। "The गुणोपसंहार in the other Adhikaraṇas of this Pāda was meant for उपासना, but the गुणोपसंहार in this Adhikaraṇa is not similarly useful."

(*e*) III. 3. 25.—Śaṅkara says that this Adhikaraṇa incidentally gives स्तुत्युपसंहार, as there was the occasion for गुणोपसंहार.

(*f*) Śaṅkara connects Sūtra 5 with Sūtra 9 and thus takes Sūtras 6-7-8 as a digression.

(*g*) Śaṅkara breaks off the connection of III. 3 with III. 2 by saying that III. 2 deals with निर्गुणब्रह्मन् but III. 3 with सगुणब्रह्मन्.

We believe, so many remarks of this kind in one single Pāda should make us doubt whether Śaṅkara had a correct unbroken tradition about the meaning of this Pāda.

(14) There are several Sūtras in which the expression तदुक्तम् occurs. Śaṅkara takes it as referring to the Brahma Sūtras, to some Upaniṣad Śrutis, and, sometimes, to the Jaimini-Sūtras. Rāmānuja says that "तदुक्तम्" refers to all these and in one place to the *Gautamadharmasūtra*. According to Vallabha the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is referred to by four Sūtras in which तदुक्तम् occurs. In my opinion तदुक्तम् always refers only to a Sūtra in the portion of the *Brahmasūtra* preceding the Sūtra in question (Vide The meaning of *tad uktam*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, 1937).

(15) There are several बहुव्रीहि compounds in the *Brahmasūtra* which require certain lists of attributes or names, in which a certain attribute or name stands *first*. Thus, चोदनाद्यविशेषात् in III. 3. 1 must refer to चोदना and आख्या only. Similarly we have आनन्दादयः (III. 3. 11), सत्यादयः (III. 3. 38) and आयतनादयः (III. 3. 39). Neither Śaṅkara nor any other Ācarya has

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supplied a list as required by the nature of the बहुव्रीहि compound. I have suggested that आनन्दादयः must refer to आनन्द (in आनन्दाद्धयेव खल्विमानि भूतानि etc. referred to in *Bra. Sū.* I. 1. 2) and आदि to the Śrutis discussed in the other Adhikaraṇas of the same Pāda and that आयतनादिभ्यः refers to द्युभ्वाद्यायतनं स्वशब्दात् and the Śrutis discussed in 1. 3, and that therefore सत्यादयः refers to the Śruti discussed in I. 2. 1 (*Chā. Upa.* III. 14. 1-2) in which the word सत्यसंकल्पः occurs) and those in the remaining Adhikaraṇas of I. 2. Similarly शब्दादिभ्यः in III. 3. 58 should refer to शब्द, प्रकरण, भेद and संज्ञा stated in III. 3. 6, 7 and 8 and not to शब्द, गुण, etc. (?), as taken by Śaṅkara.

(16) It need not be said that the Ācāryas never thought of comparing and contrasting the statements in the Sūtras. Thus, अरूपवदेव हि तत्प्रधानत्वात् (III. 2. 14) should be contrasted with रूपोपन्यासाच्च (I. 2. 23). Then, we know that Brahman is रूपवत् and also अरूपवत् and the latter is the chief of the two (प्रधान) in the system of the Sūtrakāra.

(17) The Ācāryas did not also get a correct Sūtrapāṭha

(*a*) They generally take the Sūtras with हि as a हेतुसूत्र, but often they take a similar Sūtra as a प्रतिज्ञासूत्र i. e. as the first Sūtra of an Adhikaraṇa. Thus Śaṅkara takes प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति (III. 2. 22), सैव हि सत्यादयः (III. 2. 38), etc. as the first or only Sūtra of an Adhikaraṇa though generally he takes Sūtras with हि as हेतुसूत्रs only.

(*b*) Similarly च is noteworthy in Sūtras like व्याप्तेश्च समञ्जसम् (III. 3. 9), संभृतिद्युव्याप्त्यपि चातः (III. 3. 23), अतश्चायनेऽपि दक्षिणे (IV. 2. 20). Śaṅkara takes these Sūtras as the first Sūtras of an Adhikaraṇa though he mostly takes Sūtras with similar च as belonging to the same Adhikaraṇa as the preceding Sūtra.

(*c*) Similarly Sūtras with तु also should be studied.

(*d*) There are several Sūtras which contain only a हेतु given in the ablative case e.g. आध्यानाय प्रयोजनाभावात् (III. 3. 14), एक आत्मनः शरीरे भावात् (III. 3. 53), प्रतिषेधादिति चेन्न शारीरात् (IV. 2. 12). Śaṅkara takes these as the first Sūtras of an Adhikaraṇa and then makes additions to them in order to make out a complete sense from them, though generally he takes such हेतुसूत्रs as part of an Adhikaraṇa to which the preceding Sūtra belongs.

Some more suggestions also referring to the question of the textual criticism can be made. All the above points show that not only had the Ācāryas no correct tradition about the meaning of the *Brahma Sūtra* but they had even no correct text of the same. The system of the Sūtrakāra was already forgotten long before Śaṅkara.

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It must be remarked that I have examined Śaṅkara only as an interpretor of the Brahmasūtra. I have taken him as a type of the Ācāryas, only because I happen to be more familiar with his *bhāṣya* than with the *bhāṣyas* of other Ācāryas.

We could not study here Śaṅkara as a philosopher. But we must not forget that even Deussen was enamoured of Śaṅkara as a philosopher and placed him on equal rank with Kant, if not higher. I have not been able to notice Śaṅkara here in his full capacity as an Ācārya, which consists not only in writing *bhāṣyas*, but also and chiefly in *leading the people* in matters religious, philosophical and spiritual. The Ācārya is not a professor sitting in his chair at the table and writing papers and publishing them. He *practises* the very doctrine he teaches. He has several privileges by which he achieves his aim. One of them is to prepare a new भाष्य on the foundation of the old scriptures, in which the people believe. It is this new System or a new School of an old System which helped the religious progress of the Indian people at large in earlier days.

It must also be admitted that the present is not the time to start a new संप्रदाय. Sects have divided the Hindus among themselves. Only a historical and critical study of the scriptures can guide the modern world. A scholar who tries to be a new आचार्य or an extremely staunch follower of an old आचार्य will hinder the progress of the people rather than help it. It is with this belief that a critical study of Śaṅkara's method is offered here and thereby I have indirectly suggested what the new historical, philological and critical method should be. There are several positive aspects of this new method. I propose to mention them elsewhere on a future occasion.

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THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AS A TREATISE ON ADHYATMA, KARMA, YOGA AND DVANDVA

By

PROF. V. B. ATHAVALE, NASIK.

The first question that may be asked is, on what grounds can the Gīta be called a treatise? The answer is that in 15.20, the Gītā names itself in that way. गुह्यतमं शास्त्रमिदमुक्तं. The word शास्त्र is translated as a treatise. It may be argued that the word शास्त्र should be translated as a science. The reason for not using the word science is, that it means researches and discussions about the cause and effect of tangible material things only. The Gītā discusses the problem of the cause and its effects not in this world, but the results of actions of the individual after death. (त्रिविधं कर्मणः फलं अत्यागिनां प्रेत्यभवति). The technical words of the Gītā are 'Karma' and 'Gati'. The word Karma includes both the tangible physical functioning and the intangible functions of the mind and the intellect. But the word 'Gati' means exclusively the transcedental or intangible results after death. A question may be asked as to how can the tangible actions here, produce an intangible effect after death? The answer is that, a living body is not a mere collection of the tangible electrons and protons. It is something more. It is the intangible intention and knowledge faculty of the mind and the intellect that produce the intangible impressions of sin or merit (पाप, पुण्य; सुकृत, दुष्कृत). The problem of sin and merit is beyond the reach of physical sciences and they have chosen of their own accord to deal with problems which can be demonstrated here. The words 'Gati' after death are self-contradictory terms in science. Hence the word शास्त्र has been translated as a treatise and not as a science.

By treatise we mean a thorough discussion of the pros and cons of the chosen problem. About the actual problem of the Gīta, we shall discuss a bit later. Another characteristic of a treatise is its consistency and self-sufficiency. There must be clear definitions of all the technical terms used. The conclusions must be definite and free from ambiguity. Whether the conclusions will be acceptable to all it does not matter.

How the important words have been skilfully defined and consistently interlinked in the Gīta we shall illustrate by

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actual example. Let us take the statement, "यं यं वाऽपि स्मरन् भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरं । तं तमेवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावभावित:". Here the word Bhāva is used in such a way that the context clearly shows that, it means some definite intangible thing, which when it passes away from this gross body, leaves it dead. The word कलेवर is used for a dead body. शरीर means a living body. The root meaning of the word शरीर is 'that which is liable to change'. The metabolic changes are going on in the body as long as the life is in the body. Immediately after the life is extinct, the metabolism stops and the decomposition begins. This is exactly the criterion of death accepted by the medical science. Thus, change means the manifestation of life in the gross body. Thus, though the life (भाव) is producing the effect of change in the body and keeping it alive, yet it is not identical with it. For, it can leave the body, this is directly demonstrated. Bhāva is thus an intangible yet definite entity, distinct from the gross dead bodies. Whether the Bhāva can remain without a gross body, we shall discuss later.

The word Bhāva is used in the Gīta in more than one sense. To avoid confusion the different meanings are expressed by using different adjectives. The adjectives are व्यक्त or क्षरभाव, अक्षरभाव, पर or सनातन भाव. The adjective Akṣara is generally dropped and is always implied when the word Bhāva is used singly. Of the three adjectives we shall first consider the word (क्षर 8.4, अधिभूतं क्षरों भावो) 15.16. (क्षर: सर्वाणि भूतानि). क्षर means birth, death, old age, diseases, pain. That which has got these five defects (जन्म, मृत्यु, जरा, व्याधि, दु:ख; 13.8) is क्षरभाव. But we have already seen that these are the metabolic manifestations, taking place in the organs of a living body. This is exactly what 13.1, 'इदं शरीरं क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते' says. Thus the word शरीर is associated with क्षेत्र. 13.5-6 gives a short classification of the शरीर. The general characteristics of शरीर is given as यत्‌विकारि, यत: च यत्. Of these यतश्चयत् suggests the reproductive capacity. It means that the body here, is formed out of the material from here by variously combining the electrons and protons. The word विकार is associated with another word प्रकृति by 13.19. विकारान् गुणान् प्रकृति संभवान्. The word Prakriti is used in two senses, (7.4 and 5). परा, अपरा G. (15.7-9 . 'मन: षष्ठानीद्रियाणि' gives a clear picture of the way in which the gross body is formed. 'वायोर्गन्धानिवाशयात् । श्रोत्रं चक्षु: स्पर्शनं रसनं घ्राणं प्रकृतिस्थानि कर्षति । शरीरं अवा:. This shows that the अपरा can be identified with the material part in the living body. Like the medical terminology the Gīta divides the organs into two groups, the sensory and the motor. Five are sensory and five are motor. Mind is classified

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in the Gīta both as the sixth and eleventh organ. It is not a contradiction. As mind has control over the sensory organs it is called sixth (मनः षष्ठानीद्रियाणि। इन्द्रियाणि दशैकं च) while in the general classification it naturally becomes eleventh. The words बुद्धि, धृति, मन, चेतना are used like the word Prakriti in two senses. One is Kṣara and the other is Akṣara. In the sense of functions they are क्षर, but these as भाव or विभूति, they are अक्षर.

The word Puruṣa is also used in three senses like the word Bhāva. The adjective 'kṣara' added to the word 'puruṣa' makes it mean just like 'kṣara-bhava', which we have already discussed. Thus the words 'kṣetra', 'Kṣara-bhava', 'Kṣara-puruṣa', 'Apara-prakṛiti', 'Śarīra', 'Bhūta-prakṛiti' have been connected and it is clear that they are synonyms. The word 'Kṣetra' includes the क्षर energy in it. In the 13th ch. energy—चेतना—is included in the Kṣetra. It is out of Kṣetra that a living body is formed. Thus all the living bodies have got the common intrinsic property of being 'Kṣara'.

Now we shall turn to the word 'Akṣara-bhāva' or merely 'Bhāva'. Just as the word अक्षर is always assumed when the word 'Bhāva' is used singly, similarly when the word 'Puruṣa' is used singly, the adjective 'Akṣara' is always taken for granted. Puruṣa is defined as, पुरुषश्चाधिदैवतं । श्रद्धामयो अयं पुरुषः । कूटस्थः पुरुषः अक्षर उच्यते । अहं सर्वभूताशयस्थितः आत्मा । ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशे............ But Śraddhā is defined as arising out of Svabhāva, which is equivalent with Adhyātma. In 10.4-5, there are twenty words used to show the different powers of the Soul. These are called 'Bhāvas' manifesting through the Bhūtas. These are distinct from the intrinsic 'kṣara' powers in the Bhūtas. The distinction between them is not one of mere degree, but of kind. It means that they are intrinsically different. For instance, in the Kṣetra, are included all the mechanical gross powers like cohesion, adhesion, etc., of the molecules, the inter-atomic powers of chemical affinities, the electronic powers of light and X-rays, or even the cosmic powers of positrons and neutrons. The Gīta gives the distinction between the powers of the soul and the power in the Bhūtas as follows :—'One who knows the Kṣetra is क्षेत्रज्ञ. The power of knowledge or consciousness is intrinsically different from other powers mentioned above. A mechanical robot perfected in recent years was made to walk in the streets of London, another had opened an exhibition in London from New York, and had even delivered the opening speech. All these magic things are impossible even for a human body to execute. Still a robot

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is wanting in consciousness exhibited by a living cell of the vegetable or animal kingdom, even. In the human body also, when Gītā uses the words Buddhi, Dhṛiti, Smṛiti, Mind, in the sense of organs of manifestations are classed under Kṣetra. But when it means the Soul power it is classed as Bhāva. 13-26, therefore says, "Anything that is born, whether it belongs to the animal or vegetable kingdom, is due to the combination of Kṣetra and its knower." 'अन्तवन्त इमे देहा: नित्यस्योक्ता: शरीरिण:'

Thus it will be seen that Bhāva, Puruṣa, Śraddhā, Para-prakṛiti, are all synonyms and have got the common peculiarity of being Akṣara. The meaning of this word is worth noting. It is simply a negation of क्षर. By kṣara are meant all tangible things, while its negation would mean intangible and immutable entities.

The definitions श्रद्धामय:, कूटस्थो, भूताशयस्थित:, हृद्देशे तिष्ठति do show that Puruṣa has got a sort of cover or 'Kūta', and this cover is its power cover. We have already seen that Bhāva means the powers of the Soul. So the Soul with its power means the Puruṣa. The nature of this power is explicitly defined in 9.13. "Great Souls take the cover of 'Daivī-prakṛiti'. Puruṣa is also called 'Adhi-daivatam'. The words Daiva and Bhāva are synonyms. Bhāva has also been called 'Vibhūti' in 10.7 and 18. When Arjuna asks the question, "In what Bhāvas should I think about you? Kṛṣna answers, "Divya-Atma-Vibhūtayas are practically infinite, but I am mentioning some predominant among them." In 10.41, Vibhūti is clearly identified with the fraction of the lustre or the power of the Soul.

Śraddhā is defined as born out of Svabhāva. Thus, Puruṣa means Soul with its cover of Śraddhā, a manifestation of Bhāva power. The word Bhāva has again been connected with another important word 'Sat'. 2.16, defines the relation between them as follows:—"Asat has no Bhāva, while Sat can never be without a Bhāva. उभयोरपि दृष्टोन्त: अनयो: तत्त्वदर्शिभि:". In 17.26, are given Sat-bhāva, and Sadhu-bhāva are the two main different forms of the Bhāva power manifestations of the soul. The first is knowledge or Jnāna and the second is Śraddhā, devotion or love. The tendency to practice Yajña, Dāna or Tapas is also called Sat. All the actions done with that intention are also classed under Sat.

But anything done without Śraddhā is called Asat. 17.28 is a very important verse where this relation is specifically stressed. We have already seen that Asat has no Bhāva or soul power. Thus Asat is Kṣara.

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There is another interesting relation between Bhāva and Guṇa (7.13 and 14.)

त्रिभिः गुणमयैः भावैः एभिः सर्वमिदं जगत् । मोहितं नाभिजानाति मामेभ्यः परमव्ययम् ।
दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया । मामेव ये प्रपद्यते मायामेतां तरन्ति ते ।

From these we get the relation :—Guṇa-māyā-bhāva Daivi-guṇa-mayī-māyā. Satva, Raja, Tama do rise out of Prakriti. But we have already seen that Prakṛiti is of two types, Parā and Aparā. Aparā is Kṣara and Parā is Akṣara. We shall show that in the opinion of the Gīta, Satva rises out of Parā-prakṛiti, while the Raja and Tama originate from Aparā, which is Kṣara or Asat, having no Bhāva. 14.6, defines Satva as enlightening, free from defects and giving contact with happiness and knowledge. 14.11, says, that the increase in Jñāna is an indicator diagram of Satva, and it gives enlightenment to all parts of the body. 14.14, (सत्वे प्रवृद्धे अमलान् लोकान्) and 14.16, (सुकृतस्य निर्मलं फलं । सत्वात् संजायते ज्ञानं) tell the same story.

But Raja and Tama as Guṇas should not be confused with Raja and Tama as Bhāvas. Thus from 7.12, (ये चैव सात्विकाभावाः राजसाः तामसाश्च ये । मत्त एवेति तान् विद्धि न त्वहं तेषु ते मयि) we can say that Satva-guṇa includes Rajas and Tamas Bhāvas. The origin of Raja and Tama guṇas is entirely different. रजो रागात्मकं विद्धि तृष्णासङ्गसमुद्भवम् । लोभः प्रवृत्तिरारम्भः कर्मणां अशमः स्पृहा । रजस्येतानि जायते विवृद्धे । रजसि प्रलयं गत्वा कर्मसङ्गिषु जायते । रजसो लोभएव च । तमः अज्ञानंजं मोहनं सर्वदेहिनां । तमसि प्रलीनः मढयोनिषुजायते । The words तृष्णासंग show that Rajas arises out of contact with the अपरा प्रकृति or क्षरभाव. From Raja the impurity begins to come in. The purity of Satva or Jñāna gets blurred. Tama is simply an intense form of impurity and completely shrouds Jñāna and is thus equivalent with Ajñāna.

We shall now turn to the four central terminologies (संज्ञा) in the Gīta round which the whole of the topic is made to revolve. They are :—(1) Dvandva, (2) Karma, (3) Adhyatma (4) Yoga. Gīta connects them as follows: "The Dvandvas do exist no doubt. But it does not mean that they need overpower the Puruṣa. The द्वन्द्वमोह is created by तृष्णासंग which gives rise to कार्पण्यदोष and makes one forget स्वभावजं कर्म. To restore to अध्यात्मज्ञान नित्यत्वं the method is Yoga.

We end this by quoting 15.5, where all the four central words are included.

निर्मानमोहा जितसंगदोषा अध्यात्मनित्या विनिवृत्तकामाः ।
द्वन्द्वैर्विमुक्ताः सुखदुःखसंज्ञै गंच्छन्त्यमूढाः पदमव्ययं तत् ॥

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PURUṢĀRTHA, DAIVA AND NIYATI (SUMMARY).

By

Rao Bahadur P. C. DIVANJI, M.A., LL.M.

Puruṣārtha and Mātsyanyāya—'Puruṣārtha' means any of the four objects of man's pursuit in life, namely, 'Dharma', 'Artha', 'Kāma' and 'Mokṣa'. So long as the pursuit of any of them does not result in or does not give cause for an apprehension of injury to or interference with the similar freedom of others, he does not feel that there can be any limitations on his powers. But this is practically impossible. Conflicts often arise and if there is no common restraining power—Mātsyanyāya, suppression and even destruction of the weak by the strong prevails. Therefore from the very dawn of civilization wise men have seen the necessity of establishing a monarchical or any other form of government, as is shown by an ancient tradition embodied in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. There is thus a check on the liberty of action of the individual on the physical plane arising from the *Law of the Land*. It being a human institution, can be changed or got over in certain circumstances.

Puruṣārtha and Daiva—Besides the above, there is an invisible force which is found to help or hinder a man in the pursuit of his objects. This is the result of the operation of the *Law of Karma* according to the philosophical works of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas. All these sects however believe that the adverse influences exercised by it can be counter-acted by strength of will and appropriate remedies, so far as the pursuits falling under the first three heads are concerned. As regards those falling under the fourth also the said works recommend various means for counter-acting them. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* from amongst them deserves special mention because it contains in Book II a long dissertation on the inherent power of man to counter-act such influences and supplies a key to success in life, and in Books III, IV and V numerous illustrations of the diverse ways in which that can be done. The second check on individual liberty thus arising from the *Law of Karma* can also be counter-acted by appropriate remedies available to man.

Puruṣārtha and Niyati—All the individual human beings however form part of a universal scheme which embraces both the animate and inanimate creatures. All of them are governed

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by the *Law of Nature,* whose operation is seen in the inherent nature of the creatures and in the orderly government of the universe. Those which we call miracles and are the result of Siddhis, are not, according to the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, events outside the operation of the said law but follow as the natural consequences of the employment of certain gems, formulas or herbs which have such natural properties. Those engaged in pursuit of them are still within the net of Avidyā and the self can be realised only by those who tear themselves away from that net. If one can do that, one would find the *Law of Nature* helping rather than obstructing him in the attainment of that goal.

Conclusion—It thus appears that although a man who is successful in life may believe that mankind as a whole is free to aspire for and achieve anything it likes, it is not so. One has to count upon and be prepared to meet obstructions in one's pursuits as regards the first three kinds of aims, arising from the operation of the *Law of the Land*, the *Law of Karma* and the *Law of Nature.* One can get over by appropriate means the first two but not the third. In its case one has only to try to study its operation and take up the line of least resistance. The fourth aim can be realised without fail, provided there are the necessary firm determination and a resort to any of the appropriate methods.

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A STUDY IN SPIRITUAL "LEFTISM" AN ASPECT OF '*VAMĀ-MĀRGA*' OR THE '*SAHAJA*' CULT

By

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SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

A technique of spiritual discipline that attempts at utilising the crude animal impulses that man inherits from the many planes of primal life, is found in many social and religious settings. It is often called the 'Natural way' inasmuch as it grounds itself on the impulses and desires with which man is born (*Saha-ja*). It is also called the "*left-hand*" method or the *vāma-mārga*. For, those who pursue this process of self-culture turn away from the normal ways of life (right-hand ways, *Dakṣiṇa-mārga*) and proceed in the opposite direction (left-hand way, vāma-mārga).

A very different interpretation is often given of the term *vāma-mārga* or *vāmācāra*. It is said that this method is so designated inasmuch as man must assume the woman-attitude towards the Deity. As the text says[1]:

वामाचारो भवेत् तत् वामा भूत्वा यजेत् परां ।

This interpretation of the term is in keeping with many of the *Sahajīya* texts of the Post-Caitanya cycle. Bose in his excellent treatise *Post-Caitanya Sahajīya-Cult* elucidates the main principles of this technique at great length. There is however another sense in which the term *Vāma-mārga* is commonly understood in the *tāntric* texts of various cults. The purpose of this paper is to consider the basic principles of the "natural way" in this sense.

SECTION 2: THE BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL MOTIVE

Man carries on his daily life with the help of mind the various phases and constituents of which have slowly been woven into one another under the stress of a two-fold need: Adaptation to the physical environment and adjustment to

[1] Citta-viśuddh-prakaraṇa, Vs. 125 (published in *J. A. S. B.*, 1898, Part I, pp. 177-84).

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persons, principles and institutions that form the social milieu. A large part of human nature that does not fit in with the pattern of mental states required for the two-fold adaptation, must necessarily remain inoperative though potent for action. Religious discipline, however, does not bear fruit as long as it leaves any level of mental personality unaffected or inoperative. It is essential for all schemes of spiritual reconstruction, therefore, to aim at reaching out even to the outermost boundaries and to the deepest recesses of the mental personality. No desire, impulse or sentiment may be left alone to pursue its own course.

It is essential for this purpose that some of the basic instincts should be harnessed into the scheme of spiritual culture. For, instincts and emotions that constitute the *hormic units* are conceived as the ultimate constituents of personality inherited by man from his animal ancestors. If these constituents could in some manner be fashioned into a unitary pattern they would not only cease to cause tension in the psycho-physical system but would also make it *easy and natural* for all other trends of mind to enter into the profile of the conscious personality. Man's actions would easily follow the urge of impulses; they would be woven into all other phases of mind that control action, speech and the course of introspectible processes, and finally, the entire mind would be rendered into a single conscious plane without any concealed layers of thought, feeling and desire.

A personality that reaches this plane cannot have any sense of shame or hatred for anything. For, these sentiments arise from a dual standard of life, one lived on the surface of consciousness and another below the mental plane of daily transactions. The spiritual aim, according to this ideology, is to abolish such duality so that no sense of concealment remains. As a Buddhist *Sahajīya* text says[1]:

अणुमात्रां घृणां लज्जां दूरतः परिवर्ज्जयेत् ।
आन्तरालिकभावस्ते व्यर्थो वै पतनं यथा ।।

The least amount of sense of shame and hatred must be rooted out even when perceived in the offing. An attitude of concealment leads to inner barrenness as much as a 'fall' from a plane of spiritual achievement.

Mental life conceived in this fashion must move on a *single dimension*. Consciousness possesses levels and planes under usual condition of life as phenomenal analysis reveals.

[1] Caryā-carya-viniścaya, Com, to Vs, 1: (Bangiya Sahitya-parishad, Calcutta).

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Desires, sentiments and impulses that must necessarily be inhibited or transformed in the setting of normal life through exigencies of adaptation, are recommended this natural manner of expression in this new scheme. It is, therefore, called the *natural way, the way of the inborn desires or the sahaja* method.

SECTION 3: THE RESULTING INNER STATE

This method is said to lead to a condition of great joy. Luipāda, one of the teachers of this school, speaks of महासुखं—'the great joy that arises from the fulfilment in the pursuit of the Natural way.' A further advance in the life of the spirit is indicated in the following[1]:

निर्व्विकारो निरासंगो निष्कांक्षो गतकल्मषः ।
आद्यन्तकल्पनामुक्तो व्योमवद् भावयेद् बुधः ॥

A sense of abandonment bred by indulgence seems to set the mind free from its specific fixations and impart to it a sense of placidity and a 'translucidte soi-meme a soi-meme,' described in the concrete imagery of Indian thinkers as 'sky-like', infinite free, placid and with no hidden recesses.

The goal of attaining a mental life, single-dimensional undivided, restful and yet intensely conscious of itself, seems to have fascinated Hindu thinkers possessing filiation with many schools of philosophy. Consciousness, it was believed, is cast into bondage by the specified mental states and operations. These arise through a tendency to division inherent in consciousness itself. Consciousness as a reality with inner divisions into various mental processes each describing its specific course in time, is very different from the single and undivided consciousness. The latter can, however, be re-gained through a transformation of the consciousness that has divided itself into many states and processes. As the text says:—

अपास्तकल्पनाजालं सूर्यकान्तनिभं मनः ।
प्रज्ञासूर्यांशुसंश्लिष्टं तद्वत् ज्वलति योगिनाम् ॥

Mind glows when its states and processes cease, and when it is illumined by the sunshine of true knowledge just as the *surya-kānta* jewel (the jewel of the sun-like glow) shines when touched by solar rays.

The reason is given as follows:

यथैकः स्फटिकः स्वच्छः पररागेण रज्यते ।
तथैव चित्तंस्वस्थितिन्तुकल्पनारागरंजितम् ॥

[1] Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi, IV. 8. (Gaekwad Oriental Series, XLIV).

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A transparent crystal is coloured by the hue of some other object. Mind (jewel-like) is coloured in the same manner by hue of its states and processes (*kalpanā*). The mind in reality is, however, uncreated, pure and without any blemish in its essential nature[1]:

आदिशुद्धमनुत्पन्नं निजरूपमनाविलं ॥

Many are the methods of such attainment recommended in the philosophical doctrines and mystic cults of different peoples and times. We are interested in this paper in the consideration of certain methods of discipline that adopt what has been described in the beginning of this paper as the *Natural way*. or the *sahaja way*. The technic of this school is always anti-social and violates the moral sensibilities of all peoples of all times. Yet this trend of thought has sprung up sporadically in many periods and regions. The people who initiated this cult were not moral perverts. The theories that they enunciate often appear to be plausible and yet the consequences of these teachings and the formulation of the doctrines into rituals and actual practices, are most often revolting to the social and moral sentiments alike.

SECTION 4: THE UNDERLYING IDEAS

The ideas underlying the rituals, however, sound eloquently reasonable. "A lump of iron thrown into water sinks to the bottom. The same thing when shaped into a vessel, can itself cross the stream and can also take others across. The mind may be shaped into a worthy vessel according to the rules of the way of wisdom. It frees itself as it enjoys its desires and also frees other[2]:

लोहपिण्डो जले क्षिप्तो मज्जत्येव तु केवलं ।
पात्रीकृतं तदेवान्यं तारयेत् तरति स्वयम् ॥
तद्वत् पात्रीकृतं चित्तं प्रज्ञोपायविधानतः ।
भुंजानो मुच्यते कामं मोचयत्यपरानपि ॥

Enjoy the dictates of impulses, so runs the recommendation, consecrating them in accordance with the rules of the *sahaja* way. Your desires will not lead you into the bondage of the body and into sin[3]:

मा भैष्ठा नास्ति ते पापं समयो दुरतिक्रमः ।
मन्त्रसंस्कृतकाष्ठादि देवत्वमधिगच्छति ॥

[1] *op. cit.*, Ref. 1, Vs. 92, 27, 28.
[2] *ibid.*, 40-41.
[3] *ibid*, 113.

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This assurance is followed by recommendations for the fulfilment of desires very frequently in an anti-social form. One should pursue actions that one's desires prompt behaviour should follow the lead of inclinations. This is the proper discipline for one who follows the *vajra-yāna* : he is sure to meet suffering otherwise. Rituals, fasting and the worship of gods with many shapes do not lead to spiritual success [1]:

यथाकामक्रियाकारी यथारुचितचेष्टितं ।
साधयेद्वज्रसत्वत्वम् अन्यथा क्लिश्यते ध्रुवम् ॥
व्रतोपवास नेयमैर्देवतो रूपभावनैः ।
नानाभुजसामायुक्तैः सिद्धयते न हि साधनैः ॥

The desires that seem to be stressed in actual practice are those mainly connected with food and sex. There are several reasons for the selections of these. (*a*) The primal impulses inhibit all other mental states. The mind consists of nothing but one or the other of these impulses. It becomes homogeneous and thus partakes of the character of pure consciousness as much as possible. As a text says:

कामक्रोधलोभमोहमदमात्सर्यगोचरे ।
बुद्धिं निस्तिमितां कृत्वा तत्तत्त्वमवशिष्यते ॥

When one fixates on objects of lust, anger, greed and that which causes mental bewilderment and diminishes his capacity of discriminative judgment, the residue is a pure awareness coloured by joy[2]:

(*b*) A desire often carries with it a high charge of emotions. When man is keenly aware of these, the mind takes an introvert turn. The details of things and their relations are obliterated; the course of action becomes precarious; and the personality tends under such conditions to be enclosed within its own shell. One should think that the different mental states and all that they signify do not exist outside the physical personality. Such thought eliminates all discriminative functions. Consciousness is, thus, free from all discrete operations and becomes a unity[3]:

चित्ताद्यन्तःकृतिर्नास्ति ममान्तर्भावयेदिति ।
विकल्पानामभावेन विकल्पैरुज्झितो भवेत् ॥

(*c*) Such a transformation which may be described as solipsistic occurs through a gradual course of practice. One such step in this direction is to cultivate sentiment of love for

[1] Jñāna-siddhi I; (Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. XLIV), i. 85-86.

[2] Vijñāna-Bhairava, Vs. 101.

[3] *ibid*, Vs. 94.

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certain persons exclusively on the mental plane and entirely dissociated from overt behaviour. A text says: One should cultivate the sentiment of love either for his own lady-love or for that of some one else *exclusively on the mental plane.* One should carry on all operations on the mental plane. The spiritual aspirant may reach out to success by this method[1]:

स्वकीयां परकीयां वा मानसीन्तु रमेत् स्त्रियं ।
सर्वन्तु मानसे कुर्यात् तेन सिध्यति साधकः ।।

Another text recommends that the entire sexual situation with all its details should be contemplated on the mental plane and the sense of pleasure arising in the course of this procedure should be attributed to the ego[2]:

लेहना मन्थना कोटेः स्त्रीसुखस्य भरा स्मृतेः ।
शक्त्यभावेऽपि देवेशि भवेदानन्दसंप्लवः ।।

There is a theological principle at the base of such practices. The divine reality expresses itself in all pure and spiritual planes of love. Such love reflected in the mind of ordinary individuals assumes the character of sex-love. The human mind, therefore, may find its way back to the divine reality through certain transformations of sex-love. This idea is suggested by the following[3]:

आनन्दचिन्मयरसात्मतया मनःसु ।
गोलोकनाम्नि निजधाम्नि तले च तस्य ।।
यः प्राणिनां प्रतिफलन् स्मरतामुपेत्य ।
लीलायितेन भुवनानि जयत्यजस्रं ।
गोविन्दमादिपुरुषं तमहं भजामि ।।

SECTION 5: ANTI-SOCIAL PRACTICES

The practices for the culture of the impulses that bring about a spiritual consequence often assume a grotesque and anti-social form. It is suggested that one who is orientated to the Bodhi-consciousness, the insight sought for by this school of Buddhism, should "eat dried red meat with alcohol", a practice commonly deemed contrary to the precepts and resolutions of the Buddhist[4]:

शुष्कलोहितमांसं च बोधिचित्तविमिश्रितं ।
महोदकसमायुक्तं भक्षयेत् तत्त्ववित् सदा ।।

[1] Bose-Post-Caitanya Sahajīyā Cult—Quoted in p. 122.
[2] Vijñāna-Bhairava, Vs. 70.
[3] Brahma-Saṁhitā, Vs. 42.
[4] Jñāna-siddhi, I. 12.

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The same text proceeds to say: Rob others, tell lies and desire other people's wives. The same deeds that cast men into hell for millions of years may lead the spiritual aspirant to salvation. Such a person should be entirely free from considerations in regard to suitable objects of food, drink and sexual enjoyment[1]:

परवित्तानि हारयेत् ।
कामयेत परदारान् वै मृषावादमुदीरयेत् ॥
कर्म्मणा येन् वै सत्त्वाः कल्पकोटिशतान्यपि ।
पच्यते नरके घोरे नैनं योगी विमुच्यते ॥
भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविनिर्मुक्तः पेयापेयविवर्जितः ।
गम्यागम्यविनिर्मुक्तो भवेद् योगी समाहितः ॥

It is said in another text: One should think of himself as completely filled with the joy of eating and drinking. A contemplation of such a state induces a stability of mind and a feeling of joy. If one asks, says the commentator, how there can be any understanding of the ultimate nature of things in such a state, we should answer that concentration and mental stability are the ends to be aimed at. If these be achieved, there is success. Persons who pursue these methods are called the followers of the Great Discipline, *Mahacārāḥ* or *Vīrācārāḥ*. 'They are to be respected and not blamed' न निन्देदथ वन्देत वीरद्रव्यपरान् नरान्[2] ।

जग्धि पानकृतोल्लासरसानन्दविजृंभनात् ।
भावयेत् भरितावस्थां महानन्दस्ततो भवेत् ॥[3]

These general precepts are further specified in certain sex-practices of a hideous and disgusting nature. Incest and consorting with women of lowly origin are suggested:

जनयित्रीं स्वसारं च स्वपुत्रीं भागिनेयिकां ।
कामयन् तत्त्वयोगेन लघु सिध्यति साधकः ॥
सर्वांग कुत्सितायां वा नकुर्यादवमाननाम् ।
स्त्रियं सर्व्वकुलोतपन्वां पूजयेत् वज्रधारिणीं ॥
चंडालकुलसंभूतां डोंविकां वा विशेषतः ।
जुगुप्स्पितकुलोत्पन्नां सेवयन् सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् ॥[4]

SECTION 6: INTERPRETATION OF THESE PASSAGES

A word of caution is necessary in regard to these passages. It is quite true that writers of this cult often use a language which contains a hidden meaning behind the manifest meaning which is often hideous. This manner of writing has been called

[1] *Jñāna-siddhi*, I. 14, 15, 18.
[2] Vijñāna-Bhairava, 72 and Comm.
[3] Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi, V. 25.
[4] Jñāna-siddhi, I. 80, 82.

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the *Sandhyābhāṣa* or the twilight-language. It is possible to suggest that the ostensible meaning which refers to incest and other reprehensible sex-practices should not be accepted at their face value.

I do not question the possibility suggested in this argument. The vast *Sahajīya* literature, however, contains many unmistakable references to sex-practices which, to say the least, signify illicit sex-relationship. This view is borne out by many of the Vaiṣṇava texts though of no great authority. One of these supports the sexual approach to inner life, by the theory that all living beings originate from sex which must contain within it the clue to the secret of reality. The sex-sentiment properly cultivated may, therefore, lead man back to the very heart of reality[1]. Such culture of sex must be in the media of two personalities which are "not easily accessible to each other" (*Mithodurlabhatā*) and be socially reprehensible so that the personalities concerned become entirely dependent upon their mates and are thrown back upon their own resources[2]. Man ceases to live on the surface of life and all the latent impulses of mind are integrated afresh for a new adjustment.

Actual instances are cited of this method of approach and they leave no doubt in regard to the sexual significance of the descriptive terms which are sometimes treated as symbolic. Rāmānanda Rāya, a great Vaiṣṇava of Southern India, is said to have pursued a form of secret method of discipline. His practice seems to have been to seat two undraped maids on his two thighs, to enjoy mentally the joy of sex-emotions and yet to maintain a certain order of mental detachment.[3]

A theory that may justify the use of sex-sentiments for spiritual purposes is suggested in the following account: The true nature of the Self and its relation to the Divine is revealed through the intimacies of love between Rādhā and Kriṣṇa. Such a love is intensified through many alliances between the pair of lovers and the lady-friends of Rādhā, the *sakhis*. These latter alone can truly appreciate the depth of Rādhā's love for Kriṣṇa, the Divine. The true essence of Divine reality as a sense of overflowing love may, thus, be adequately

[1] Rasa-Kadamba—Kalikā—A *Sahajīyā* text in Bengali, ostensibly of the 17th Century.

[2] Rati-vilāsa-paddhati—A *Sahajīyā* text in Bengali, ostensibly of the 17th Century.

[3] Rasa-tattva-sāra—A *Sahajīyā* text in Bengali, ostensibly of the 17th Century.

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appreciated through the *sakhi-attitude*. The *sakhi* does not aim at enjoying Krisna directly; she enjoys the many love-relations between Rādhā and Krisna[1]. A state of detachment in the midst of storms and stresses of love may in this manner be achieved when the devotee completely assumes the *sakhi*-personality.

This cult of love, the doctrine that the divine can be approached through a transformation of sex-love, described by the Vaiṣṇava as a super-naturalisation of '*the natural*' thus implicates a dissociation of two selves, the self that enjoys and the self that *appreciates* the enjoyment. A super-ego, the ego that matures through tradition intellectual discipline and the concrete practices that instil into mind the holiness of the Rādhā-Krisna conception, gradually becomes better-defined. The boundary between this ego that daily grows in holiness and the ego that yields to the normal impulses of life, becomes sharply outlined. Thus arises the situation in which even the boiling passions precipitated by the stimulation of the basic biologic urges may be watched with equanimity by the other ego, the super-ego. This is a plausible psychological account of the theory underlying this type of discipline.

SECTION 7: AN ESTIMATE

The cults described in the preceding pages aim at achieving three definable purposes. They aim at *catharsis*, so that the latent impulses and their filiations may appear on the surface of life unhampered by the artificial codes of culture imposed by society. They aim at disruptions of the pattern of ideas, ideals and sentiments that weave round the personality—a sheath of egoism and cast a spell of a false sense of inner security, spiritual well-being and even vanity on the surface of conscious life. Finally, the cults aim at achieving a difficult integration of the many discordant strains of thoughts, feelings and impulses that convey the messages of infantile, archaic and even of the purely animal settlings of physical and mental life. The aim has an aroma of romance and here lies the strength of the appeal. At the same time, it is tremendously difficult for one to accomplish the task. Every inch of the way is fraught with serious uncertainties and grave spiritual risks.

The account of the various cults and theories given above appear to be psychologically plausible. There is no reason to believe, however, that they are anything more than merely plausible. It may be possible in rare instances to rouse the

[1] Caitanya-caritāmṛita, Part II, Ch. 8

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animal impulses, to transform them and to weld them together into a new order of personality. But then we must take into account of the other alternatives. The impulses may never be transformed and even if transformed in a certain manner, they may never be blended into a unitary personality. The individual may, thus, be spiritually left in the lurch, as a neurotic, if not as a degenerate. It is for these reasons that there is a deep suspicion among the Hindu ascetics about this method of discipline which is called the *Vāma-mārga*, the left-hand way. The practices of these spiritual "leftists" are said to be fraught with grave risks for the mental and moral personality. In spite of this fact, the "leftists" confidently assert :

विना परकीयां देवि जपेत् यदि तु साधकः ।
शतकोटिजपेनैव तस्य सिद्धिर्न जायते ॥
व्रतोपवासनियमैर्देवतारूपभावनैः ।
नानाभुजसमायुक्तैः सिध्यते न हि साधनैः ॥

If a person recites the name of God for millions of times without consorting with women other than one to whom he has a right, his effort is doomed to failure.[1] Fasting, anchorite practices and contemplation of gods possessing many arms do not lead to spiritual success.[2]

It is evident that the method under consideration aims at getting away from the beaten tracks of spiritual discipline towards something that holds out the possibility of marshalling all the powerful impulses of life towards a fresh spiritual orientation. It fails, however, to size up the calibre of man's body and mind ; it overestimates the capacity of the personality to stand strains, tensions and impacts of powerful animal impulses. It gives a high premium to the ability of human mind to maintain its balance and to steer clear of the many dangers that lie on the way to the attainment of moral and spiritual integration.

The high way of the life of the spirit must be open to all. It must eliminate all dangers that normally threaten the weaker vessels. There are temptations that overwhelm the personality even in the mundane settings of life. The individual finds it difficult to overcome them even with the aid of many social and moral agencies. The lonely pilgrim on his God-ward journey may have the equipment only of faith and grace. A heavy load of animal impulses can but disturb the unison of life and impede its progress for whatever spiritual goal it may strive.

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[1] Bose-*op. cit.*, p. 121. [2] Jñāna-siddhi I. 86.

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SAHAJA-SAMĀDHI AND KHASAM BHĀVA IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

By

HAZARIPRASAD DWIVEDI,
(Adhyāpaka, Viśva-Bhāratī)

Neither the word सहज nor समाधि is unknown in the religious literature of India. But in later medieval भक्तs we find new explanations put forward for the traditional terms and some of them have gone so far as to completely change their meaning. As the time went on even those traditional words which were used by the earlier teachers were forgotten. Expounders of different schools interpreted the Sahaja-Bhāva in different meanings and thus the conception of Sahaja-Samadhi reached a very high standard of perfection at the hands of Kabir, the great medieval teacher. He has ridiculed the then-prevailing ideas of Kha-sama-Bhāva and Gagana-Vāsa of the Yogis. What he actually meant by these terms is being discussed in the following pages.

It seems that in course of time the conception of Kha-sama-Bhāva was completely forgotten and haphazardly interpreted. Among the disciples of the great teachers of the middle ages there seems to exist a good deal of rivalry in describing the experience of samādhi of their respective teachers and in claiming superiority of such experience over those of their predecessors. निरञ्जन, the stainless one or the निर्गुण शिव, for instance, whose realisation was considered to be the highest achievement in the हठयोग, has undergone unthinkable change, later on, in the Kabir-Pantha. The Śiva-Samhitā (II.48) declares that "as long as knowledge does not arise about निरञ्जन, the stainless one, so long all things appear separate and many. The highest experience of the Yogi is to become one with निरञ्जन and so Śiva Samhitā says that "when a person is free from the distinctive attribute, the उपाधिs, then only he can say he is indivisible knowledge and pure unit—अखण्डज्ञानरूपी निरञ्जनः (I.68). This is निरञ्जन पद (Kaulāvali-Nirṇaya, XXI. p. 140) or the highest experience of a Hatha-Yogī. This निरञ्जन has been reduced in Kabir-Pantha almost to a position of the Devil whose only work is to entrap people in his मायाजाल (Kabīra-Mansūra p. 9ff). Thus, in the Kabir-Pantha it was claimed that Kabir only could reach the highest stage and others could reach but a lower stage claiming that the same was the highest one. Later on, even Kabir had to receive the same treatment

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at the hands of the disciples of the follower of rival schools of other teachers and his tenth Mukām was described as an inferior stage in Ṣamādhi. Kabir himself mentions the ten Mukāmas (Com. of Viśvanātha Sinha, p. 264) or the stages of mental concentration but he never suggests that his is the only highest experience and other great teachers did not reach that stage. He, however, ridicules the Kha-sama-Bhāva, which was considered to be the highest experience in the Sahajayani and Vajrayani Yogis. In the Padas of Saroj Vajra the word Kha-sama has occurred twice. At one place it is खसम सहावें that is, खसम स्वभावेन. In the Haraprasād Śāstri edition, the Tika of अद्वयवज्र on this stanza is missing, but at another place, he however, explains this word in the following way : तथा सोऽपि खसमस्वरूपं मनः तस्मिन्मनः क्रियते । एवं यः करोति स उत्तम पुरुषः सहजस्वभावे रम्यते क्रीड़त इति यावत् ।। (Sahajāmnāya Pañjikā, pp. 110-111). Apparently here अद्वयवज्र thinks that Kha-sama-Bhāva is identical with Sahaja-Bhāva, the highest experience.

The literal meaning of खसम is sky-like or void-like. In the Nātha cult we can get the same meaning in the word गगनोपम which we shall notice later on. In another पद of शबर-पाद the commentator explains the very word खसम as most brilliant experience (i.e. प्रभास्वर-तुल्यभूता). In अद्वयवज्रसंग्रह (p. 54) however, खसम is used as an attribute of the highest experience. Thus it seems that these teachers used the term to denote their highest experience in Samādhi, the Sahaja-Bhāva, where the Sādhaka neither feels the sense nor the egoistic self—"इन्दिअ जत्थ विलअ गउणढ्ढिउ अप्प सहावा". The Nātha-Yogis call their highest experience of Samādhi as भावाभावविनिर्मुक्तावस्था or a stage where neither the existence nor the non-existence is felt. This also is the दुर्लभा सहजावस्था or the Sahaja stage which is difficult to attain. The Buddhist mystics did not believe in the eternal existence of soul and so their सहजावस्था or the highest experience in Samādhi is somewhat different from that of the Nātha-Yogis, who believe in the eternal existence of आत्मा. I don't know whether these Yogis ever used the word Kha-sama, but they have certainly used the word गगनोपम which is literally identical with that word. In अवधूत गीता quoted in the गोरक्ष-सिद्धान्त-संग्रह we find verses in which this word occurs thrice and the Sādhaka describes his identity with गगनोपम ; one of them is quoted below :

मायाप्रपञ्चरचना न च मे विकारः कौटिल्यदम्भरचना न च मे विकारः ।
सत्यानृतेति रचना न च मे विकारः ज्ञानामृतंसमरसं गगनोपमोऽहम् ।।

Now this much is certain that in the Buddhist mystics there was the Kha-sama-Bhāva denoting the highest experience in Samādhi and the Nātha-Yogis also used an identical term for their own experience. While floating in the current of Sādhanā

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this word खसम reached Kabir, another word having the same form and pronunciation also crossed the boundaries of this land coming from a completely different source. This was an Arabic word *khasam* meaning a husband. So, Kabir came across the word having two different connotations : i.e., (1) खसम or the highest experience of Kāyā-Sādhanā (2) खसम or the husband.

Now, Kabir did not favour the idea of achieving the goal by mere Kāyā-Sādhanā. He was first a Bhakta, then anything else. After all, the stage of Bliss which is experienced in course of different Āsanas, Mudrās and prāṇāyāmas is but a temporary feat. One can carry the प्राण to the गगनचक्र or the शून्य and thus can obtain, for the time being गगनवास but the प्राणs return again from the highest *chakra* and then what happens ? The yogi comes again in the world of passions, because it is nothing but a physical attainment. As a matter of fact, Kabir asserts that गगन and पवन both are finite and so the combination of these two can never become infinite. This is a कच्चा योग, an immature samādhi. Iḍā, Piṅgalā and even, Suṣumṇā are all but limited by time, space and causation. And hence the Sahaja-Bhāva or the गगनोपम भाव of the sādhaka through the Prāṇāyāma, etc., can never be a source of eternal joy, or of an अद्वैत विराग which is beyond any expression and even beyond all attributes of existence and non-existence. In the 65th रमैनी of his बीजक he has ridiculed the attempt of the Hatha Yogis to cheat the महाकाल and has bitterly attacked the attempt to have the eternal Bliss without भक्ति or devotion. Thinking in this way he has shown the futility of खसम भाव. This word, as we have already noticed, has come with a different meaning to Kabir. The idea of ख-सम was not liked by him and so खसम in his साखीs and पदs has been used to denote an inferior type of consort, the seducer, and not the beloved. The five senses were supposed to be the brides of some Eternal Being who were seduced by the khasama or गगनोपम भाव but Sadguru, the good teacher, told them the truth and thus made them know their real Lord.

भौरै भूली खसमके कबहुँ न किया विचार ।
सतगुरु साहिब बताइया पूरबला भरतार ॥

Kabirdas would not prefer the contact of his mind with the खसम. Rather he would fasten it with the rope of love and would bring it there where its Lord dwells.

धीरो मेरे मनुआ तोहिं धरि टांगौं, तैं तो कियो मेरे खसम सों सांगो ।
प्रेम की जेवरिया तेरे गले बाँधूं, तहाँ लैं जाऊँ जहाँ मेरे माधो ॥

Showing the futility of खसम Kabir sets forth his own conception of समाधि. It is सहज समाधि. The word सहज also came to him

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through tradition and was very commonly used in those days. This devoted the highest experience of समाधि in the terminology of Buddhist Mystics as well as of the Nātha-Yogis. In the चर्यापद (H. P. Sāstri edition) सहज and शून (शून्य) have been used in many Padas to denote the highest experience (42-2; 28-4-6) and sometimes only सहज (as in 9.4) to express the same idea. Some Padas have सहजानन्द महासुख also (27-10). The महासुख is clearly interpreted by सरहपाद (Journal of the Department of letters, Vol. XXVIII, 1934, p. 13) as a state of समाधि where the Sādhaka has no realisation of either the beginning, the middle, or the end; either of भव or of निर्वाण; either of the self or anything else :

आइ ण अन्त ण मज्झ णउ पाउ पर णउ अप्याण ।
एहु सो परम महासुह णउ भव पाउ निव्वाण ॥

The Sahajyanis declare four types of Ānanda or bliss, i.e., प्रथम, परम, विरम and सहज, the highest being the सहज. Nātha-Yogis too described their highest experience as दुर्लभा सहजावस्था. (Kapila-Gītā, quoted in Gorakṣa-siddhānta-saṅgraha). Kabir has used this word frequently and often together with the word शून्य (Literally, = Void), another familiar word of the day. Now although this word was quite familiar in Yoga-literature, the Hatha-Yogis were conscious of the fact that this word might be confused with the same of the Budhist philosophers and so *Siva-saṃhita* (I.15) in the list of the leaders of human mind into delusion (लोक व्यामोहकारकाः) includes those who believe the world to be a current of consciousness and no material entity and also those who call शून्य or the void, as the greatest (I.12). Thus the शून्य of the Hatha-Yogis is not void and the same is true in case of Kabir too. शून्य and सहज either used separately or together means the highest realisation. Thus the *Haṭha-Yoga-Pradīpikā* concludes with the following remark :

"As long as the Prāna does not enter and flow in the middle channel and the vindu does not become firm by the control of the movements of the Prāna, as long as the mind does not assume that real thing which is सहज-सदृश (cf. खसम, गगनोपम) so long all the talk of knowledge and wisdom is merely a nonsensical habbling of a mad man." गोरक्षनाथ in his अमरौघ-शासन (p. 9) ridicules the various conceptions of मोक्ष and declares that मोक्ष is that where mind is seen by the mind itself by the way of Sahaja-Samādhi.

यत्र सहज-समाधिक्रमेण मनसा मनः समालोक्यते स मोक्षः ।

Kabir proceeds further on and warns against the frequent use and misunderstood conception of Sahaja; 'Every one speaks of Sahaja but nobody understands that Sahaja is he who has abandoned the worldly objects with the least effort on his part.

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सहज सहजसब कोइ कहै, सहज न बूझै कोइ ।
जिंन सहजै नियया तजी सहज कही जै सोइ ॥

Though later on, in Kabir's own sect Sahaja-loka was considered to be the 9th of the ten Mukāmas or the stages, Satya-loka being the tenth or the highest. Yet we have sufficient reasons to believe that Kabir declared सहज समाधि the highest ideal of a Bhakta. Thus he exclaims:

"O sadhu the simple union is the best.
Since the day when I met with my Lord, there has been no end to the sport of our love.
I shut not my eyes, I close not my ears, I do not mortify my body;
I see with my eyes open and smile, and behold His beauty everywhere:
I utter his name, and whatever I see, it reminds me of Him; whatever I do, it becomes his worship.
The rising and setting are one to me; all contradictions are solved.
Where I go, I move round Him.
All I achieve is his service:
When I lie down I lie prostrate at His feet.
He is the only adorable one to me: I have none other.
My tongue has left off impure words, it sings His glory day and night.
Whether I rise or sit down, I can never forget Him; for the rhythm of His music beats in my ears.
Kabir says: "My heart is frenzied, and I disclose in my soul what is hidden. I am immersed in that one great bliss which transcends all pleasure and pain."

(Translation—Rabindranath Tagore)

Such is the सहज समाधि of Kabir. He puts his realization of the Eternal Being in his own way:

O How may I ever express that secret word?
O how can I say He is not like this, and He is like that?
If I say that he is within me, the universe is ashamed:
If I say that he is without me, it is falsehood.
He makes the inner and the outer worlds to be indivisibly one;
The conscious and the unconscious, both are His footstools.
He is neither manifest nor hidden, He is neither revealed nor unrevealed:
There are no words to tell that which He is.

(Translation—Rabindranath Tagore)

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RADHAKRISHNAN, THE GREAT RECONCILER

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Affirmation of religious experience as supreme is one of the important contributions of Radhakrishnan to the philosophic world. It is on the basis of this experience that he has attempted to bring about the reconciliation of the great civilizations of the East and the West. The world is in travail to give birth to a new civilization, the body of which is already prepared but not the soul. The soul is the understanding of the great and good things in the two traditional outlooks of the East and the West.

To characterise broadly, the East is said to be absolutisitc in philosophy, subjective and individualistic in social outlook and world-negating in religion. While, the Western outlook is theistic in philosophy, objective and humanistic in society and world-affirming in religion.

From the standpoint of philosophy, these views conflict with each other. The all-comprehensive, philosophic idea of the Absolute has no place for creation. It relegates the world and God to the realm of appearance and holds out the path of renunciation as the only way for perfection. While, according to devotional religion, God and the world are the sole realities, in which each individual has unique place. The devotional religion holds out a positive path in which co-operation of every individual soul counts in the perfection of the world. These two views are not the exclusive characteristics of any two nations. Both in the East and the West, these views were held by thinkers at different times, but due to the long pursuit of objective sciences by the western thinkers humanism has become their predominant character.

Radhakrishnan, in order to solve this conflict, goes to the basic religious or spiritual experience and shows how the philosophic idea of the Absolute and the devotional idea of a personal God are aspects of the same reality.

In his opinion, the conflict and confusion between these views is due to our ignorance of the true meaning of spiritual life. It should be noted here, that for Radhakrishnan religion

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means spiritual life. He says that, we have wrongly identified religion with feelings and emotions, cults and rituals, belief and faith.[1] Religion is none of these things, though each of these elements is present in it.

In his *Reign of Religion'* he has attempted to show that religion as dogma has been detrimental to the spirit of truth. Since its break with Absolute Idealism, philosophic thought in the West, has gradually declined towards materialism. Passing through Pragmatism, Critical Idealism, Neo-realism and culminating in the Dialectical Materialism, Western philosophy has gradually broken all the spiritual ties. But the need of religion is not checked thereby; it has tried to assert itself in affirming pseudo-religions like Humanism, Modernism and others.

Radhakrishnan points out that the need for religion or spiritual life is inherent in us and the discoveries of sciences have not dethroned the reality of God. Religion and the reality which it affirms are not mere imaginings of man. God is not a projection of our wishes and desires. The desire for God is real in so far as it arises due to the impact of ourselves with the world with which we form a whole. "There is" he says, "an affinity between the structure of the world and the mind of man. Our sense-perceptions, our logical concepts, our intuitive apprehensions are not forms superinduced on reality, but are determinate forms of reality itself."[2]

Secondly, sciences reveal a greater organisation and the purposiveness of the advance in the world which can only be explained on the hypothesis of spirit which is both immanent and transcendent to it.

Lastly, he argues that religious experience is a fact. There is a long tradition of mystics all over the world through all times, which cannot be set aside easily. There is no reason to doubt the veracity of mystics' experiences when they describe it in different terms. Religious experience, like every other experience, is symbolic and is determined by the capacity and the attitude of the seeker. The scientific and the religious experience both stand on the same level. Just as the atomic structure in all its mathematical complexities does not reveal itself to a man who has not trained himself for it; so also, God or the Absolute does not reveal itself to one who has not purified and disciplined himself to attain it.

[1] *An Idealist View of Life.* *S. Radhakrishnan.* (Revised Cheap Ed.) p. 87.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 333.

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Constructively describing this experience, Radhakrishnan says that spiritual life is neither a creaturely dependence nor is it identical with moral consciousness as Kant put it. It is not even a form of knowledge, though a metaphysical view of the universe is implied in all religions.

Positively, religion as spiritual life is an independent functioning of mind, something unique and autonomous. It is, as he puts it, 'the reaction of the whole man to the whole of reality.' "We seek religious object with the totality of our faculties and energies. Such functioning of the whole man may be called spiritual life; as distinct from merely intellectual or moral or aesthetic activity or a combination of them."[1]

"It is a condition of consciousness in which feelings are fused, ideas melt into one another boundaries broken and ordinary distinctions transcended."[2] Spiritual experience is *svataḥsiddha*, *svayamvedya* and *svayamprakāśa*.

We have glimpses of such experiences in the ecstasy of poetry, or the subordination of self or falling in love to some higher ideal. We attain mystic bliss if we deepen any of these experiences, Indian sages have laid down a definite code of discipline through which we can make the fleeting intuitive experiences our permanent possession. Unless we lift ourselves above our petty desires and selfishnesses and purify ourselves, the light of spirit cannot dawn in us.

The mystic or spiritual experience is inexpressible and ineffable and holds us in rapture such that we have no time and power to analyse it. But when it is gone, we are restless. We endeavour to recapture it in words. Thus, the very inexpressibility of the religious experience gives rise to the necessity of expressing and interpreting it.

The mobility of spiritual experience gives rise to different interpretations which in turn to different creeds and cults. We want an all-inclusive Absolute to satisfy our sense of rest and fulfilment and posit God so that our desire for fellowship with God may have satisfaction. God as person is the nearest and only satisfactory symbol which our logical mind can find to understand the highest. Thus, personality and impersonality are different interpretations of this basic experience. There is, as a matter of fact, no fundamental contradiction between the philosophic idea of God as an all-embracing spirit and the devotional idea of a personal God who arouses in us

[1] *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 88-9.

[2] *Ibid*. p. 92.

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the specifically religious emotion." "The difference between the Supreme as spirit and the Supreme as person is one of standpoint and not of essence; between God as he is and God as he seems to us." God is after all a symbol of the highest. "All religion is symbolic and symbolism is excluded from religion only when religion itself perishes. Philosophers may quarrel about the Absolute and God and contend that the holy one who is worshipped is different from the Absolute which is a reality demonstrated by reason. But the religious consciousness has felt that the two are one."[1]

Such an understanding of the problem gives a very satisfactory metaphysical view. The Absolute is the total reality and God is the Absolute from the cosmic end, the consciousness that informs and sustains the world. God is the definition of one of the infinite possibilities of the Absolute. The world is not an illusion but a reality. For human beings, reaching the highest goal involves different stages. Each stage has its unique experience and value.

This view opens up a positive path to reach the highest goal. According to this, self-denial is not the exclusive way. Though renunciation is necessary even there, it is renunciation with full consciousness of the participation in the scheme of the universe. It is renunciation which springs out of joy and satisfaction in the purpose of the world, and not as a flight from reality. The life of negation arises out of the same sense of reality as that of affirmation. Reality is approachable through both the ways. "The negative method which requires us to give up the creaturely, to divest ourselves of all qualities, push slowly out beyond all distinctions, reveals the inexpressible sanctity of the experience. This exaltation, this motionless concentration, this holy calm and deep serenity which like the state of deep sea at rest, reflecting heaven in its surface or in the image of the Bhagvadgīta 'still as the flame in the windless place' bathed as it were in an incomprehensible brightness (tejas) is hard to describe."[2]

"The negative path takes us to the spiritual consciousness, the silent witness which dissolves all forms and thought. But there is always the way of affirmation by which God-conscious man affirms that the great silent sea of infinity in whose mysterious embrace the individual loses his name and form, is also the over-mastering, all-embracing life."[3] "Withdrawal

[1] *An Idealist View of Life* p. 109.

[2] *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*. p. 28.

[3] *Ibid*. p. 29.

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is not the whole of religious tradition ; there is also participation and enjoyment."[1] There is "in the heart of asceticism a flame of spiritual joy which is the essence of religion."[2] The universe is an organic whole tending towards perfection ; each individual soul is unique whose co-operation counts in the perfection of the world. Each is, thus, in real fellowship with God.

We shall, now, try to understand the relation of this spiritual experience with devotional religion and philosophy. Devotional religion, as we have seen, is born of the haunting sense of otherness ; God which it reveals is an interpretation of the mobile spiritual experience. God is the supreme as He seems to us and not as He is. Thus, there is difference between these two experiences. One satisfies the whole of man while the other only a part of it.

This issue leads us to define the nature and relation of different intuitions in the philosophy of Radhakrishnan. It is, however, not possible to discuss this problem in detail. We shall mention only the general trend of his thought in this relation.

According to him, there are philosophic, moral and aesthetic intuitions each satisfying different aspects of human life and having Truth, Goodness and Beauty as their ideals. Each is distinct from the other and also from the religious intuition, which is not the combination of these three ideals but something more. He says that philosophic, aesthetic and moral are sides of our life, religion includes them all. Religious intuition is the satisfaction of the whole being.

Similarly, while defining spiritual life, he says that it is distinct from merely intellectual or moral or aesthetic activity or a combination of them. "The spiritual sense, the instinct for the real is not satisfied with anything less than the absolute and eternal."[3]

This may give one an impression that Radhakrishnan gives a secondary value to all intuitions except the religious. We may, then, ask him what is the relation between these intuitions. Are they related as part to the whole ? If the philosophical and other intuitions reveal only partial truths how are they to be distinguished from other ways of knowing ? Secondly, it will then be necessary to have an independent

[1] *An Idealist View of Life*. p. 114.

[2] *Ibid*. p. 114.

[3] *Ibid*. p. 115.

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criterion to judge intuitions. It will mean that we have no certainty even in intuitive experience, but this cannot be, as intuition is self-proved.

But there is another trend of his thought which solves this difficulty. According to it, philosophy and devotional religion both lead us to the vision of the real. Philosophy is not merely an intellectual or speculative attempt to know the real. In the *Reign of Religion,* he shows how the philosophic inquiry from the purely intellectual level gives us a pessimistic and dualistic view of the universe. Philosophy must transcend this limitation; thinking must be so intense that it may become a vision. He, therefore, remarks in the same book that philosophy is not merely conceptual or perceptual but intuitive.

Similarly, religious need for personal God is a real need and the experience to which it leads us is Absolute from that standpoint. God is not an appearance as Vedānta affirms. He makes it very clear in his autobiographical essay in the *Religion in Transition.* "God is the Absolute spirit, timeless and unchanging, from the cosmic or human end. He is the way in which the Absolute not only appears to and is known by us, but also the way in which it works in the cosmic process.. ..God is not the figment of our minds. God is a real symbol of the Absolute in its relation to this specific possibility which is being actualised. He is not a distorted reflection of the Absolute but, as Leibnitz says, a phenomenon well founded in the reality."[1]

Devotional religion and philosophy are thus different forms of spiritual life. One is distinguishable from the other by angle of the approach or attitude towards the real. Spiritual life is one whole, it has no division in it.

Religion as spiritual life, thus, is the backbone of the philosophy of Radhakrishnan, the most important concept which reconciles the two great traditional currents of thought.

Another such attempt is made by Sri Aurobindo in his *Life Divine.* According to him, the tendency to evolve culminates in the stage of Superman. It is a stage of evolution in which the whole world, with certain exceptions reaches, perfection. The world does not vanish as in Advaitism. While according to Radhakrishnan, God and the world lapse into the background of the Absolute when the world is perfected. Thus, Radhakrishnan, ultimately remains an absolutist of the traditional Indian type.

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[1] *Religion in Transition,* p. 40-1.

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ARTHĀPATTI: ITS LOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

By

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Students of modern developments of Western logic find the controversy between the Mīmāṁsakas and the Naiyāyikas about *arthāpatti* verbal and strange. They ask themselves: Are not the Mīmāṁsakas inferring while they are using *arthāpatti*? If they are, why do they object to calling it inference? Fichte, Schelling and Hegel used dialectic, which operates by positing antitheses and syntheses, and yet they are said to deduce and infer. Kant used the transcendental method, which is a method of postulation and yet he regards the three Ideas of Reason as the final unconditioned major premises of prosyllogisms.[1] And in many of the modern works of logic like those of Sigwart, Lotze, Bradley and Bosanquet, dialectic is treated as a form of inference along with other forms like immediate inferences, induction, and deduction. Many modern interpretors of Indian logic have missed the significance of *arthāpatti* because the word inference has been set apart for translating the word *anumāna*. But *arthāpatti* is a form of thinking and so is inference like any other reflective form of thought. And to avoid misunderstanding it seems better that future interpreters use the word syllogism and not inference for *anumāna*, and, as before, postulation for *arthāpatti*. In both *anumāna* and *arthāpatti* thought starts with some data and arrives at some conclusion. And as both are reflective processes of thought, one will not be wrong in calling them inferences. But if one says that *arthāpatti* is as much a syllogism as *anumāna*, the reader may hesitate to accept the verdict.

I

To the modern student of logic, therefore, the controversy between the Naiyāyikas and the Mīmāṁsakas would turn out to be whether *arthāpatti* involves the same kind of thought process as syllogism. The former maintain that it does, the latter do not. To the Naiyāyika inference is of three kinds, *kevalānvayi*, *kevalavyatireki* and *anvayavyatireki*.[2] That of

[1] N. K. Smith: *Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, p. 321.

[2] *Kārikāvali*, p. 789 (Balamanorama Press, Madras).

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which the *vyāpti* is obtained by the observation of the concomitance only of the *hetu* and *sādhya* is called *kevalānvayi*; for example, "The pot is nameable, because knowable". The peculiarity of these syllogisms is that there is nothing in the world in which the *hetu* and the *sādhya* are not present. *Hetu* is the middle term and *sādhya* is the major. That where the *vyāpti* is obtained by the observation of the concomitance of the absence of the *sādhya* with the absence of the *hetu*[1] is called *kevalavyatireki;* for example, "This is earth, because it has smell, that which is not earth has no smell." That where the *vyāpti* is obtained both ways is called *anyayavyatireki;* for example, "the mountain contains fire, because there is smoke." Most of every-day inferences are of this type. In this both the concomitance of smoke with fire, and of the absence of fire with that of smoke are known. The Naiyāyikas contend that *arthāpatti* is a *kevalavyatireki* syllogism. The classical example is : Devadatta who is living is not found in his house; therefore he must be outside. The Mīmāṁsakas say that the disappearance from the house of Devadatta becomes incompatible with his being alive unless we posit or postulate his being outside the house. Thus our knowledge of his being outside the house is obtained by *kalpanā* or postulation and not by *aṇumanā* or syllogism. For *anumāna* is not possible without a major premises or *vyāpti* but here we do not have it. The Naiyāyikas say that though we do not have an *anvayavyāpti* here, we do have a *vyatirekavyapti,* namely, "Living people not found outside cannot be absent from their houses." Of course we do not have a *vyāpti* like "Living people not found in their houses are to be found elsewhere."

The controversy between the two schools is so complicated and hair-splitting that we cannot follow it without much patience and perseverance. And to add to the difficulty of the problem both schools are not agreed among themselves, each holding two views of the problem. Some Mīmāṁsakas maintain that what directly produces the postulation is incompatibility,[2] while the others hold that it is doubt.[3] Some Naiyāyikas contend that *Kevalavyatireki* by itself can lead us to the conclusion, while the others say that it does its work only through *anvayavyāpti.*[4]

[1] *Kārikāvaḷi*, p. 790. *Sādhyābhāvavyāpakatvam hetvabhāvasya yadbhavet.*

[2] Jāgadīsī Ṭīkā, p. 911 foll. (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares).

[3] *Ibid*, p. 900 foll.

[4] *Kārikāvali*, p. 794.

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Those who hold that *arthāpatti* is produced by doubt argue thus: Through astrology or otherwise it is decidedly known that Devadatta lives for a hundred years; but he is not seen in the house; this absence produces doubt both as regards his hundred-year life and his living outside; and to remove that doubt and to establish and ratify his hundred-year life his existence outside is postulated. In this inference Devadatta's living is doubted; from doubt we cannot get a *vyāpti*; and as there is no *vyāpti* this inference cannot be syllogism. It may be objected that if doubt can lead to postulation then, when we see something in the dark and doubt whether it is pillar or man, even this doubt must lead to postulation. The answer is that not all doubt ends in postulation; only that produced by the factors above mentioned leads to it. That is, one alternative like the hundred year life of Devadatta must be an absolute truth, and the other like the expectation of him in his house and not outside must be a supposition; when Devadatta is not perceived in his house there will be conflict between our expectation and our idea of his hundred year life, and the conflict will end in doubt. Such a doubt will lead us to postulation and not any other. To this again the objection is: If the two alternatives are equally strong, then where is the scope for postulation? If there is scope, why postulate his existence outside and not his death in the house? If, on the other hand, it is said that the two alternatives are not equally strong, then there is no place for doubt. An ordinary *vyatireki* syllogism can establish the conclusion. Its form would be: Devadatta lives outside, because he is living but not found in his house; whoever is not so cannot be living and yet be absent from the house. Further, absence from the house cannot produce both doubt and postulation, for what produces doubt cannot itself lead to postulation. To this objection also the Mīmāṁsaka is ready with an answer: The two alternatives are contradictories, which cannot both be true and both be false and of which one at least must be true. If we postulate Devadatta's existence outside then one alternative, his absence outside and existence inside, is negated but not his hundred year life. But if we postulate his death in the house then both his absence outside and his hundred year life will be negated —which is absurd. (The reader should note that, because of Devadatta's absence from the house, his hundred year life on the one hand and his absence outside and existence in the house on the other become contradicctories as only one of them can be true).

This kind of *arthāpatti* in which doubt is the *karaṇa* the

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Naiyāyikas try to include in their *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* syllogisms. Gautama in his *Nyāyasūtra* divided syllogisms into three kinds, *pūrvavat, seshavāt* and *sāmānyatodṛishṭa.*[1] The first is the inference of the effect from the cause, the second the inference of the cause from the effect, and the third is the inference of the unseen from perception in general. The examples of the first two are quite common; the example of the third is the movement of the sun who in the mornings is seen in the east and evenings in the west.[2] His movement, the Naiyāyikas say, is invisible and is to be inferred from his existence at two different places.

To the above argument of the Mīmāṁsakas the Naiyāyika answers: Of the two alternatives one is certainly to be denied. The argument that Devadatta's death negates both alternatives while his existence outside negates only one is only a *tarka,* which is another way of saying: If Devadatta were dead his would not have been a hundred year life. With the help of such *tarka* the *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* syllogism negates one of the alternatives by having in view the idea of death, which would be true if Devadatta does not exist outside. To this the Mīmāṁsaka replies: If his existence outside is not known at all, then living Devadatta must be taken to be present in the house only. And if the result of our syllogism is to be the negation of one of the opposing alternatives, it would be impossible without knowing beforehand Devadatta's existence outside, which must have been possible only through *arthāpatti.*[3]

It is somewhat difficult to follow this argument. However, it may be expressed thus: Is the existence outside to be inferred from the absence in the house or is the absence in the house to be inferred from the existence outside? First, we start with the idea that Devadatta is in his house; we do not find him and suspect that he is dead. But his death conflicts with his hundred year life guaranteed by astrology. So his death has to be denied. But what is the basis of the negation? Only his existence outside. Hence without the knowledge of his existence outside one of the alternatives cannot be negated. But how to obtain that knowledge? Can it be obtained simply from the absence of Devadatta from the house?

[1] *Nyāyasūtras* with Vatsyāyana's *Bhāshya* and Viśvanātha's *Vṛtti*, p. 23. (Chowkhamba Sanscrit Series).

[2] These three are variously interpreted by the commentators. I am here taking a view of Vātsyāyana. Udyotakara, for instance, does not accept it. See his *Nyāyavārtikam*, p. 49. (Chowkamba Sanscrit Series).

[3] *Jāgadisī Tīkā*, p. 902.

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No. For Devadatta might have been dead also. So unless our doubt that Devadatta is dead is removed, we cannot infer his existence outside; but that doubt is removed only when we know his existence outside. The Mīmāṁsaka says that Devadatta's existence outside is known through *arthāpatti* and this knowledge negates the possibility of his death; and he contends that the Naiyāyikas cannot say this because, according to him, Devadatta's existence outside cannot be known unless it is decided that he is not dead. Indeed, the Naiyāyika says that his decision is obtained through *tarka*, and that ordinary syllogism assisted by this *tarka* gives the conclusion that Devadatta exists outside. His *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* syllogism would be of the following form: Devadatta is either dead or living, because he is an organism like me. Now *tarka* comes to help this syllogism: If he were dead his would not have been a hundred year life and both the alternatives referred to above would be denied. Then the conclusion is: Devadatta who must be either living or dead, when he cannot be dead, must be living outside. The Naiyāyikas contend that *tarka* does not assist doubt because it would not be economical (*lāghava*) to assume that it assists the *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* syllogism rather than doubt, for doubt is not a *pramāna*.[1]

Some of the later Mīmāṁsakas therefore hold that *arthāpatti* is produced not by doubt, but by incompatibility, and that it is a postulate to remove that incompatibility. Devadatta is living; he is absent from his house; his absence is incompatible with his long life; to remove the incompatibility his existence outside has to be postulated. One may here try to frame a syllogism. Devadatta exists outside, because though absent from the house he is living, just as a pot which is not destroyed but absent from the house must be found elsewhere; or because any existent thing, if not found in one place, must be found in another, just as I, standing in the middle of the room, am absent from its corner. But this does not refute *arthāpatti* as a separate form of inference, because our knowledge of Devadatta's existence outside can be obtained even when we are ignorant of the concomitance between the middle and the major terms. *Sāmānyatodṛshṭavyāpti* cannot be accepted because there can be no *vyāpti* of that type.

The Naiyāyika says: What is *anupapatti* or incompatibility? Incompatibility exists when there is no absence of *hetu* wherever there is absence of *sādhya*. Hence there is no need of a separate *pramāṇa* called *arthāpatti*. The Mīmāṁsakas

[1] *Jāgadiśī Ṭīkā* p. 903.

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reply: Syllogism is possible only when we have *vyāptapaksha-dharmatājñāna*, that is when we are able to subsume the minor term under the middle. But here there is no major premiss, and so no middle term. It may be said that with the help of the *vyatirekavyāpti* the minor can give the conclusion. But the Naiyāyikas themselves say that *vyatirekavyāpti* is of no use in a *kevalānvayi* inference, and instead of having so many forms of *vyāpti*, it would be economical (*lāghava*) to have only one which asserts the direct concomitance (*sādhyavyāpyatvam* of *hetu* and *sādhya*. Moreover, the absence of Devadatta is found in the room, and how can the *hetu* of his presence be elsewhere? For the rule is that the *hetu* and the *sādhya* should have the same locus (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). It may be said that this objection holds only if the room is the *anuyogi* or the locus of the absence is taken as the *hetu*, but not if the *pratiyogi* or the counterpart of the absence is the *hetu*. The *pratiyogi* here is Devadatta, and he exists elsewhere. Thus he is the *sāmānādhikaraṇa* of his absence and elsewhere existence. But Devadatta is not perceived, while his absence is perceived; and so *liṅgajñāna* or knowledge of the middle is not possible and there would be no occasion for a syllogism. Further, the Naiyāyikas insist upon *tṛtīyaliṅgaparāmarśa*.[1] But it is impossible unless Devadatta is perceived.

But the Naiyāyikas say that even *tṛtīyaliṅgaparāmarśa* is possible through memory. As a matter of fact, the absence of Devadatta in the house is related to both the house and Devadatta. Hence Devadatta is brought before mind, which can treat him as the *pakṣa* having a *vyāptiviśiṣṭaliṅga*, that is, as the minor subsumed under the middle. Hence even the *arthāpatti* produced by *anupapatti* is only a syllogism of the *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* type.

There are some Naiyāyikas who interpret *sāmānyatodṛshta* as *anvayavyatireki* and *śeshavat* as *vyatireki*.[2] And according to the Mīmāṁsakas *arthāpatti* is again of two kinds, *śrutārthā-patti* and *dṛṣhṭārthāpatti*. The postulation of *māyā* or *mithyātva* of the serpent seen in a rope, because it would be contradictory to call it real after the judgment. 'It is a rope', is made, and again because it would be contradictory to call it unreal when we saw an objective snake, is *arthāpatti*. *Śrutārthāpatti* is again of two kinds, *abhidhānānupapatti* and *abhidheyānupapatti*.

[1] The first *liṅgaparāmarsā* is when we say *vahnimān dhūmāt*; the second when we say *yatra dhūmaḥ tatra vahniḥ*; and the third when we say *vahnivyāptadhūmavān ayam parvataḥ*.

[2] See *Nyāyadarśanam* with Viśvanātha's *Vṛtti*, I, 1, 5.

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When some one says, "Door", as the word by itself cannot give definite meaning, we complete the sentence by adding the word "shut." This is, we postulate what should have been uttered. When it is said, "One desirous of heaven should perform *jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice", as we do not understand how the sacrifice performed now can bear fruit several years afterwards, we postulate what is called *apūrva*, through which the effect is produced. The ancient Hindus believed that sacrifices existed in a subtle form called *apūrva* till the time when they could produce their effect. To the student of logic these distinctions are not of logical importance the thought structure in all is the same.

II

It can easily be seen that the controversy between the Naiyāyikas and the Mīmāṁsakas hinges upon the problem whether Devadatta's existence outside is obtained as a postulate (*kalpanā*) or as a conclusion drawn from a major premiss (*vyāpti*). If it can be definitely shown that it can be derived from *vyāpti*, the Mīmāṁsaka position would become untenable. Let us examine.

In refuting the view that *arthāpatti* is postulation produced by doubt the Naiyāyikas have said that the *sāmānyatodrshṭa* produces the same result when aided by *tarka*, *Sāmānyatodrshṭa* unaided by *tarka* produces only a disjunction like "Devadatta is either dead or living"; which results only in doubt. But with the help of *tarka* it produces the definite knowledge of Devadatta's existence outside.[1] But what is *tarka* ? Gautama defines it as a reasoning to know the truth when there is doubt.[2] It is a *reductio ad absurdum*. It is attribution of *hetvabhāva* by supposing *sādhyābhāva*. For the classical example, the mountain contains fire because there is smoke, the *tarka* would be of the form, if it does not contain fire there would have been no smoke. The Naiyāyikas do not treat *tarka* as a separate *pramāṇa* or even as a form of syllogism (*anumāna*) but only as an aid to *vyāpti*.

But how is this *tarka* different from what we call *vyatirekavyāpti* ? The latter is the concomitance of the *sādhyābhāva* with the *hetvabhāva*. But *tarka* also runs : Had there been *sādhyābhāva* there would have been *hetvabhāva*. Indeed,

[1] *Jāgadīsī*, p. 904.

[2] *Nyāyadarśana* I, i, 40. *Avijñātatattve arthe kāraṇopapattitaḥ tattvajñānarthamūhas tarkaḥ.*

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there is difference between the two modes of expression. When expressed as a *vyāpti* there is an 'is', and when expressed as a *tarka* there is a 'would have been.' But 'would have been' is based upon 'is'. It is not even an implication of 'is', though we may say that it is an application. It is just an immediate inference, the contrapositive of the original *anvayavyāpti*. The contrapositive of "All S is P" is "All not-P is not-S"; thus the contrapositive of "Wherever there is smoke there is fire" is "Wherever there is absence of fire there is absence of smoke". *Tarka* in the classical *anvayavyatirekā* example would be: If there is no fire there would not have been smoke; but there is smoke; (and the Naiyāyikas continue) hence this smoke must have been without cause and eternal (*nitya*).

The Naiyāyika does not seem to proceed further; if he does there would be difficulties. Supposing the question is asked: What is the harm if smoke is without a cause and eternal? He would have to say that it conflicts with what we see. If it does, the conclusion would be: There is fire. Now, if the conclusion can be obtained through *tarka* itself, the latter must be treated as a *pramāṇa* or it itself would be inference. If, on the other hand, he answers that if the smoke is eternal the law of causality would be violated he would be holding the view that inference is possible only when the *hetu* and the *sādhya* are causally related. But even for *anvaya-vyatireki* inference there are instances where the two are not casually related but yet are concomitant. The example of European logic, All men are organisms, Socrates is a man, and therefore he is an organism, is of that kind. Here the *tarka* would be, if Socrates were not mortal he would not have been a man; but man and organism are not causally related.

The Naiyāyika is not at all prepared to treat *tarka* as a form of inference. Udyotakara discusses the point.[1] He anticipates the objection that *tarka* is *anumāna* as it is dependent upon the memory of the concomitance between *hetu* and *sādhya*. But he replies that *anumāna* is possible when we have a *dharma* and a *dharmī*; when we have a *dharmī* alone only *tarka* is possible. Supposing we see something in a distance or in dusk and say: It is a pillar or man. Then we see a horse nearby; and as horses imply riders, we conclude that it is a man. Here the horse is not a *dharma* or property of man, from which we could have inferred the man. What the *tarka* does here is the negation of the alternative pillar. But this argument of Udyotakara is obviously lame. For unless we

[1] *Nyāyavārtikam*, p. 142. (Chowkhamba Sanscrit Series, Benares).

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are sure that it is man we cannot negate that it is a pillar. But how could we have got that knowledge? Only with the help of the horse through *tarka*. It is immaterial whether the *hetu* is a property (*dharma*) or cause (*kāraṇa*) or some other kind of mark or sign. If it cannot give us the *sādhya* that it is man the possibility of being a pillar can never be negated. Further, when Gautama used the word *kāraṇopapattitaḥ* in the *sūtra* he means that *tarka* works with the law of causality, and an effect can be taken as the *dharma* of the cause.

If then through *tarka* alone it is possible to get the conclusion, if it is little different from *vyatirekavyāpti*, and if it can be used only in *anvayavyatireki* and *kevalavyatireki* inferences and not in *kevalanvaya*, is there sufficient reason to separate *tarka* and *vyatirekavyāpti* and treat the former as only an aid in establishing the latter by removing *vyabhicāraśankā* or the doubt that the *hetu* may be present where the *sādhya* is absent? The *vyāpti* which is common to both *vyatireki* and *anvayavyatireki* as given by Viśvanātha is the absence of *hetu* wherever there is absence of *sādhya*.[1] But the form of *tarka* is: If there is no *sādhya* there would have been no *hetu*. One may say that as accepted by the later Naiyāyikas it is not exactly of this form. Then it would be: If no *sādhya* then the *hetu* would not have been produced by it. We have already examined this form a little above; and we may add that even if it is of this form the meaning is the same, for that the *hetu* would not have been produced may mean also that there would not have been the *hetu*. Hence it is obvious that *tarka* is logically, though not always grammatically the same as *vyatirekavyāpti*.

All Naiyāyikas believe that *tarka* is not an inference but only an aid. Curiously enough there are some among them who believe that *kevalavyatireki* by itself cannot lead to the conclusion but only by producing the *anvayavyāpti*. Then, we may say, as *anvayavyāpti* is the only *vyāpti*, *kevalavyatireki* is only an aid in obtaining it. This line of thinking also supports our contention that *tarka* and *kevalavyatireki* are not essentially different. Rāyanarasimha, in his *Prabhā*, a commentary on *Muktāvali*, refers to the view of Ācārya, who is probably Udayana,[2] according to which *sāmānādhikaraṇya* of *hetu* and *sādhya* is essential for all *vyāpti* and so *kevalavyatireki* would be that *vyāpti* which is produced by the knowledge of *vyatirekavyāpti* unaccompanied by the knowledge of *anvayavyāpti*.[3]

[1] *Kārikāvalī*, p. 480.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 795.

[3] *Op. cit.*

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That is, *kevalanvayi* is that *vyāpti* which is produced by the *sahacārajnāña* or the knowledge of the concomitance of the *hetu* and *sādhya* ; *kevalavyatireki* is what is already defined ; and *anvayavyatireki* is the *vyāpti* produced by the knowledge of both types of concomitance. *Kevalavyatireki* by itself is no *vyāpti*.[1] We find thus that what Udyotakara says against *tarka* is practically said by Udayana against *kevalavyatireki*. The author of *Cintāmaṇi* also accepts this view, and even goes further to give the *vyatireki* an *anvayi* meaning by some twisting. *Vyāpti*, according to him, may be interpreted as the concomitance of the *hetu*, which is the negation of the negation of the *hetu* whose negation is present wherever the negation of *sādhya* is present, with the negation of the negation of the *sādhya*.[2] This *vyāpti* which is really an *anvayi* is obtained (*gamya*) by the *vyatireki* inherent in it. It is quite apparent that the definition is tortured. However, the feeling is there that the *anvayi* alone is the true *vyāpti*.

We have so far tried to show that *tarka* and *vyatireka-vyāpti* are not essentially different. Then why do all the Naiyāyikas object to accepting that *tarka* is an inference ? And why do some at least hesitate to say that the *vyatirekavyāpti* by itself can produce the conclusion ? The argument advanced against *tarka*, as we have already seen, is that it does not involve the relation between the *liṅga* and *liṅgi* or *hetu* and *sādhya*. And what is the argument against the *vyatireki* ? It is practically the same, namely, the concomitance between the *hetu* and the *sādhya* is expressed by the *anvayi* and not by the *vyatireki*. But we have already pointed out that it is not necessary for the *hetu* to be a *dharma* or property of the *sādhya* ; it is enough if the former is a sign or something that goes invariably with the latter. Yet both *tarka* and *vyatireki* cannot give the conclusion as syllogisms by themselves. Both presuppose *anvayavyāpti*. This defect has been noticed by Śriharṣa,[3] who says that *tarka* is based upon *vyāpti*, and if the *vyāpti* is in need of the support of the same *tarka* there would be the fallacy of *anyonyāśraya* (mutual dependence) and, we may add, if of another *tarka* infinite regress (*anavasthā*). For how can I know that *dhūmābhava* or the negation of smoke is the *vyāpaka* (distributed over) *vahnyabhāva* or the negation of fire ? Or to put it in simpler language, when can I know that smoke

[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] *Jāgadīśī Ṭīkā* p. 844. *Sādhyābhavavyāpakasādhanābhāvābhāvena sādhanena sādhyābhāvābhāvasya sādhyasya sādhanāt.*

[3] *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍkhādya*, p. 623

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cannot be found unless there is fire? Only when and after I know that wherever there is smoke there is fire. If there is any doubt about this positive *vyāpti*, I can never be sure of the *vyatireki*, for I still doubt whether there might not be smoke in the absence of fire. It is of no avail to bring in the concept of causality. For so long as this doubt lasts one cannot be sure of the causal relation between fire and smoke, and one begins to question the causal relation itself. And taking the example of Western logic, unless I am sure that all men are mortals I can never be sure that non-mortals are non-men, and the latter can never help me in establishing the former.

It may probably be said that though in these examples the *vyatireki* is dependent on the *anvayi* it is not so in all. When we infer *ātmā* or soul from *icchā* or desire, *ākāśa* or ether from *sabda* or sound, and *pṛthvi* or earth from *gandha* or smell, we do not have an *anvayāvyāpti*. We cannot say wherever there is desire there is *ātmā*, because their concomitance or co-existence is not perceived and what the inference wants to establish is the reality itself of *ātmā*. This inference arises when we question whether there is an entity called *ātmā* at all. In such instances, it may be said, *vyatireki* or *tarka* is absolutely necessary.

In answer it must at first be pointed out that those Naiyāyikas who hold that *kevalavyatireki* operates through *anvayi* have to say that in these instances the *vyatireki* can operate through itself or that these inferences are not syllogisms. But no Naiyāyika seems to be prepared to accept the latter alternative. They invent some interpretation like that offered by the author of *Cintāmaṇi* and referred to above, which is really the *vyatireki* of *vyatireki*. But the objection against that would be that unless we know beforehand the *anvayi*, the *vyatireki* of its *vyatireki* cannot give us a knowledge of it. It would be like saying that though one has not seen an elephant he can get a knowledge of it from the negation of the negation of it. That the idea is absurd can be easily shown. If we do not know what an elephant is, how can we say, when a horse for instance is shown, that it is not an elephant? Again, only when we see the elephant can we negate the negation of the elephant.

And now, how is the former alternative to be defended? If the inference is a syllogism the *vyatirekavyāpti* would be: Whatever is not *ātmā* is without *icchā*. But in the form of *tarka*, it would be: *Icchā* would have been present even in what is not *ātmā*. But the question would be asked: How is the *vyāpti* obtained? Is it true? Is the doubt of its falsity to be removed by *tarka*? And what would that *tarka* be? The *vyatireki* of

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the *vyatireki* would be : That which is not without *icchā* is not *anātmā* or that which has *icchā* is *ātmā*. Put in the form of *tarka*, it is : That which is not without *icchā* would have been *anātmā* or that which has *icchā* would not have been *ātmā*. But then this *tarka* is not helping to prove the conclusion but is assuming its truth. It is an undisguised *petitio principii.*

We may examine the position with less technicality. The *vyatirekavyāpti* is : That which is not *ātmā* is without *icchā*. But how can we know what is not *ātmā* if we do not already know what is *ātmā* ? It is not enough to know earth as earth, water as water and so forth ; we have to know them as not-*ātmās ;* and this knowledge is impossible unless we know what *ātmā* is. But *ātmā* is exactly what we do not know as yet ; and the inference is made to establish its reality for us. The *vyatirekavyāpti* would be true only if the *sādhya* is already established (*siddha*) *;* and the *sādhya* would be *siddha* only if the *vyatirekavyāpti* is true. This mutual dependence completely undermines the validity of the *vyatirekānumāna*.

In Western logic we find the charge *petitio praincipii* brought against every syllogism. In the syllogism, All men are mortal, Socrates is a man, therefore Socrates is mortal, it is said, the major premise cannot be true unless the conclusion is true and therefore assumes the truth of the conclusion. Some modern logicians have attempted to defend the syllogism against this charge. We need not take sides with either party here. But it should be noted that this objection is different from the one we bring against *kevalavyatireki.* Our contention is that this is not a syllogism at all, because it lacks the major premise. *Vyatirekavyāpti* cannot be formed unless we have an *anvayavyāpti ;* that is, the former would be without a basis if the latter is not already known.

Our objection holds good even in the classical example of Devadatta, which is interpreted as a syllogism by the Naiyāyikas. The *vyatirekavyāpti* is somewhat differently given in different works. As given by Viśvanātha and elaborated by Rāyanarasiṁha in his *Prabhā*[1] it is : Every living being lives either in his house or outside, because he is living ; one who is not either in his house or outside is not living. Then, every living being who is not in his house must be outside ; Devadatta is such a one ; therefore he is living outside.[2] This inference

[1] *Kārikāvali*, p. 796.

[2] Here I am not using the Naiyāyika form of syllogism with five steps, as it makes the presentation appear more complicated. Also, I am not giving the arguments in exactly the same form in which they are given by the commentators, for the English sentence would then become too involved.

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really consists of two syllogism. The major of the latter has the appearance of the *anvayi*, the former is obviously a *vyatireki*. We have already seen a slightly different form in the discussion of *saṁśayakāraṇaka arthāpatti*. There the Naiyāyika starts with the same form of disjunction, negates one of the alternatives through *tarka*, then frames an *anvayavyāpti*.[1] Even the ordinary inference of fire from smoke may be expressed in this form: The mountain either contains or does not contain fire; if it does not contain fire there would have been no smoke. So the latter alternative is negated. Next, any mountain which is subject to these alternatives and has smoke must contain fire; this is such a mountain; hence it contains fire. In the first interpretation which belongs to the later Nyāya *vyatirekānumāna* leads to *anvyavi*. In the second which belongs to the earlier schools *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* with the help of *tarka* leads to *anvayi*. If we examine the logical structure of the arguments we find they are the same. But to those who hold that the *vyatireki* by itself can lead to the conclusion, it need not lead to the *anvayavyāpti*. It would be: Living Devadatta if he is not in his house, must be outside; for one who is not outside and not in his house cannot be living. It is like the inference: The element earth is different from the others, because it possesses smell; for whatever is not different from the other elements does not possess smell. But whatever be the form of the argument, our objection against *tarka* and *vyatireki* holds.

III

There seems to be a tendency among some recent interpreters of this argument to call it a disjunctive syllogism. The first two interpretations of the Naiyāyikas may be treated as disjunctions; but it is doubtful whether the last can be so treated. Even regarding the first two, there is an important point. The alternative negated is not directly negated but only through *tarka* or *vyatirekavyāpti*. If I go to see Devadatta after ten years and do not find him in his house, I cannot jump immediately to the conclusion that he is living outside; he might be dead. And because the idea of his death conflicts with that of his hundred year life, which cannot be denied, we infer his existence outside. But his death is denied only through *tarka* or *vyatireki*. And we have shown that *tarka* or *vyatireki* is no syllogism.

But it may be asked: Apart from what the Naiyāyikas

[1] *Jāgadīśī Ṭīkā*, p. 905.

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say, is it not possible to have a disjunctive syllogism here? Can we not give this interpretation independently? One may give an independent interpretation. But one must see also that the two alternatives cannot be obtained unless the doubt of death is removed. If I have the disjunction, Devadatta is either in his house or outside, and negate the first alternative I get the second. But as it is, the second alternative is not known; and if it is known there is no need of the syllogism. For we already know what we want to know. It may perhaps be said that the disjunction can be inferred from the example of a pot, as the Naiyayikas do. Living Devadatta must be in his house or outside like the pot which is not destroyed is either in the house or outside. But how does one get the knowledge about the pot? From the observation of some other thing? And of this? From a fourth thing? But do we get our *vyāpti* like this? There is the more fundamental question: How can we know that an existent thing not found in one place can be found in another? Unless this is known there can be no *vyāpti* for the Naiyāyikas, and without a *vyāpti* there is no syllogism, either disjunctive or categorical. That is why the Mīmāṁsakas say that Devadatta's existence can be inferred even when we do not have a *vyāpti*. When there is a *vyāpti* we of course have a syllogism. But when there is none too we have inference, which the Mīmāṁsakas call *arthāpatti*. But when there is none the Naiyāyikas can have no inference, for inference according to them is only syllogism, which can never work without a *vyāpti*. (*Upamāna* as analogy may be called an inference, but one can easily see that the present inference is not an *upamāna*). It is in order to have a *vyāpti* that some of them take *tarka* or *vyatireka* as aids. But as we have shown, they cannot be aids because they depend on the *vyāpti* which they want to establish. And this defect we pointed out even in the view that *vyatireki* can give the conclusion by itself. If through *arthāpatti* it is possible to have the conclusion without having recourse to *vyāpti*, it would be illogical to resort to the latter. It would be like framing a major premise for the inference, A is to the right of B, B is to the right of C, and so A is to the right of C. After we know that Devadatta is outside, if we still want to infer it, our thinking would be like the inference from the perceptual judgment, It is red, which would be of the form: It is either red or not-red; if it is not red, then it will have to be both red and not-red, which is absurd; therefore it is red.

We may add therefore that even if we are sure that Devadatta is not dead, there is a need of some thought process, which

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cannot be syllogism, to infer his existence outside. At a certain stage of mental development all know that things not dead or destroyed, if they do not exist in the house, must exist outside. But before that stage when the outside existence of things is inferred, it can only be through *arthāpatti*. As a matter of fact, examples like this are not typical. At the stage of mental development when we can discuss logic such examples appear to be no postulations. One may ask: Is it not quite an ordinary fact that existent things not seen in one place must be found in another? The significance of *arthāpatti* is seen only when we have typical postulation. And postulation cannot be turned into syllogism. The Naiyāyika inference of *ātmā* from *icchā* is a better example. Here the existence of *ātmā* is postulated, the reality of which may be doubted. But the *vyāpti*, *yannaivam tannaivam* or that which is no *ātmā* has no *icchā* is meaningless. For how do we know what is not *ātmā* when we have not yet known what *ātmā* is? So there is here really no *vyāpti*. Yet one may ask onself: Can I attribute *icchā* to the earth? No. To the element water? No. Then after all the known *dravyas* are exhausted we might say: There might be another *dravya* which we may call *ātmā*. But this type of thinking is simple postulation and not syllogism. One may frame a syllogism if one likes after the *ātmā* is postulated. But first, it is unnecessary; and secondly, when though a particular form of thinking we can obtain a conclusion without *vyāpti*, we have to recognise its speciality. To refute the Mīmāṁsaka position it is incumbent on the Naiyāyika to prove that there can be no inference, not merely no syllogism, without *vyāpti*. This he cannot. But the Mīmāṁsaka, whose burden it is to show that there are inferences without *vyāpti*, has proved his case.

Another typical example is the Advaitin's concept of *māyā* or illusion. The serpent seen in the rope does not belong to what is called objective reality. Nor is it merely an imaginary subjective idea. Therefore a new type of objectivity is postulated called *māyā*, which is neither real nor unreal. For the hypothesis of *anirvacanīya* there can really be no *vyāpti*. The inference of the movement of the sun, which is sometimes given as an example of *sāmānyatodṛshṭa*, is also a better example than that about Devadatta. Modern science denies that movement. However, if we accept its truth for argument's sake, we may say it is more fitting. Here also there is no real *vyāpti*, though one may be framed and instances may be given. It is of course not as good an example as the above two. In modern science we get better examples. The postulation of

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ether as the medium of sound is one. In philosophy the Absolute inferred as the ultimate postulate of our experience is the result of *arthāpatti*. And the best example is the proof itself of the law of contradiction, which would be: If the principle is not true, even the proof to disprove it will not be true.

Generally we postulate a principle or entity in order to explain some facts or to remove some contradiction. And as even syllogism is based on the principle of contradiction, it may be interpreted as postulation also. This is what is called the *reductio ad absurdum* proof. Even in the ordinary example, if the truth of "Socrates is not mortal" is not accepted, then the proposition, "All men are mortal", would be false. Hence its truth must be postulated. This point is noticed by the Mīmāṁsaks, who say that, if fire is inferred from smoke without the help of *vyāpti*, the thought process would be *arthāpatti*.[1] Thus wherever there is a syllogism we may discover *arthāpatti*; but in every *arthāpatti* we cannot discover a syllogism.

We say so only following the ancient logicians. But if we examine the matter closely, we find that even the *reductio ad absurdum* depends for its truth upon the truth of the major premise under which the minor is subsumed. If it is asked: What if "All men are mortal" is false? the indirect proof can establish nothing. It may be said that even in pure *arthāpatti* the same question may be put. In the example about Devadatta, it may be asked: What is the harm if Devadatta were dead? But the difference between the two is that the datum with which we start in *arthāpatti* is a brute fact that cannot be questioned, whereas in syllogism the *vyāpti* or major premise can be questioned; and secondly, in the former there is no possibility of subsumption, while in the latter there is that possibility and subsumption is more natural. We may therefore say that Ramakrishnadhvari in his commentary on his father's *Vedāntaparibhāsha*[2] has given up the position of his father by admitting *kevalavyatireki* as a syllogism and saying that *arthāpatti* and *kevalavyatireki* are practically the same though different in form.[3] But he does not seem to notice that there can be instances of inference without *vyāpti* at all. However, if, as he feels, *vyatireki* can operate only through *anvayi*, it will be only by courtesy that we call *vyariteki* a syllogism. And where

[1] *Jāgadīśī Ṭīkā*, p. 916.

[2] *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* with *Śikhāmaṇi* and *Maṇiprabhā*, p. 206. (Kshemaraj Śrikrishnadas, Bombay).

[3] *Ibid*, p. 209.

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anvayavyāpti is not possible we cannot avoid accepting *arthāpatti* as an independent form of inference.[1]

IV

It is these reasons that made me[2] say that *arthāpatti* can best be interpreted as the transcendental method of Kant or the dialectic of Hegel. In both there is the postulation of something new in order to reconcile some conflict, to remove some contradiction and explain some facts. For Kant the Ideas of Reason are the unconditioned ground of all reasoning, which appear as if they can be obtained through an infinite series of pro-syllogisms. But this is really only a way of saying; for no one can exhaust this infinite series in order to reach the infinite ground, which therefore must only be a postulate. The so-called ontological proof for the existence of God, as interpreted by the Hegelians, is of this type. Similarly, the categories are deduced by Kant as postulates or hypotheses; and though his proof is called deduction it is hardly syllogism. The movement of Hegel's dialectic from Being to Nothing, and then to Becoming and so forth, is a kind of postulation. Being through self-contradiction collapses into Nothing, and Nothing similarly into Being, and this collapsing into each other settles down into Becoming. But this settling down is only momentary, for the process begins again with Becoming. That is, Nothing is freed of contradiction in Being and Being in Nothing, and this contradiction between Being and Nothing is removed by Becoming. Thus each category is posited or postulated in order to remove a contradiction.

Arthāpatti is the method of all speculative philosophy. It is synthetic[3] and not merely analytic like the ordinary syllogism or induction; for the contradictions it resolves it holds within itself, whereas in induction certain features analysed are abstracted from the rest and in deduction the conclusion is treated as if it were analysed out of the major premise. *Arthapatti* is the method of inference in which the conclusion can really be new, for instance, when *ātmā* is inferred from *icchā*. Among the European logicians after Hegel, Lotze regarded dialectic as the highest type of inference.[4]

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[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] See *Thought and Reality*, Part V.

[3] For an exposition of the synthetic and analytic methods see N. K. Smith: *Commentary to Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, pp. 44 foll.

[4] *Logic*, Vol. I, Sections 149-51.

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IS NOT–BEING DEDUCED FROM BEING ?

(Hegel and Citsukha)

By

JANAKI VALLABHA BHATTACHARYYA

Hegel claims to solve the ancient problem of dualism by means of the Dialectic Method. He holds that the Eleatics, Plotinus, Spinoza and Vedāntists have all made an attempt at establishing monism. They assert that the Infinite One is the only reality. The One is excludent of multiplicity. The Vedantists hold that 'All is One.' But they hold that the multiplicity of this universe is not real. It is only illusory. The many does not necessarily issue out of the One. The One is the Infinite. The Many is the finite. The One does neither become the finite necessarily nor become identical with the finite. The One is an abstract unity. It remains out-side the world of finite beings. There is no necessary connection between the Infinite and the finite. They simply exclude the many from the One but do not solve the real problem—the relation of the One and the Many. The Many is opposed to the One. How does the many proceed from and become identical with the One ? According to these philosophers the many cannot proceed from the One. These philosophers cannot get beyond the see-saw of contradictions. Hegel solves this difficulty. He holds that the relation between the One and the many is the relation of unity-in-difference. He holds that the finite proceeds from the Infinite and that the Infinite is identical with the finite. He proves that two opposites are identical while they retain their opposition. He explains rationally how the category of unity is compatible with the category of multiplicity. He owes his success to his new method, viz., the *Dialectic Method*.

Hegel shows that the categories discovered by himself are not subjective in their character. They are objective entities. These categories are not isolated unities. They form an organic whole of categories in which each category is logically connected with every other. They are one as a whole but in it each of them maintains its distinction. They are universals. They are not abstract universals like Platonic Ideas. The genus, universal, contains differentiate and species within itself. The differentiate which is always negative

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proceeds necessarily from the genus. By adding the differentia to the genus we get the species. The old maxim 'ex nihilo nihil fit' is the guiding principle of the Hegelian Philosophy. The truth of it has been accepted in Formal Logic that 'there cannot be anything present in the conclusion which was not present in the premises.' The breach of this principle is described as the fallacy of illicit process in formal logic. Hegel holds that if a category follows logically from another category then the antecedent category must contain the consequent within itself. The dialectic method shows that the categories are all logically connected and that one category is logically deduced from another category. This deduction is not conducted by caprice or ingenuity of a philosopher or a thinker. It is an objective process which takes place independently of our thinking. Hegel starts from the summum genus and proceeds from genus to species through differentia. He then begins with this new species as genus and passes from this genus to its species. This passage from genus to species goes on until the final category is deduced. The final category is the highest unity. It is the foundation of all categories. Nothing is lost in this process of objective deduction. The previous categories are, now, moments of the last category. They preserve their distinction though they are unified by the highest synthesis. The final category is the Absolute. All the categories are applicable to it. Each of them by itself expresses the Absolute partially. Now, we shall resist the temptation of discussing the Hegelian doctrine elaborately and confine our attention to the point at issue.

Hegel begins with the category of Being, since the universal of being is the highest generalisation. In the system of Hegel the more abstract category is logically prior to the less abstract category. Hegel proceeds from the summum genus through further specifications to the least abstract category. The most abstract category is the universal of being. If we abstract from all determinations conceivable then we get the category of being. It is the logically first category of Hegelian Logic. Hegel then shows that by dialectical necessity 'Being' passes from itself to the category of 'Not-being.' The category of being expresses mere 'is-ness' of a thing. The mere 'is-ness' means that it has no other qualities. A thing, e.g., a cup, which is, has many qualities. It has its peculiar shape, size, hardness, colour, etc. If we abstract from all these qualities and by means of logical analysis separate its pure existence from its other qualities then we get the category of being. It is an empty universal devoid of all determinations.

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Hegel shows that the concept of being contains its opposite, viz., the concept of not-being hidden away within itself and that this opposite is deduced from it. This newly deduced concept will do the work of a differentia and convert the summum genus of being into the species of becoming. This is an example of the dialectic method. It explains the dialectic method better than the abstract definition of it. With the help of this method Hegel thinks that he has solved the ancient problems of Philosophy. This method is superior to the geometrical method and the method of understanding.

Now, we shall try to follow how the category of not-being is deduced from that of being. Pure being is absolutely free of all determinations. It is absolutely featureless. It is therefore completely empty and vacant. In other words, it is a pure vacuum. It is devoid of all contents since to possess content of some kind is to have determination of some specific nature. Pure being, being absolutely vacant, is the absence of everything. It is the negation of all determinations. It has no quality—no character. But such absence of everything is nothing. Emptiness is synonymous with nothing. Being is, therefore, nothing. Pure concept of being contains the idea of nothing. Therefore the category of not-being is deduced from the category of being. If we say that an object simply is then it is equally true to say that it is not. It is impossible for us to draw a line of distinction between 'is' and 'is not.' The categories of being and not-being are equally applicable to the same object at the same time. This is the popular explanation of the deduction of the category of not-being from the category of being as given by Mr. Stace. McTaggart defines the category of not-being very clearly. He says that the antithesis stands to the thesis in the relation of a contrary. Not-being is not the contradictory of being. Hegel does not intend to establish the identity of Being with Not-being but Being turns out to be identical with Not-being. Being means reality without unreality. Not-being signifies unreality without reality. By these definitions they are incompatible but owing to the dialetic process they turn out to be equivalent to each other. Thus an inevitable contradiction arises. This contradiction must be got rid of. There is a logical necessity for further advance.

Now, we shall concentrate our mind upon this portion of the Hegelian deduction and examine closely whether the dialectic process can make the thesis move on to its antithesis. Being has been described to be free of all determinations. 'When we predicate Being as an adequate expression of existence

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we find that in doing so we are also predicating Nothing (Not-being) as an adequate expression of existence.' McTaggart intends most probably that Being cannot be distinguished from something other than Being. Being is asserted to be indeterminate by Mr. Stace. When we say that A is X we also mean thereby that A is not not-X. X is also determined as opposed to not-X. If we say that this is a cow then we determine the meaning of the term 'cow' by distinguishing it from the other species, abstractly described as not-cow. It is not a horse, not a lion etc. Being cannot be so determined. Not-being is not so determined. It is not distinguished from something which is not Not-being. It is therefore indeterminate. Thus Being becomes equivalent to Not-being.

This dialectical process owing to which the passage from Being to Nothing takes place is not convincing. McTaggart draws a distinction between a pure positive and a pure negative. He defines the former to be reality without unreality and the latter to be unreality without reality. The point to be noted here whether absolute unreality is knowable. If it is knowable then the identity of knowing and unreality must be admitted since Hegel holds that the unity of subject and object is the pre-supposition of all knowledge. Nothing to be known must be related to knowing. To be related to the spirit it must be unified with it. The spirit must also be the unity of unreality and knowing. We cannot conceive of such a unity-in-difference.

If it is assumed that such a unity-in-difference is the pre-supposition of all knowledge then it must be admitted that unreality is cognised by us. Now, there are two alternatives open to us that unreality is knowable or unknowable. If it is knowable then Being cannot be indeterminate since we do not abstract from unreality to frame the concept of Being. Being used as a predicate is distinguished from unreality and is therefore determinate. Nothing used as a predicate is also determinate since it is distinguished from reality. If they are distinguished from each other then Being cannot pass from itself to Nothing.

If it is held that Nothing cannot be known then Nothing cannot be used as a predicate. Being in spite of its being indeterminate cannot move on to the idea of Nothing since Nothing lies outside the field of consciousness.

We shall also discuss whether Being is indeterminate if it is not itself distinguished from its opposite. Does a predicate necessarily carry a negative import along with its positive one in order to be determined ? If we say that this is a cow.

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then do we convey that this individual is qualified by cowness and that cowness is not horseness, etc.? The negative meaning of it is an after-thought. The negative consciousness presupposes the positive consciousness of the object negated as its necessary condition. The perceptual judgment 'this is a cow' reveals only an individual, the universal of cowness and their relation. The individual is qualified by the predicate 'cowness'. At this moment we have no awareness of a horse, etc., i.e., animals other than a cow. Therefore cowness cannot be distinguished from horseness, etc., at this moment. Is this positive awareness of cowness indeterminate? Certainly this awareness of cowness as qualifying an individual is not indeterminate since an individual is qualified by a definite adjective. Similarly, when Being is used as a predicate in a judgment the judgment is a determinate one since Being qualifies the substantive of that particular judgment.

Some Hegelians hold that judgments such as 'the table is', 'the table is not', are examples of incomplete judgments. What do they mean? Is 'is' or 'is not' a predicate or a copula? If it is a predicate then owing to the convention of the language the copula has not been used. The judgment 'the table is' signifies that the table has being for its predicate. The judgment 'the table is not' signifies that the table has not-being as its predicate, i.e., the table does not exist. According to McTaggart it means that the table is unreal. They are not incomplete judgments. Even if for the sake of argument it is admitted that there are incomplete judgments then these judgments have no given predicates. In that case the predicates lie outside the scope of our knowledge. For this reason we cannot establish a relation between unknown objects. If it is held that the above judgments should be expressed in the forms that 'the table is—', 'the table is not—' then the two predicates not given cannot be held to be identical later on since they remain unknown.

Moreover even if we subscribe to the view that Being and Not-being used as predicates are indeterminate, we cannot assert with Hegel that they are identical. Is the judgment 'Being is Nothing' determinate or indeterminate? If it is indeterminate then there is no contradiction in the so-called judgment 'Being is Nothing' since the law of contradiction is only applicable to a determinate judgment. If it is held that it is a determinate judgment then both Being and Nothing must be determined since 'Being is Nothing' is equivalent to 'Nothing is Being'. If Being and Nothing are determined at a later stage why will they not be determined at an early stage?

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It amounts to this that Being and Nothing are not indeterminate by their nature but on the contrary they are capable of being determined.

If some other meaning is attached to Nothing such as simple difference then the position of Hegel does not improve. There is no passage from the category of Being of that of Nothing. Therefore the Hegelian dialectic process fails to achieve the object which it promises to bring about.

Citsukha, a celebrated Advaitin of the Śaṁkara School, has solved the problem from the stand-point of abstract monism. He draws his inspiration from the theory of negation of the Prābhākara school. Hegel has thoroughly overlooked the fact of contradictory negation. Citsukha has included both contrary opposition and contradictory negation within negation. He accepts the conclusion of the Prābhākaras and holds that difference and contradictory negation are identical with the locus. He says that every negative proposition has merely positive import. It is metaphysically based on the solid rock of being. Positive reals are only reals in the universe. Negation is identical with being. Negative consciousness or a negative proposition is merely a way of looking at or expressing a positive real. His philosophical conclusion is that the Absolute is the only foundation of the universe. Contradictory negation and contrary opposition are identical with the Absolute, the ultimate locus of the universe.

The Prābhākaras hold that difference pulverizes being. In other words, difference is co-extensive with being and is the essential form of all positive reals. The objects of the universe are therefore many and cannot be unified by the highest unity.

Citsukha controverts this proposition of the Prābhākaras. He holds that simple difference is not incompatible with the unity of the Absolute. Contradictory negation is in its essence identical with the Absolute. The Absolute is the unity of being, trancendental consciousness and bliss. This is the absorbing unity which does not make room for the preservation of their mutual distinction. Difference presupposes unity. Apart from unity it ceases to exist. Difference-in-itself is something inexplicable. Specified difference cannot be defined without infringing the law of definition. Simple difference is not incompatible with the highest unity which underlies all the facts of the universe. The knowledge of difference which leads to pluralism is illusory. Multiplicity is not metaphysically real. Not-being is absorbed in the Ab-

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solute. Being and Not-being are not elements of the Absolute. They are identical with the Absolute.

In fine, we come to the conclusion that Not-being cannot be deduced from Being. If Philosophy sticks to the monistic conclusion then it must hold that the abstract unity is the only unity. The Hegelian concept of concrete universals and the dialectic method do not furnish us with a key which will open the puzzling locks of Dualism. Not-being is identical with Being. There is no contradiction in the judgment 'Nothing is being.' As Not-being is identical with Being the dialectical process should stop for good and the category of Becoming is not required to solve the contradiction pointed out by Hegel. We shall not now discuss whether the solution offered by Citsukha satisfies the demand of a rational thinker.

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THE DOCTRINE OF ĪŚVARA IN EARLY NYĀYAVAIŚEṢIKA WORKS

By

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Broadly speaking, we may say that the doctrine of Īśvara is as old as the Upaniṣads. The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad contains a nominal enunciation of some of the most popular theories, current in its time in explanation of the origin of the Universe and Īśvara-vāda forms one of this number.

कालःस्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्यम् ।
संयोग एषां न त्वात्मभावात् आत्माप्यनीशः सुखदुःखहेतोः ॥

But the reference here in the second half is quite clear and beyond doubt to an Īśvara.

Gautama in his sūtras IV : 1-41 to 43 speaks of various rival theories about the origin of the world. Many of these had been in vogue in independent forms and as inter-related, long before the rise of Buddhism. It will be evident from a glance at this description that theistic studies were intimately connected in early times with the study of the fundamental causal problems with which all these theories had to deal and that they are traceable to a great antiquity in the past. The first philosophy of a people is its religion. The Vedic thought was eminently religious in character, though frequently we find references to ideas more abstract and philosophical. All natural phenomena were deified and worshipped with the greatest possible veneration. Religion is held by some to have been the result of a tendency to worship deceased ancestors. Belief in superhuman beings was thus created and once created, it was systematically extended to all that they considered dear. Gods were conceived to exist in flesh and blood. All the natural forces were believed to be mighty beings by the Primitive man. Heroes were deified and the question as to how exactly belief in Gods arose is a problem for the History of Religions to decide.

When exactly the element of godhood came to be recognised in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system is rather a difficult question to answer. There is no unmistakeable reference to Īśvara in the sūtras of Kaṇāda. The sūtras तद्वचनादाम्नायस्य प्रामाण्यं, etc.,

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may be interpreted as referring to the Dharma. Even the relation between the word and its meaning which is said to be conventional—सामयिकः शब्दादर्थप्रत्ययः—need not presuppose the convention set up by a Lord, the creator of the world, but may be applied just as well as to saints of olden times. It is therefore, not proved that Kaṇāda ever even thought of the possibility of a Being of that kind. Even as the Sānkhya system, he found it quite unnecessary to recognise God. Even the creation of the world could be explained as the result of the voluntary action of the atoms.

The Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda discusses the origin and destruction of the world and in this connection finds a necessity to refer to the idea of God. The very first section refers to the Brahman believed to-day to be the creator of the world. Thousands of four yugas of ordinary mortals is a day to this Brahman. The life of each such Brahman is fixed to be 100 such years and then he is said to be free from bondage. This passage clearly presupposes the recognition of the various gods with Brahman at the head.

But higher than these little gods, Praśastapāda recognised a Maheśvara, the lord of all the worlds (सकलभुवनपतेः महेश्वरस्य—Pr. Bh., p. 20). He definitely says also that the world is created or destroyed just as the Highest Lord desires. The creation of the four Mahā-Bhūtas is followed by that of the Big Egg by the mere thought of Īśvara. This Īśvara creates the different worlds and the Brahman and entrusts Brahman with the task of the creation of the people. The latter by the grace of God is capable of knowing the merit and demerit of the different worlds and the Brahman and entrusts Brahman with the task of the creation of the people. The latter by the grace of God is capable of knowing the merit and demerit of the different individuals and then creates the Prajāpatis, the sages, and the four castes.

This passage in the Praśastapāda clearly indicates a period in the History of Theology when numerous gods were recognised, one of them was exalted as the creator and the creation of the world was conceived to be his domain. But what exactly were the qualities, function, etc., of this Highest God, Praśastapāda does not care to enlighten us on.

Śrīdhara begins his commentary on this passage with the verse :—

उत्पत्तिमन्ति चत्वारि द्रव्याण्याख्याय विस्तरात् ।
तेषां कर्तृपरीक्षार्थं उद्यमः क्रियतेऽधुना ॥ N. K. 49 :

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In addition to a lucid commentary on the Bhāṣya, Śrīdhara develops the argument for the recognition of Īśvara. The authority for such a belief is Āgama and Inference. The familiar argument of inferring an author as cause from the observation of effect is repeated here also. The divine cognition, wish, volition, etc., are proved to be eternal. The individual souls cannot direct the atoms at the time of the world origination. It is also held that lord can be only one to be really effective. The Lord is eternally liberated, because Kleśa, etc., which are acknowledged as a source of bondage do not exist in him.

Almost the same is the order of Progress in theism in the Nyāya system also. Gautama is not quite sure of the existence of Īśvara as the Lord of the world. Discussing the question of creation and dissolution, he refers to a number of views :—Śūnyatā, Īśvara, Ākasmikatva, Sarvānityatva and Sarvāntyatva. Kaṇāda and Gautama might or might not have been theists at heart, but from the available records this much is clear that the theistic theory in a definite form was not originally intended to be a part of the Nyāya system or the Vaiśeṣika system. The sūtras of the Nyāya system, IV-1-(19-23), embody a fully developed form of this doctrine. Īśvara must be recognised as all important and the cause of all the product because Man's efforts are seen to be useless. Sometimes, the non-appearance of the result may be due to the omission of some of the necessary details. But there are instances where even after saying that all has been done that man can do, the result does not appear. Some religiously minded people would be anxious to associate everything with God but some of the opposite state would attribute everything to Puruṣakāra. A reasonable mind would steer clear of both extremes. God will not do everything for man. Man must put forth effort to the utmost and God would simply help him if he deserves.

At the end of the 13th sūtra in IV-1 Vātsyāyana gives a small note discussing and introducing what is to follow. The section is thus introduced :—अतः परं प्रावादुकानां दृष्टयः प्रदर्श्यन्ते

In the section previous to this, the prime cause of the Universe and the causal relation are both discussed. Some people would say that Svabhāva is the cause and some others something else. So many other theories are also considered and among them he has given a place to Īśvara. The section is explained by Vātsyāyana in these words :—अथापरः आह, thereby clearly showing that it is only one of the many aspects of dealing with the question. Thus it must be clear that neither

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Gautama nor Vatsyāyana thought it necessary to incorporate this into the system of Nyāya as a very important part. They might have themselves been great theists or advocated it elsewhere; but so far as the Sūtras and the Bhāṣya are concerned, there is nothing leading to the belief that they were so. Kaṇāda's sūtras are still worse. There is not a single sūtra indicating the supremacy of God in unmistakable terms, though he lays stress on the Dharma-sūtras.

Udyotakara, in his Nyāya Vārtika, has the hard task of meeting very severe attacks on Īśvara and hence his commentary on the N.S. IX-1-21 तत्कारितत्वादहेतुः maintains the existence of an Īśvara and shows his function in the world. It is in the Vārtika that the cause is said to be of three kinds: *samavāyi, asamavāyi and nimitta* and Īśvara is said to be the Nimitta Kāraṇa of the Universe.

तत्कारितत्वादेवं ब्रुवात निमित्तकारणमीश्वरः इत्युपगतं भवति······N. V., p. 460

यच्च निमित्तं तदितरयोः समवायिकारणासमवायिकारणयोः अनुग्राहकम्।······ उपादानकारणं पृथिव्यादि परमसूक्ष्मं परमाणुसंज्ञितं द्रव्यं·······।

According to the Vārtika, the existence of Īśvara is proved by the Nyāya only after accepting the Nimitta Kāraṇa of the World.

He refers to a host of rival theories in this connection and criticises them. The first to come for this scrutiny is the Sānkhya view. He examines it from various points of view and finally ends with the remark.

सोयं प्रधानवादो यावद्यावद्विचार्यंते तावत्तावत् प्रमाणवृत्तं वाधते। N. V., p. 462

The view that the Paramāṇus by themselves lead to creation even as the milk flows from the cow involuntarily is also untenable, as no such miracle happens in the case of a dead cow. Wherever an *acetana* is seen to behave with some order, we may say at once that it is possible to infer that it is guided by some *eetana*.

What exactly persuades Īśvara to trouble himself with the creation and dissolution of the world? Some explain it as mere sport. But the Lord has no need for sport, as he has no need for diversion. He has nothing to desire or to hate. Some others explain it as prompted by a desire to proclaim His power. But again He does not stand to gain by this also as He need not care for any one's appreciation. Udyotakāra himself explains in a different way. It is the Svabhāva of Īśvara and this power of Īśvara is said to be Nitya. He is not bound but ever free.

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Vācaspati Miśra holds that in the N.S., IV-1-(19-21), Gautama refers to the ईश्वरोपादानवाद, ब्रह्मविवर्तवाद and the निरपेक्षेश्वर-निमित्तवाद. In the previous section, Gautama refers to and refutes the Sūnyatāvāda which believes that the world might have proceeded from an entire void. The N.S. 4-1-19. ईश्वरः कारणं पुरुषकर्म, etc., is here explained as referring to the belief that the world is itself a modification of Brahman and that it is the Upādana Kāraṇa of the Universe. The same sūtra is also explained as referring to the Vivartavāda. तदेतद्दर्शनद्वयं अनेन सूचितं ···एतद्दर्शनद्वयं अपाकरोति । N. V. T. T., p. 410. The next sūtra criticises this view and asserts the necessity of man's efforts also. The third sūtra 21 follows the Vārtika interpretation in attributing to Iśvara the Nimitta—Kāraṇatva of the world and explaining Iśvara as sāpekṣa in the same sense.

His commentator Udayana realised the necessity for gathering together all his weapons in this connection. His contributions to Indian theism are remarkable as he laid the discussion purely on Anumāna and made it impossible for the Nāstikas, the Mīmāṁsakas and the Sāmkhyas to meet his arguments. His monumental works the *Ātmatatva-vīveka* and the *Nyāya-Kusumānjali* deserve to be referred to in this connection. The former establishes the necessity for recognising Ātman as separate being from the body, the Indriyas, etc., and the latter develops the Nyāya argument for the recognition of Iśvara. Udyotakara and Vācaspati Miśra simply explained the sūtras and indicated the arguments contained in them. But Udayana developed on the constructive side an independent doctrine of theism and on the polemical side directed against all the prominent anti-theistic phases of thought prevalent in his time. He refutes the positively a theistic aspect of the Sānkhyas, the Mīmāmsakas the Cārvākas, and the Buddhists, but does not find it necessary to refute the system of Vedānta. In a passage in the *Ātma-Tattva-Vivaka*, he refers to the Vedānta darśana as the top of the city of Mokṣa.

अद्वैतदर्शनस्य मोक्षनगरगोपुरायगाणत्वात्.

To maintain all his views, he stands as far as possible on Anumāna independently of anything else; though he recognises that he would have to take shelter under Sruti in the end. This is the strongest point in his system.

Jayanta introduces the discussion on Iśvara in connection with the establishment of the validity of Sabda or the Vedas. The Mīmāṁsakas view that the Vedas derive their validity from their being never produced. But this is refuted by Jayanta;

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they are all said to have been the products of an all powerful, all merciful being, the Lord, capable of creating the three worlds.

वेदस्य पुरुषः कर्ता न हि यादृशतादृशः
किंतु त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणनिपुणः परमेश्वरः। N. M., p. 790

The Vaiśeṣika view that Iśvara is not the direct cause but the Karma produced in the Paramāṇus by the desire of the Lord is the same as recognising Īśvara as the creator in his own capacity. And the Karmas need not be recognised as between the two. Īśvara could be established through the *Sāmānya to dṛṣṭa sambandha* as the basis of the *sāmānya to dṛiṣṭa* variety of Anumāna. In spite of the belief in the fact that the desire of the Lord is the cause of the Universe, the Naiyāyikas accept the *adṛiṣṭas* also as explaining the variety in the world.

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न्यायशास्त्रे सामान्यपदार्थस्य नित्यत्वपरीक्षा

(गुंडेराव हरकारे वाचस्पति डिस्ट्रिक्ट जज्ज गदाल)

विदितमेव तत्रभवतां प्रज्ञावतां, मनुष्यमात्रस्य ऐहिकामुष्मिकदुःखप्रहाणोपायभूता प्रामाण्यज्ञानार्कोदयकारणीभूताऽनन्यसाधारणी विद्याऽऽन्वीक्षिकी नाम। इह संसारे प्रत्यहं वैदिके लौकिके च व्यवहारे युगपत् परस्परकर्तव्यताबोधकविधिद्वयसंप्राप्तौ तयोः पारमार्थिक-प्राबल्यदौर्बल्यविनिश्चयाय निर्दुष्टहेतुभिरन्वीक्षमाणेयमेव जनानामुपकरोति। अत एव—

'प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम्।
आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां शश्वदान्वीक्षिकी मता ॥' इति

अस्मिन्निर्दुष्टप्रधाने प्रज्ञावाक्यक्रियावैशारद्यफलके शास्त्रे भगवतो गौतमस्यादिमं सूत्रम् "—तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसाधिगम" इति। भगवान् कणादोऽपि "—पदार्थानां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां तत्त्वज्ञानं निःश्रेयसहेतुः" इति। तत्र उभयेऽपि नये आत्मादेः प्रमेयान्तःपातित्वात् तेषां तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसाधिगमः। मिथ्याज्ञानं सवासनं इह संसारस्य मूलं कारणम्। तच्च तत्त्व-ज्ञानेन विरोधिना निवर्त्यते। साधर्म्यादिना मननद्वारा तत्त्वसाक्षात्कारो जायते।

अनंतरं नवीनैः गौतमीयं न्यायं काणादं च वैशेषिकं, उभयमप्येकत्र संकलय्य स्पष्टतया "एते च पदार्थाः वैशेषिकमते प्रसिद्धाः नैयायिकानामप्यविरुद्धाः" इति राद्धान्तितम्।

तत्र उभयनयसाधारणस्य सामान्यपदार्थस्य विषये कश्चन विचारः प्रस्तूयते—

निःश्रेयससिद्धिकारणीभूततत्त्वज्ञानविषयप्रमेयांतःपातिनां पदार्थानामेकतमः सामान्य-पदार्थ इत्यत्र न कोऽपि संदेहः। अत एव सामान्यपदार्थस्य तत्त्वज्ञानं नाम अनारोपितस्वरूप-ज्ञानं निःश्रेयसहेतुरिति फलितम्। सामान्यस्य लक्षणं तु "नित्यत्वे सत्यनेकसमवेतत्वम्" इति। यदि सामान्यं पदार्थत्वेन नांगीकृतं स्यात्, तर्हि भिन्नेषु द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु पदार्थेषु अनुवृत्तिप्रतीतिः न स्यात्। तस्मात् नानाधर्मिण्येकप्रकारकप्रमाप्रकारीभूतो यो धर्मः स सामान्यमिति। इदं चानुगतज्ञानं कल्पनात्मकमेवेति सामान्यं न पदार्थांतरमिति बौद्धाः—उक्तं च तैः—

'व्यक्तयो नानुयान्त्यन्यत् अनुयायि न भासते।
ज्ञानादव्यतिरिक्तं चेत् कथमर्थान्तरं व्रजेत्' ॥ इति।

एतेन ज्ञानान्तःपातित्वमंगीकृत्याऽपि सामान्यमिति कश्चन पदार्थः प्राचीनतर्के इव मध्यतर्केऽपि दृश्यते। उक्तं च दिङ्नागाचार्यैः—

'अत्र सामान्यशब्देन महासत्ता ग्राह्या। सत्ता सामान्यमेव' ॥ इति।

अपि च नव्यतर्के सामान्यस्य नित्यत्वं, जातिव्यक्त्योरविनाभावः संबंधश्च अंगीकृतः। दीधितिकारप्रभृतिभिः "कालो गोमान् गोत्वात्" यदा गोत्वं तदा गौः इत्यत्र गोत्वहेतुकानुमा-नस्य प्रलयांतर्भावेण व्यभिचारहेतुत्वमुपपादितम्। तत्र सर्वकार्यध्वंसः अवांतरप्रलयः सर्वभाव-कार्यध्वंसः महाप्रलयः इति स्वकृतनिबंधनेषु गोव्यक्त्यभावेऽपि प्रलये गोत्वजातेः स्वीकारेण स्वप्रतिज्ञातार्थः—उभयोरविनाभावसंबंधः—स्वेनैव तिरस्कृत इति प्रतीयते।

अत्र न्यायलीलावतीकारेणैवं समाहितम्—

"वैशेषिकनये तस्य पिण्डमात्रगतत्वात्, प्रलये सर्वपिण्डानामुच्छेदे सामान्यमप्युच्छिद्यतेति चेन्न। सर्वसंबंधिविगमेऽपि स्वसत्ता व्यवस्थितेः" इति।

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आश्रयाशेषव्यक्तिनाशेऽपि स्वरूपसत्तया सद्भाव इति तेषां मतं नातीवादराहँम । यतो जातिव्यक्त्योः अविनाभावसंबंधस्य व्याहतिः प्रकारांतरेणापि अंगीकृतैव भवति ।

किं च संस्थानमेव जातिरित्यपि मतम् । संस्थानरूपजातेराश्रयभेदेन भिन्नत्वमनित्यत्वं च प्रतिपादितमन्यैरित्यासतां तावत्परेषामाक्षेपाः । स्वशास्त्रसिद्धांताननुसृत्यापि प्रतिज्ञातार्थ-दाढ्र्ये संशेरत एव संख्यावतां मतयः ।

तथा च नैयायिकैरसत्कार्यवादिभिरुत्पन्नं द्रव्यं क्षणमगुणं तिष्ठतीति सुस्पष्टमंगीकृतम् । अतः पूर्वप्रतिज्ञातो गुणगुणिनोरविनाभावसंबंधः कथं वोपपद्येत ? तथा सति पूर्वोत्तरकाले प्रत्येकं वर्तमानानामपि पदार्थानामेवमेव अविनाभावसंबंधः स्वीकृतो भवेत् भूतलादौ च संयोगसंबंधेन वर्तमानानामपि घटपटादीनां पदार्थानां भूतलघटादीनां परस्परमविनाभावसंबंध एव प्रसज्येत । तथा सति जातिगुणादीनां द्रव्येण सहजत्वमेव स्यात् । क्षणं विलंब्योत्पत्तिमत्त्वपर्यंतमनुधावनं न फलेग्रहि स्यात् ।

किं च "ब्राह्मण्यं तस्य नश्यति" "कर्मणा जायते द्विजः' इत्यादिवचनेषु जातेरुत्पाद-विनाशशालित्वं सिद्धमेव । विश्वामित्रादीनां ब्राह्मण्योत्पत्तिरपि दृष्टा । तस्मात् घटत्वादीना-मपि नित्यत्वस्वीकारोऽनुचित एव । अतः सामान्यस्य न नित्यत्वं नापि तस्य व्यक्त्या सह अविनाभावः संबंधः ।

तर्हि कथमिदं सामान्यलक्षणं शास्त्रकृतां संमतं जनानां निःश्रेयसप्रयोजकं भवेत् ?

मम तु सामान्यपदार्थस्य अनित्यत्वस्वीकार एव उचित इति प्रतिभाति ।

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PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

THE FIVE JINAS AND THE FIVE COLOURS OF CONSCIOUSNESS

By

DR. MARYLA FALK, D.Litt.

The Mahāyānic conception of the five Jinas, the frequency of whose figurations testifies to its having assumed, in the course of time, a dominant position in religious symbolism, has been given a number of tentative interpretations : historical metaphysical, or purely iconographical. To the last category belongs the suggestion of Dr. B. Bhattacharyya that the five Jinas might have originated from five traditional *mudrās* of Śākyamuni. P. Mus proposes a very ingenious historico-geographical interpretation to the effect that the Jinas represent Śākyamuni at five distinct moments of his life-history, which aspects were peculiarly venerated at single monasteries—so that the figurations of the five Jinas reproduce, in a sense, the pilgrim's itinerary. Most of the other interpretations are based on data occurring in the construction of the doctrine in comparatively recent works, where the Jinas, besides the undissociable features of their figuration—namely their distribution at the five cardinal points and the respective attribution of five colours—are also co-ordinated with 5 elements, 5 senses, 5 *mantrabījas* and 5 Bodhisattvas, and are considered as represented on the earthly plane by the 5 *mānuṣi*-Buddhas. Thus the well-known historical interpretation is that the 5 so-called Dhyānī-Buddhas are transpositions on the transcendent plane, adopted by Mahāyānic doctrine, of the 5 human Buddhas known to Hīnayāna : the three Buddhas of the past eras, Śākyamuni and the Buddha of the future, Maitreya. The other interpretation suggested concurrently already by Kern, that the 5 Jinas represent the 5 senses, leads us on from purely external considerations on the possible genesis of the *representation* to considerations on the import and meaning of the *notion*. The reduction to the 5 senses appears singularly unconvincing if we formulate the problem in the only manner allowing of an intrinsical interpretation : namely, what was the representation of the Jīnas intended to convey to the adept before whose eyes it was constantly placed, so as to bring home to him incessantly the truth of its message ? What was this message ?

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It certainly could not be "a theory of the eternal existence of the five senses" as such,—since all forms of Buddhism are emphatic as to the soteric purpose,—the possibility and the means of abolishing the reality of the senses; notably, the transcendental teaching of Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda, from which the doctrine of the Jinas takes its lineal descent, conceives the process of this deliverance as taking place in the superjacent sphere of unsensuous reality: it is to this process and to this sphere that the 5 Jinas actually belong, not to the world of the 5 senses. As I have shown elsewhere, this higher sphere of reality is in Buddhist psycho-cosmology the sphere of *manas*[1]; in the latter's connection with the 5 inferior senses the Tāntric interpreters may have found an inducement to make additionally of these five, inasmuch as they converge and thus potentially inhere in the sixth, distinctive attribute of the five Jinas. The ultimate import of this convergence is the *parāvṛtti* of the earthly senses to a mode of being beyond the sphere of incessant flux—and this is what may have been meant by their "eternal existence." For it seems hardly credible that even these late interpreters of older notions would have gone to the length of conceiving sense—reality as the underlying essence of the five personalities of salvation. However much Tāntrism may operate with contrasts to pre-existing trends, theoretical and practical, such contrasts concern mainly, or only, the modality and the attitude, not the substance of the teaching; none of its doctrines is based on assumptions contradictory to those of classical Buddhism. In any case, an opinion peculiar to late Tāntric teachers could not decide the issue as a whole, since the 5 Jina conception is by no means exclusively or even particularly Tāntric. The category of the 5 senses makes its appearance among the attributes of the Jinas together with the category of the 5 elements; but this twin category has not invested the figurations, which are the only secure guide to the original meaning implied.

Nor do the basic authors suggest the explanation of the Jinas as relevant to the senses; they suggest another, and more specifically Buddhist, category of 5 items. The *Jñānasiddhi* says:

pañcabuddhasvabhāvatvāt pañcaskandhā jināḥ smṛtāḥ

and a passage of the *Sādhanamālā* says:

pañcaskandhā pañcatathāgatasvarūpā bhāvyante

[1] See my *Nāma-Rūpa and Dharma-Rūpa* Calcutta 1943, P.105f.' etc. of Index S. V. manas, sphere of—.

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Does this mean that the 5 Jinas are personifications of the 5 *skandhas-rūpa, vadanā, saṃjñā, saṃskārāḥ, vijñāna,* conceived as transcendental and eternal? This is how the XIIth century Tāntric author Advayavajra seems to understand the matter, but he can by no means be taken as a reliable guide, not only because his period is all too remote from that of the origin of the conception, but especially in consideration of the fact that he allows free play to his individual fancy all along the line, as e.g. the adding to the co-ordinations new categories of pentads, such as seasons, parts of the day, etc. He is clearly out for a cosmological diagram of reality, and he works in this direction without any Buddhological preoccupations. But it is certain that in no classical Buddhist tradition those Skandhas could have been conceived as the everlasting essence of the transcendental reality of the Buddha, since, on the contrary, in this tradition, the 5 Skandhas Rūpa, etc. are contingency itself and their rising and passing is the very life-rythm of contingency; it is their elimination that spells deliverance and so attainment of the Tathāgata's reality. The authors who speak of five Skandhas as the *svarūpa* or *svabhāva* of the Tathāgatas are undoubtedly basing themselves on a tradition in which these Skandhas were not the *skandhas* of contingency but their contrasting correlates, the 5 *anāsravaskandhas* or *jinaskandhas,* constituting the supramundane body of the Tathāgata. In my study on "Nāma-Rūpa" (p. 126f.) I have pointed out the reason why the original triad of these factors —*śīla, samādhi, prajñā*—was finally constructed into a pentad; which was done by developing the implications inherent in *prajñā,* in the awareness of illuminating truth, namely *vimukti,* deliverance from contingent becoming, and *vimuktijñānadarśana,* the certainty of having attained this deliverance, namely that it was so extended in order to provide a series of opposite correlates to the series of the 5 contingent Skandhas. The latter (as appears from the analysis of the rise and development of the relevant theory, cf. p. 108f. 122, 130, etc.), were originally understood in a concrete sense, as "*bodies*", (not abstractly as "components" or "aggregates", and this meaning was the one usually accepted until a very comparatively advanced period. Thus the Tathāgataskandhas as their contrasting counterparts must have been understood as the 5 bodies of the Jina constituting his soteric personality. A single step forward from this point leads to the hypostasis of these 5 bodies of the Jina as 5 Jinas. To a röle analogous to that of the 5 pure Skandhas were also adopted the three Jñānas, *kṣayajñāna, anutpādajñāna* and *samyagdṛṣṭi;* in Hīnayāna dogmatics they were not extended to a pentad like the series of the Jinaskandhas, but were often

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combined with them. Mahāyāna dogmatics substitutes to be these Jñānas the 4 jñānas *ādarśajñāna, samatājñāna, pratyavekśaṇajñāna, kṛtyānuṣṭhāna*. Later a fifth *jñāna* was added, *suviśuddhadharmadhātujñāna*, so that the Buddha (the Ādibuddha) was defined as *pañcajñānātmaka*. The five Jinas are characterised by one of these Jñānas each. Such is the late Mahāyānic version of the scheme of the five Jīnaskandhas.

But, whether in its early or in its late form this scheme was only a pale and secondary construction. Had the object of the figuration of the 5 Jinas been no other than to impress upon the adept's awareness the sublime characteristics of the Tathāgata, no doubt some grander dogmatic datum would have been chosen for the purpose, as e.g. the Tathāgata's three or four Kāyas. As a matter of fact, a late text (the non-Tāntric comy. to the *Nāmasaṁgīti*) brings forward an identification of the five Kāyas with the five Jinas. It is however certain that the 5 Kāya series cannot have been the actual basis of the Jina series, either in virtue of essential or even purely formal criteria. As to their relation of essence, in fact, all the sources agree on the point that the 5 Jinas represent *one* Buddhakāya only, namely the Doctrine-Body, which is called Dharmakāya (in one of the Mahāyānic meanings of the term) or Sambhogakāya, according to the varying nomenclature adopted by various authors. For a purely formal derivation the indispensable prerequisite would have been an established uniform tradition of the pentad of Buddhakāyas, whereas there was no such uniform tradition: the pentadic classifications, introduced by means of learned speculative subdivisions of the Trikāya series, were at variance as to the single items and remained fluctuating; none of them won general acceptance, let alone popularity. If it is actually the series of the Jinaskandhas that was personified in the representation of the Jiṇas which appears to be fairly certain—the purpose of this representation must have been other, and more, than that of inculcating an important Buddhological tenet.

On closer examination we see that the series of the Jinaskandhas differs from all the other and more notable series of the Buddha's characteristics in that it represents, not so much a number of simultaneous qualities as a climax of successive attainments: it is a short history of the stages leading up to *bodhi*. On the other hand, it is equally the climax of the Buddhist adept's attainments in the realization of his aim. Thus the contemplation of the Tathāgata's nature under this aspect brings home to the adept the notion that his career is substantially identical with that of the Master. As I have shown in

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various other connexions, this basic notion of the disciple's career as a career of Bodhi, while yet clearly extant in the substrata of proto-Hīnayānic doctrine, has been quasi-suppressed in the doctrinal elaboration of Hīnayāna; but it is this very notion that is given the greatest prominence in Mahāyāna. There is a way to Enlightenment, to the realization of Bodhi, in virtue of the fact that the reality of Tathāgatahood, the essence of Bodhi, is *potentially* inherent in the human being. The Jinaskandhas are mystically latent in their opposite, in the contingent Skandhas, and can be produced by a process of intimate reversal. In other words: in the context of Mahāyāna thinking, the contemplation on the 5 Jinas brings forth the notion of the *Tathāgatagarbha,* the central point of the Yogācāra conception.

Do the other constant and essential features of the fundamental type of representation of the 5 Jinas confirm this interpretation of its purport and purpose? These constant features are: the disposition of the Jinas at the 5 cardinal points of space, and the attribution of 5 colours, one to each Jina.

As to the spatial distribution factor, its reason is from the first fairly evident. While the Dharmakāya as Svabhāvikakāya, as the personality of full Illumination, is one and indivisible; the Body of the Doctrine active in the world, the personification of the Buddha's activity of illuminating the beings, the Dharmakāya as Sambhogakāya, is a body omnipresent in space, apparently divided, though in its ultimate realization, i.e. in its passing into the Svabhāvikakāya, it is one. I have shown (*Op. cit.,* pp. 156-159) that the essential characteristic of this Mahāyānic Doctrine-Body, of the Sambhogakāya, consists in its activity of integration to the totality—in that it actually is the embodiment, the hypostasis of the process of unification of reality in consciousness. As many sources aver, this body is characterised by its all-cosmic dimensions. The pattern of the 5 Jinas is a paradigm of its convergent multiplicity aspect. Their position at the 5 cardinal points of space indicates that their ideal whole is coextensive with the totality of cosmic space. Thus the sphere of this whole is *ākāsa*—not however as such, i.e. in the sense of worldly space, but in its soteric sublimation, as the *anāsravadhātu* (cf. *ibid.,* p. 183f.). The points of correspondence of this Doctrine-Body with *ākāsa* are elaborated at length in Yogācāra texts, such as the IXth chapter of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra.* This very context adds that the specification of the depth of the Buddhas as to character, position and action in the *anāsravadhātu* is a *variegation of ākāsa in colours* (36). Which means that the totality,

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if analysed into its constituents appears as a spectrum of colours. Now this cosmic consciousness-body, coextensive with universal space, is a potentiality of individual consciousness; by the process of the soteric transfiguration this microcosmic entity is made to coincide with the macrocosmic expansion of pure consciousness. This notion also is borne out by Asaṁga who, always in the same context, says that the perfection of the thought-entity is the *ākāśasaṁjnāvyāvrtti* (47). It is thus that (according to a further statement in this context) the Buddhatva of the Anāsravadhātu is omnipresent in the multitude of beings, as Ākāśa is omnipresent in the multitude of forms.(15)

This idea of the potential immanence of the Citta of enlightenment in common consciousness, of the Anāsravaskandhas in the Āsravaskandhas, underlies also a simile which occurs three times in the early Suttapitaka. Twice it is applied to the Citta in the process of deliverance, the third time to the Buddha in the process of his manifestation. The 20th para of the Kassapa Sîhanāda Sutta (DN I, p. 69) gives us an analysis of the Citta in 5 colours. In the clarified organism the Viññāna that abides therein becomes apparent as a five-coloured thread inserted in a clear gem. The passage itself provides no further explanation of what this is meant to imply, but for what the context shows, namely that the process of which this analysis of the Citta forms part is the production of the three *sampadās*, Sîla, Citta and Paññā. As we know, these 3 Sampadās cover the same ground as the 5 Sampadās, namely the 5 Anāsrasvaskandhas. The context throws light on the meaning of the 5 colours: this scheme inherently belongs to the symbolism representing the reversal and sublimation of the Skandha-personality into the personality of the Anāsravaskandhas. The second context of the same simile (Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta, *MN* II, p. 17) elaborates the motif of the 5 Dhammas of the Buddha for which he is venerated by his disciples and in which, through his agency, they share. The series is headed by Sîlakkhandha and is obviously a version—complicated and obscured by the heavy revision the text has undergone of the 5 Ariyakkhandhas. In the third context (Acchariyabbhutadhammasutta, *MN* III, p. 121) the 5 colours enclosed in the transparent gem represent the Buddha to be in his mother's womb.

This shows beyond doubt that in early Buddhist thought the motif of the 5 colours implied the notion that the potential entity of Enlightenment as it is being gradually revealed in man through the soteric process, is equivalent to the personality of the Buddha before the latter's actual manifestation.

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Since however in these Sutta contexts the figurative element of the 5 colours is dealt with rather sketchily, as is the rule for traditional, well-known motifs, whereas those newly introduced, are, as a rule, treated very circumstantially), for a full and detailed evidence of its meaning we may have to go back still further, to a period previous to that of the Sutta literature. Such an older documentary background is indeed available, for, as I have pointed out on many occasions and proved in all kinds of connexions, Buddhist thought did not set out *ex nihilo*, but developed its elements along the lines of a specific tradition, documents of which are also extant in Upanishadic literature. This applies also to our case.

In the old Upanishads, such as the Bṛhadāraṇyka, the essence of consciousness is conceived as the Ākāśa in the heart, a fluid of five colours flowing through the heart-*nāḍis*. That this conception is actually a precursor of the Buddhist notion is additionally evidenced by the fact that in its context occurs for the first time the Buddhist term *āsrava*, whose basic meaning had so long been censed an enigma.[1] *tābhir vā etad āsravād āsravati*: "Through these (heart-nāḍis) indeed the ever recurrent flux ever flows." The "ever recurrent flux" is the flux of consciousness in its differentiated contingent aspects productive of Saṃsāra. But it is in this very heart-ākāśa that the transfiguration takes place which effects deliverance. I have collated on other occasions the detailed description of this process of intimate transformation, so I can now limit myself to stating that it is a process of reversal and unification. One of the relevant passages of the *BĀU* (II, 3 ; the others are : IV, 2, 3-4 ; IV, 3, 20f ; IV, 4, 8-9) symbolises the fulfilment of this unification by placing after the series of 5 colours depicting the Vijñāna Puruṣa *a sixth*, which is the pure undivided light of the flash of lightning. *Lightning* is in the Upanishads the constant image of Illumination ; and so it is in Mahāyāna Buddhism, which places the advent of Bodhi in *vajropama-samādhi*. From this conception is derived the hypostasis of *Vajrasattva* as the integration to a unity of the 5 Jinas. To return to our Upanishadic evidence : the Illumination, the transfiguration of the 5 colours of consciousness into the flash of lightning, manifests itself in the realization of a new entity, whose vital components are stated to coincide with the cardinal regions of space. The *neti nety ātman*, all-consciousness (in fact the third passage describes the nature of this attainment with the phrase *aham ev'edaṃ sarvo' smīti*), comes forth in the

[1] Cf. my *It. Mito Psicologico nell' India Antica*, pp. 350, 352, 597 *f*.

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shape of one undivided personality coextensive with universal space.

Doctrinally, the potential immanance of the entity of illumination in the five-coloured consciousness-entity is very precisely formulated in the further continuation of the *BAU* text last referred to: "The great unborn Ātman is indeed latent in that which among the functions is consciousness, in that which is the Ākāśa within the heart" (IV, 3, 22). But its emergence from potentiality to actually can take place only under certain specific circumstances (a matter stressed in the introductory portion of the first mentioned passage as well as in the context of the last of the four):—namely after the detachment of consciousness from its sense-bound tendency. A preliminary reversal of the orientation of consciousness is needed: on this condition the ever recurrent flux of the 5 colours of Hrdākāśa assumes the opposite character of 5 transcendental factors resulting in the entity of Illumination.

Same is the case with the Buddhist conception: it is through the orientational reversal, *vyāvṛtti*, of consciousness, at the outset of the adept's career, that the climax of the 5 Anāsravaskandhas is started upon, and thus the immanence of the final aim of Illumination is made manifest.

But what have the colours directly to do with the Skandhas, and hence by conversion with their opposite correlates the Jinaskandhas? If a genetic connexion of the two notions were detected, this would clinch the issue and complete the solution of our problem.

I shall limit myself here to the shortest possible indications and refer for more detailed information to my published works where the elements of the following evidence have been singly pointed out and analysed, though from other points of view.

I have shown (in a paper contributed to the 10th Session of this Conference) that the genesis of the doctrine of the Skandhas was parallel to that of the doctrine of the *kośas*: that they arose from analogous premises of psycho-physiological speculation and developed up to a certain limit along analogues lines. Both series imply a progression which, viewed in the sense of salvation, is at once withinward and upwardbound; both are primarily conceived as climaxes of concentric bodies, whose latent nucleus—unrealized so long as those enclosing sheaths are *actual*, but realized at the end of a gradual sublimating process discarding them one by one—is the entity of Illumination.

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On the dogmatic level of orthodox Theravāda—dominated by the tenet of Nairātmya such as it was evolved from the notion of substantial discontinuity between the planes of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa—the original assumption of this innermost nucleus, of this final aim, as an entity, is no longer admitted : according to this orthodox teaching the Skandhas, when gradually transcended (in the process of psychological elimination whose description we have in the 4 original Vimokkhas[1] and in the four Satipaṭṭhānas)—do not give way to anything but the utter *nirodha* of the apparent personality which they had constituted. But the different implication of the pre-existent ideological term construction, upon which this new doctrinal conclusion was superimposed, remains obvious both in the intrinsic logic of the mechanism of progressively discarding the concentric sheaths (a notion yet surviving in the ideology, phraseology and imagery of the texts), as well as in the very notion of the Ariyakkhandhās. The earlier conception, coalescent with the ancient Yogic substrata, still lingers on in archaic doctrines surviving in the Suttas, such as that of the *prabhāsvara citta*, and re-appears among the sects, where e.g. the Pudgalavādins are reported to have literally taught that "the unsensuous *Pudgala* is realised in the fifth Kośa inasmuch as this is unutterable," meaning that his transcendent personality springs forth from the sublimation of the 5th Skandhavijñāna, into the unutterable, i.e. the purified and radiant Vijñāna—the Prabhāsvara Citta. This Pudgala of the Pudgalavādins, like the *ekarasaskandha* of the ancient Sautrāntikas and the *mūlavijnāna* of the Mahāsaṁghikas, is the precursor of the Vijnānavādin's *ālayavijnāna* as Tathāgatagarbha.

The Yogic doctrine of the Kośas, which appears in the *Taittiriya Up.* in a twofold version attesting the twofold notion of the inward progression and the upward progression, is found in an earlier form in some Yoga-doctrines of the *Atharva-Veda,* where the Kośas were not yet 5 but 3 ; the items are 4 inclusive of the transcendent Ātman potentially present as the inner latent nucleus. The 3 Kośas are actually described as the 3 "positions" of the one Kośa filled with eight (X, 2, 31-32), which is shown to mean the heart, the seat of consciousness. The positions of consciousness are 3 in accordance with the psychophysiological scheme of the primitive Yoga-process evidenced in another hymn of the *AV* (IV, 1), which gives us the earliest form of the doctrine of the Cakras or lotuses, (they are called *madhyas* or *viṣṭhās* in the Atharvanic text). These three planes

[1] *Nāma Rūpa*, p.1218 f.

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of consciousness, located in 3 centres along the Suṣumṇā are respectively: 1. the as yet subconscious, purely vegetative and reproductive life-force. 2. the life of emotion and 3. the intellectual life. The fourth stage which, inasmuch as it becomes *actual* is located no more within the psycho-physical individual organism but beyond it as well as beyond the finite world; which is attained by the egression of sublimated consciousness through the radiant Brahmarandhra—this fourth stage is the all-consciousness of Enlightenment, and is figured in the shape of the personality coextensive with the totality of space. In the Yoga process of sublimation the consciousness-entity is censed to proceed upwards from the nethermost centre to the uppermost, whence at last it issues forth through the Brahmarandhra to reveal itself in its supreme aspect of universal self-awareness. A cognate passage of the *Aitareya Up.* (III, 12) narrates how the three centres of individual consciousness were produced as stages of the descent of primal creative consciousness through the Brahmarandhra into the organism. It is thus the direction of the progression along the perpendicular line that decides whether the climax of the stages of consciousness is considered in the sense of individuation or in the sense of deliverance.

Now a third *AV* text (X, 8, 43) provides a parallel to the representation of the light-filled Kośa in its threefold position by representing the heart as a *puṇḍarīka* in which three *guṇas* are contained or inserted (the term is *āvṛta,* as in X, 2, 31, the same which is used in the *DN* with reference to the five-coloured thread) and in their turn contain the potential ātman. What these three Guṇas—these three threads or qualities of the one essence filling the heart-puṇḍarīka—stand for in this case, can be found by a comparison with the archaic doctrine of Uddālaka Āruṇi: they are the three colours which constitute reality—*śukla, lohita* and *kṛṣṇa.*

As if by a foreshortening in horizontal projection, the three forms of the light-essence of consciousness, such as they appear in the vertical progression of three planes, are figured on a common plane as three colours. In the later phases of the Cakra-doctrine the number of these centres or planes of consciousness, i.e. of the factor-aspects of life was extended successively up to 7. The Kośa-doctrine of the *Taitt. U.* as a correlate of the Cakra-doctrine obviously belongs to the phase when the items were 5, inclusive of the transcendent plane; the 5 colour doctrine of the *BĀU,* as a more advanced stage of the one-plane scheme found in the *AV,* belongs to the phase when they were censed to be six.

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Likewise, the 5 colour-scheme of the Suttas reduces the stages of the upwardbound process of salvation to a position in simultaneity, and thus by itself no longer expresses the direction characterizing process which it stands for, but the context reveals it. Similarly, the context of the 5 colour scheme in the Upanishads regularly points to the process of deliverance. It is in this connexion only that the theory of the 5 colours attained its prominence in the Upanishadic doctrines which are a continuation of the Vedic Yoga-teaching. This is also proved by the documents of this theory in the *Chāndogya U.* In the 6th Kh. of the 8th Prapāṭhaka (entirely dedicated to the subject of Yogic realization of the Ātman by the process of sublimation and egression) the five colours are located both in the heart-nāḍis and in the sun as the door of the cosmos opening on to the transcendent sphere—the transcosmic undivided light, the *paraṁ jyotiṣ*. Through the Nāḍis and the 5 coloured rays the heart and the world-door are connected. He who is initiated to this doctrine finds the passage through the Lokadvāra to the undivided light.

In the 13th Kh. of the 3rd Prap. those 5 "divine channels of the heart" as they are called here, are co-ordinated, and identified, with the 5 directions of life-energy (in the order: *prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, samāna, udāna*), with a series of macrocosmic entities and with a series of microcosmic functions (each of these series must obviously have consisted of five items in the original text.[1] The doctrine is further unfolded by the statement that these five divine channels of the heart are the 5 Brahmic personalities (*te vā ete pañca brahmapuruṣāḥ*), the guardians of the door of the heavenly world. "And indeed thus the teaching concludes—that light beyond the sky, in the supreme world, beyond anything and everything, is essentially identical with the (undivided) light in the innermost of man."

Here the 5-Jina representation is completely anticipated, down to the secondary co-ordinations with elements and

[1] In the extant text some confusion has crept in: under 5th *ākāśa*, a 6th macrocosmic item is mentioned besides *vāyu*, thereby ousting the 5th microcosmic correlate and causing the anomaly that only 4 items appear in the latter category. The mention of *vāyu* under 5th points to *prāna* having been there as 5th the list thus restored is the most current old list of microcosmic faculties) which also explains why the uncritical editor chose to sacrifice this item, as he was faced with the presence of "prānas" as standing correlates (in reality these prānas as "directions of life-energy" in their fivefold classification have little in common with the function of breathing).

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faculties.[1] The five colours of consciousness in their soteric import are hypostatised as the five personalities of the brahman; in their separate but convergent manifestation they are the spectrum, the five-fold colour-variegation of Ākāśa-hṛdākāśa, while the attainment to which they lead in their ultimate fusion is the transcendent undivided light, the oneness of the supreme Puruṣa, the personality of full Enlightenment, i.e. the unity of the five Brahmapuruṣas. The 3rd kh. of the Yogic 8th Prap. thus formulates this attainment in *samprasāda* (the instant-quietude of Illumination, which in later Upanishads such as Maitrāyaṇa is described as "lightning"-samādhi) the potential all-consciousness emerges from the body and in the supernal light stands revealed in its own form, which is that of the supreme Puruṣa.

Five colours of the consciousness-essence, representing the five constitutive factors of contingent personality as reduced in the heart to their germinal state, in which they undergo the reversal into the five factors of salvation; the latter's hypostasis as five salvific personalities, ultimately coinciding in the one all-personality of Enlightenment. This fully prefigures the Buddhist conception of five colours of the Citta as representing the five Skandhas on the point of their translation into the Anāsravaskandhas (or Jinaskandhas), and the latter's hypostasis as five Jinas, who ultimately coincide in the one all-personality of the Tathāgata as embodiment of full Illumination.

The figurative disposition of the five Jinas with their respective colours at the cardinal points of space renders the projection into a position of simultaneity of the successive

[1] Akāśa seems to have been brought in here from the separate and superior position, which it must have occupied in the original construction of the text, of the 6th item representing the "totality" and unity of the 5—even as the "yonder Light" represents the unity and totality of the five brahmapuruṣas. To the reviser's understanding was lost both the sense of that construction as well as the criterion of the identification of macrocosmic and microcosmic pentads with 5 salvific entities ultimately coinciding in the undivided supreme light. The criterion is obviously that of the former's re-orientation from divergence to convergence: as the 5 colour-channels of consciousness, the 5 trends of life-energy, divergent in the manifestation of ordinary life, in virtue of their soteric reversal are made to converge and finally coincide in their fountainhead, the innermost undivided light of the heart, so the 5 exponents of macrocosmic diversity are made to converge towards and coincide in their fountainhead ākāśa reintegrated to its primordial undiversified condition of the supernal light, while in its identical correlate hṛdākāśa coincide the corresponding faculties of the microcosm. In other words, it is not from the point of view of their normal nature and function, but from that of their reversal and translation to the hypercosmic and hypersensuous, that the cosmic and sensorial entities are co-ordinated with the factors of salvation.

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stages of salvation that projection which had been effected in the Sutta representation of five colours of the Citta.

That the Skandhas and their opposites are thus reducible to consciousness whence they originate and whose central seat is in the heart—this notion was by no means limited to ancient Buddhist thinking. A late Chinese compilation explains the Buddha's miracle of transforming into one the 500 parasols offered him by the people of Vaiśālī (as described in the *Vimalakītinirdeśasūtra*) by saying that the 500 parasols represented the 5 Skandhas, and the purpose of their fusion was to show that the 5 Skandhas can be represented together by the heart which is one. As the Āsravaskandhas are aspects of the Kliṣṭacitta, so are the Anāsravaskandhas aspects of the Prabhāsvara citta. This twofold reduction is later visualized by the twofold maṇḍala of Tāntric Buddhism, representing the Garbhadhātu and the Vajradhātu. In terms of Vijñānavāda doctrine this foreshortening relies on the notion that all the Vijñānas are ultimately reducible to the Ālayavijñāna, their common matrix. Their Vyāvṛtti, the reversal of their orientation which eventually transforms them into the Jñānas of the Bodhi (and here we shall recall that these Jñānas were extended from 4 to 5 to suit their identification with the 5 Jinas), and their reunion in their fountainhead results in the final Parāvṛtti of the Ālayavijñāna to the Tathatā.

The unenlightened mind is as yet unable to conceive the transcendent unity of the Tathatā, therefore it is shown the foreshadowing of this unity in the simultaneity of the five Jinas, characterised by five colours. A Sinhalese source reported by Hardy testifies to this effect. After his Enlightenment, but before as yet starting to preach the Doctrine, the Buddha displays a pageant of colours for the joy of all the creatures (to whom he thus announces the forthcoming agency of the teaching) : he emits from his person 5 colour-rays which are propagated through the whole expanse of the cosmos.

Mutatis mutandis, to an analogous purpose is enacted the miraculous pageant at the beginning of the *Guhyasamājatantra*. In order to explain the secret of the Guhyasamāja, the *Bodhicittavajra Tathāgata* transforms himself successively into the 5 Jinas, each of whom has the word *vajra* attached to his name in token of the fact that they are partial aspects of the one Bodhicittavajra ; he disposes them into a Maṇḍala and then again by taking his stand in them effects that each of them "abides in the heart of the Tathāgata." Then they issue forth again out of the "heart of the Bodhicittavajratathā-

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gata" and hereupon declare that the *bodhicitta-pravartana* is the secret of the five Tathāgatas. This is a perfectly explicit statement regarding the actual object and purpose of the 5 Jina-pageant: this object is nothing else but the *bodhicitta-pravartana*, the wakening of the self-awareness of the potential Bodhi in the adept. The very name Bodhicittavajra given to Vajrasattva as the total entity, the transcendent unity of the five, is expressive of the significance of the diagram of the 5 Jinas.

In conclusion, the attribution of the 5 colours to the 5 Jinas has provided us with the clue—whose validity is ascertained by the pre-existing speculative tradition connected with the colour-scheme in the Upanishadic and Vedic sources—to the question what the representation of the 5 Jinas was meant to intimate to the contemplating adept. It was, in the last analysis, that central awareness of Mahāyānic Vijñānavāda, the notion of the Tathāgatagarbha, in other words: the notion that Buddhahood is potentially immanent in one's own consciousness and that it is actualized in the internal process of reorientation, i.e. purification and final unification of consciousness itself.

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PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

AN UNASSIMILATED GROUP IN APABHRAṀŚA

By

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In the course of the last few years the study of the Apabhraṁśa language has made rapid progress. A few years back, our knowledge of this important stage of the Indo-Aryan languages was confined to the rules of the Prākrit grammarians and the quotations found in Hemacandra and in the works of Alaṅkāraśāstra. But, of late years a voluminous and ever increasing literature in Apabhraṁśa is being brought to light and since the publication of Dr. Jacobi's edition of the *Bhavisattakaha*, a steady stream of Apabhraṁśa works is being given out to the public by various scholars. This increase of knowledge about the language and the fulness of material at our disposal have also brought in its wake a number of problems, which demand a close study for their solution.

One such problem is found in the phonology of Apabhraṁśa. The Middle Indo-Aryan stage of linguistic growth is characteristically marked by the extensive working of the process of assimilation of groups of consonants, from the Old Indo-Aryan stage, where various groups of different consonants are preserved. From the earliest records of the Middle Indo-Aryan in the form of Aśokan Inscriptions to its very late phase as represented by the Apabhraṁśa literature, we find this law working with great consistency and thus it imparts to this stage a kind of uniformity of appearance. But there are a few exceptional cases, one of which is preserved in Apabhraṁśa, although earlier stages of the Middle Indo-Aryan do not show traces of it. This is all the more remarkable as the natural trend of development would make us expect it the least in such a late phase of the Middle Indo-Aryan.

Groups of consonants with *r* as one member and the vowel *ṛ* have both suffered the normal changes in the Middle Indo-Aryan languages. Thus groups of the type consonant + *r* and *r* + consonant, are normally assimilated and cases of such assimilations can be found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, the Pāli canon of the Buddhists, the Ardha-Māgadhī language of the Jains and all the dramatic Prākrits. As regards the vowel *ṛ* there is hardly any exception in the whole range of the Prākrit literature. But as regards the assimilation of groups of *r*, a few exceptions are met with in the early stages,

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particularly in the Aśokan dialect of the North-West and in a number of words in Pāli. But the Prākrit languages and the Prākrit grammarians always insist upon the assimilation of these groups, especially of *r*+consonant. The position of the Prākrit literature in this regard is quite unambiguous. The literary works always show assimilation and that also in a consistent manner. The only case without assimilation noted in this connection is that of the solitary word *vandra* (*vṛnda*) which occurs in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī a couple of times.[1] Otherwise the rule of assimilation is observed with the greatest rigour.

The Prākrit grammarians, however, show that they know a few words at least where such groups could be tolerated. All of them agree in forming a special rule for the group *dr*, which may be optionally preserved in Prākrit. Thus Vararuci (III. 4) allows optional preservation of this group and his commentator Bhāmaha illustrates it with words like *droho* (*drohaḥ ; doho*), *candro* (*candraḥ ; cando*), *rudro* (*rudraḥ ; ruddo*). According to Hemacandra (VIII. 2. 79) *vandra* is always preserved without assimilation and he also allows optional retention of *dr* (VIII. 2. 80). His illustrative words further include *bhadro* (*bhadraḥ ; bhaddo*), *samudro* (*samudraḥ ; samuddo*) and *draho* (*hradaḥ ; daho*) which last also implies metathesis. He further remarks that the words like *vodraha* meaning 'a young man' are always without assimilation and are regarded as Deśya-words. Mārkaṇḍeya has a similar rule for *dr* (III. 4). Moreover, according to him, the word *vindrāvaṇa* keeps *dr* because the word is so enjoined and as such requires no operation of the general rule. All this would suggest that the grammatical tradition about the Prākrits preserved the memory of *dr* as an unassimilated conjunct to be kept optionally. The vast amount of the Prākrit literature, on the other hand, shows no trace of such forms.

For a long time it was thought that the position of Apabhraṁśa was nearly identical with that of the Prākrits, with this difference that a slightly greater emphasis was placed on the side of preservation of groups of consonant *r*. Here the grammarians taught that the Apabhraṁśa language has a general tendency of keeping groups with *r* and retaining the vowel *ṛ*. But the literary works refused to substantiate it by their normal practice. Naturally, in the absence of confirmation from the literary form of the language the statements of the Prākrit grammarians were either looked upon with suspicion or otherwise explained in different ways.

[1] Cf. Pischel: *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, p. 186.

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Among the Prākrit grammarians, Vararuci shows no knowledge of Apabhraṁśa and the case of Caṇḍa remains doubtful. Among others we find a difference of treatment which is usually explained by grouping them into the eastern and the western schools.[1] Whatever be the merits of such a division into schools, the important fact which immediately concerns us is that while Hemacandra and others like Trivikrama who closely follow him, treat of Apabhraṁśa as one uniform language, the so-called eastern school of Puruṣottama, Kramadīśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmatarkavāgīśa knows different dialects of Apabhraṁśa and they treat of them separately.

Views of Hemacandra as regards the present problem can be seen from his three sūtras VIII. 4. 398, 399 and VIII. 4. 329. His sūtra '*svarāṇāṁ svarāh prāyopabhraṁśe*' implies the preservation of the vowel ṛ as can be seen from his illustrations *tṛṇu* (*tṛṇa*) *sukṛdu* (*sukṛta*). His other two rules lay down that *r* as the second member of a group may be optionally elided and that in some conjuncts an inorganic *r* is inserted without being found in the corresponding Sanskrit word. Thus *priya* may remain as *priya* and *vyāsa* may be met with in Apabhraṁśa in the form *vrāsu*. That these are not isolated cases to be noted by the grammarians as exceptional and out of the way forms going against the general trend of the Apabhraṁśa phonology and that these rules have a different import than similar ones in other Prākrits, becomes evident from other considerations. Besides these specific rules, Hemacandra gives other words and phrases which are peculiar to Apabhraṁśa and which evidently go to prove that the preservation of groups like consonant + *r* and the Sanskrit vowel ṛ was a feature of this language. Hemacandra tells us that in Apabhraṁśa *yad* becomes *dhruṁ* and *tad* becomes *truṁ* (VIII. 4. 360); the genitive singular of *yuṣmad* is *tudhra* (VIII. 4. 372); the root *brū-* becomes *bruva-* (VIII. 4. 391) *dṛś-* becomes *prassa-* (VIII. 4. 393); the word *prāyah* is represented by *prāu*, *prāiva* and *prāimva* (VIII. 4. 414); *dhruvaṁ* becomes *dhruvu* (VIII. 4. 419). All these rules presuppose that the Apabhraṁśa phonology can keep groups of the type consonant + *r*. For the retention of the vowel ṛ we have his rule that the root *grah-* becomes *gṛṇha-* (VIII. 4.394). Other grammarians like Trivikrama add nothing new in their treatment (Cf. Trivikrama III. 3. 5, 6).

The eastern school of the Prākrit grammarians makes a distinction of dialects in their treatment of Apabhraṁśa and

[1] Cf. Grierson: The Eastern School of Prākrit Grammarians (Mookerjee Vol. III, 2. p. 119 foll)..

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the present case has a vital bearing on this problem. Among writers who tell us of the Apabhraṁśa dialects, we have the statement of Rudraṭa who, in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (2. 12) says that it has many varieties according to the country in which it is current. His commentator Namisādhu notes that there was another view current according to which Apabhraṁśa had three dialects called Upanāgara, Ābhīra and Grāmya. It should be noted that Namisādhu is more akin to Hemacandra in his grammatical treatment of the Prākrits,[1] as far as we can judge him from the few remarks in his commentary on Rudraṭa II. 12. Though Hemacandra makes no mention of Apabhraṁśa dialects in his Prākrit grammar, he himself names another variety called grāmyāpabhraṁśa in his *Kāvyānuśāsana*, in which were composed kāvyas like *Bhīmakāvya* in avaskandhaka metre, while works like *Abhimathana* were written in the ordinary language. We do not meet this grāmya variety of Apabhraṁśa anywhere else than in Namisādhu and Hemacandra and both fail to give us any idea about it. Jacobi[2] has suggested that this grāmya variety of these two writers may be the same as the upanāgara of the other grammarians.

Among these others Puruṣottama knows a number of Apabhraṁśa dialects (XVIII. 16-23), but his treatment pertains to the usual three viz. nāgara in detail and vrācaḍa and upanāgara as far as they differ from it. In nāgara, according to him, *ṛ* and *ṝ* after consonants are kept (XVII. 15). In *vyāsa* and other words we have *r* after the consonant of the first syllable (XVII. 25) ; the accusative of *yad* and *tad* is also *jraṁ* and *truṁ* (XVII. 55) ; the genitive and locative is *jatru*, *tatru* (XVII. 56) ; *dṛś-* becomes *prassa-* (XVII. 79) ; *kiṁ* is represented by *kiṁpradi*, *kiṁpradu* and *kiṁpru* (XVII. 25), all of which show that, as in case of Hemacandra, group of consonant + *r* was allowed in Apabhraṁśa. The retention of *ṛ* is enjoined in the use of *gṛṇha-* for *grah-*(XVII. 86). In most of these cases there is an obvious agreement with the rules of Hemacandra. Next, Puruṣottama adds rules for vrācaḍa wherein he again states that (XVIII. 3) *ṛ* and groups of *r* are kept except in words like *bhṛtya* etc. In place of *vṛṣ-* comes *varha-* (XVIII. 12). Kramadīśvara also knows of this threefold division and his treatment agrees with that of Puruṣottama. In his case the most important point to be noted is that he takes as the characteristic feature of the vrācaḍa dialect the preservation of conjunct of the type of *r* + consonant (IV. 67). He illustrates it with the word *sarpi* (*sarpiḥ*). The comment

[1] Nitti-Dolci : *Les Grammairiens Prākrits*, pp. 165 foll.
[2] Introduction to *Bhavisattakaha*, München, 1918, p. *76.

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further adds that in this dialect are used *jruṁ*, *truṁ*, which the author has also allowed for the nāgara dialect (V. 49). Jacobi[1] had first misunderstood him in regarding that groups like consonant + *r* were characteristic of vrācaḍa. Later on he corrected himself in making it consist in groups like *r* + consonant,[2] but he has not changed all the conclusions that follow from his first position and in this manner, he is responsible in starting a fictitious distinction.

Mārkanḍeya knows a list of 27 dialects of Apabhraṁśa which he quotes at the beginning of his grammar (on I. 4), but he himself treats of the usual three. For nāgara, which he bases on both Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī (XVII. 1), he tells us that *y* becomes *r* in words like *vyāsa* (XVII. 3). His list includes *vrāsu* (*vyāsaḥ*), *vrākrosu* (*vyākrośaḥ*), *vrāḍi* (*vyāḍi*) and *vrāgaraṇu* (*vyākaraṇam*). It keeps *ṛ* and *r* in groups: *indru* (*indraḥ*), *candru* (*candraḥ*), *mṛgajūdhu* (*mṛgayūthaḥ*). But otherwise his treatment shows no such groups. It is all the more striking to note that for *jraṁ*, *traṁ* of others, he has *jattiṁ*, *tattiṁ*; for *jatru*, *tatru* he has *jattha*, *tattha*, for *prassa- pumma* (which according to Nitti-Dolcī[3] may be a mistaken reading) and for *gṛṇha-* he has *guṇha-*, all of which are attempts at getting rid of *ṛ* and *ṛ*-groups. For vrācaḍa also he lays down that *ṛ* and *r* as the second member of the conjunct may be kept except in case of words like *bhṛtya* (XVIII. 4). He gives cases like *prāṇaharu* (*prāṇaharaḥ*), *kṛvāṇu* (*kṛpāṇaḥ*). For Puruṣottama's *varha-* he has simply *vaha-* (XVIII. 9), while he allows *brodi* like him (Puruṣottama XVII. 34: *broppi*, *broppiṇu*). Thus there is nothing in his treatment to show, which was the distinguishing feature of vrācaḍa from among groups like consonant + *r* and *r* + consonant. There is a natural suspicion that the editor of Mārkanḍeya's grammar has made the changes which have removed all traces of groups of consonant + *r*, where the views of other grammarians may lead us to suppose their presence. Grierson[4] says that in a number of cases his Mss. do not agree with the readings of the edition.

The rules of Rāmatarkavāgīśa agree remarkably with those of Mārkanḍeya. He also knows a large number of Apabhraṁśa dialects but treats of the nāgara and vrācaḍa and makes only a remark or two about the others. According to his treatment, nāgara uses *vrāsu* and *vrāḍi* for *vyāsa* and *vyāḍi*,

[1] Ibid. p. *71.

[2] Jacobi: Introduction to *Saṇaṁkumāracariu*, München, 1921, p. XX.

[3] *Le Prākṛtānuśāsana de Puruṣottama*, Paris, 1938, p. 109.

[4] The Apabhraṁśa Stabakas of Rāmaśarman IA. (reprint).

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it preserves words like *priya* and *mṛga* (II. 4); the nominative and accusative singular of *yad* and *tad* is *jadruṁ, tadruṁ*, while the locative and genitive singular is *jadru, tadru* (II. 19, 20); *dṛś*- gives *prassa*- (to be read for *pumma*- and probably in Mārkaṇḍeya as well) and *grah*- becomes *gṛṇha*- (to be so corrected for *guṇha*- and probably in Mārkaṇḍeya also) (II. 29, 30). For vrācaḍa, he says, *ṛ* and consonant + *r* are kept except in words like *bhṛtya* (III. 2), *brū*- becomes *bro*- and *vṛṣ*- becomes *varha*- (III. 4).

The general agreement among the grammarians of the eastern school is evident enough. We find them maintaining that the nāgara or the normal type of Apabhraṁśa allows (i) the vowel *ṛ*, (ii) keeps groups of consonant + *r* and (iii) adds an inorganic *r* in a few words like *vyāsa* etc. This tendency is confirmed by the use of words containing *r*-groups or the vowel *ṛ* as (iv) *jraṁ, truṁ* (or other variants all containing this group) (v) *prassa*- 'to see' (with the doubtful exception of Mk.) (v) *jatru, tatru* (Mk. doubtful) (vi) *gṛṇha*- 'to take'. To these Puruṣottama alone adds (vii) forms like *kiṁpradi* etc. The vrācaḍa dialect is distinguished from this normal type of Apabhraṁśa by the additional rules like (i) the preservation of *ṛ* and groups of consonant + *r* except in words like *bhṛtya*, (ii) *vṛṣ*- becoming *varha*- (Mk. doubtful) and *brū*- becoming *broppi* etc. (Pu. doubtful). Kramadīśvara has the additional rule that this dialect keeps groups of *r* + consonant. For the present we are not concerned with other features which are said to distinguish these two dialects.

The position of the Prākrit grammarians may be summarised as follows. Hemacandra and others do not know any dialectal distinctions in Apabhraṁśa and allow for this language the preservation of *ṛ* and groups like consonant + *r*, and the presence of an inorganic *r* in a few words. The grammarians of the eastern school, Puruṣottama Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmatarkavāgīśa allow the first rule for both nāgara and vrācaḍa, while the peculiar feature of vrācaḍa alone is *varha*- coming in place of *vṛh*-, because it is not possible to ascertain what is peculiar to vrācaḍa in the forms *broppi* and *broppiṇu*, whether the base or the termination. For Kramadīśvara, the distinguishing feature of vrācaḍa is the retention of *r* + consonant, of which *varha*- may be regarded as a specific illustration. Now in this fact Kramadīśvara is alone and the base *varha*- is too isolated to form a clear distinction between the two dialects. Thus there is no authority for regarding groups of consonant + *r* as a feature which should separate vrācaḍa from nāgara and

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the group *r*+consonant has the authority of Kramadīśvara only with the solitary illustration of *sarpi*.

In the light of these facts it will be now necessary to examine the Apabhraṁśa stanzas quoted by the early rhetoricians and particularly by Hemacandra in his grammar, in order to see how far they keep traces of conjuncts with *r*. The two stanzas of Rudraṭa illustrating bhāṣāśleṣa of Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa (IV. 15, 21) show forms like *abhramada*, *prasara*, *krīḍanti*, *prasaranti*, *praṇaya*, *bhramarā*, *mitra* and *suvibrama* all of which keep groups of plosive+*r*. The word *durdhara*, which occurs in the first verse, however, has suffered assimilation in becoming *duddhara*. In the verses quoted by Hemacandra, we find traces of *ṛ* and groups of *r* in the following words: *gṛṇhai* (336), *praṅgaṇi*, *dhruṁ*, *traṁ*, *bhrantri* (360), *kṛdantaho* (370), *tudhra* (372), *broppiṇu*, *broppi* (391) *bruvaha* (391) *gṛṇheppiṇu vratu* (394), *priya* (401), *prayāvadī* (404), *prāu*, *prāiva*, *prāimva* (414) *dhruvu* (418) *drammu*, *dravakkau*, *drehi* (422) *tṛṇāi* (422) *pemmadrahi* (424) *gṛṇheppiṇu*, *dhruṁ*, *priu* (438) *antraḍī* (445). In these very stanzas we find, side by side, forms like *mahaddumu* (336) *miaṅku* (401) *bhaṁtaḍī* (414) and *pemma* (*preman*) (424) which show that the normal assimilation and the vocalisation of *ṛ* were current in the same dialect. Another fact which emerges by the scanning of these stanzas is that, as far as the metre allows us to determine, nowhere do these cases of groups make the preceding syllable long by position. The two apparent exceptions, *antraḍī* scanned as -⏑- and *tudhra* with the metrical scheme -⏑ are due to the anusvāra in the first and the double plosive in the second, which should be better written as *tuddhra*.

In his introduction to the *Bhavisattakaha*, Jacobi was misled by the supposition that groups of consonant+*r* were characteristic of the vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa and all these verses should be, therefore, regarded as being written in this dialect. This led him to enquire whether the language dealt with by Hemacandra is hemogeneous or contains traces of different dialects and he came to the conclusion that besides this vrācaḍa, there are traces of two more dialects, one which may be called the Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa and the other showing softening of all intervocalic stops.[1] Later on in his introduction to the *Saṇaṁkumāracariu*, he had to give up the fact, attributed to Kramadīśvara, that groups of consonant+*r* are characteristic of vrācaḍa, but groups of *r*+consonant were meant by him

[1] p. *72.

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as such. Naturally Jacobi[1] now considered that these verses which contain groups of consonant + r and the stanzas of Rudraṭa mark an older stage of Apabhraṁśa, which thus differs from the normal Apabhraṁśa of the other verses of Hemacandra's grammar. Dr. Upadhye[2] also thinks that features of the so-called Śaurasenī basis and the retention of groups of r suggest dialectal differences in the Apabhraṁśa of Hemacandra. He differs from Jacobi in holding that the relation between the dialect showing such unassimilated groups and the normal one which assimilates them, is not chronological, the one being older than the other, but dialectal, the two coming from two different regions.

The idea of either a chronological or a dialectal difference based upon the treatment of groups of r was supported by most of the Apabhraṁśa literary works so far published. All of them uniformly followed the rule of assimilation and thus agreed with the practice of the majority of the verses quoted by Hemacandra, which left the few stanzas with the unassimilated groups either as a relic of an archaic stage of growth or remnants of a different dialect. But when Dr. Alsdorf published the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa,*[3] a part of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta, a writer of the 10th century and therefore decidedly older than Hemacandra, the problem assumed a new appearance. He pointed out that two of the three Mss. of that work do show the retention of ṛ and groups of the type consonant + r, and he was able to collect some 11 words which have conjuncts of this nature and some 7 words showing the vowel ṛ. Thereby he has naturally to reject the view of Jacobi that the retention of such conjuncts can suggest an older stage of the language and his own conclusion amounts to the fact that Apabhraṁśa has kept an older phase of phonetic development, older than that of the Prākrits with respect to such groups.

With the publication of the whole of the *Mahāpurāṇa*[4] in three volumes by Dr. Vaidya, it becomes again necessary to examine the problem anew in the light of all the material that can be collected from this work, which is the only major one which has kept traces of these unassimilated groups and the vowel ṛ. This will suppliment the collection made by Dr. Alsdorf and in part modify him, as the portion from which he

[1] p. XXI.

[2] Introduction to *Paramātmaprakāśa*, Bombay, 1937, p. 47.

[3] *Harivaṁśapurāṇa :* Alsdorf, Hamburg, 1936, pp. 137-140.

[4] *Mahāpurāṇam :* Dr. Vaidya, Vol. I, Bombay, 1937 ; Vol. II, 1940 ; Vol. III, 1941, MJGM.

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has put together his 70 and odd cases, has been reedited with ampler material and which necessitates a revision of his cases, though to a slight extent.

As can be seen from the introductions of Dr. Vaidya to the different volumes of the work, the Ms. material for the whole work is not uniform. Because the problem of these sound changes depends greatly upon the way in which we may choose to handle the readings supplied by them, it will be necessary to note all the variants of the different Mss. as regards the preservation or removal of such sounds. I have been able to collect some 450 and more cases from the whole work, which show either the vowel ṛ or r in conjuncts. I have also noted all the variants shown by the Mss. which either replace them with other vowels or change the groups by the process of assimilation and cases where the editor did not feel himself justified in adopting these sounds in the body of the text as the Mss. evidence was slender, being confined to one or two of inferior value. It is just possible that a few cases may have escaped my notice, but the collection is ample enough to evaluate it for linguistic purpose and a few more cases, if detected, are not likely to change materially our general conclusions based on the available material. It will not be out of the place to point out that the editorial work has been so thorough and well done that the reader is never at a loss to make out the exact significance of the readings recorded and except for a case or two where by oversight the names of the Mss. are missing in the critical apparatus, it is always possible to state the reading of a given Ms. as regards these changes.

To understand the implications of the readings of the different Mss. noted here by the indications used by the editor with minor changes, it will be necessary to summarise the important facts recorded by him, as far as they pertain to their nature and classification. Further details may be looked into in the introductions themselves. The first 37 sandhis of the *Mahāpurāna* are based upon five Mss. designated by the editor with the letters G. K. M. B. P., P., however, breaking off in the middle of sandhi 28. These are classified into two groups, G. K. giving the older version and M. B. P. a slightly later version shown by the presence of a larger number of introductory stanzas, various readings and a few additional passages. This division is valid for the present problem as well. The group G. K. uniformly presents ṛ and r-groups, while M. B. P. change them to *i* and assimilated stops. In one case (9. 22. 9) the original reading of K. *tṛya* is modified into *tiya* by a later hand, which thus comes nearer to *tiya* of P. and *tiha* of M. B. Out

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of 157 cases of the first volume, there are only four cases where G. and K. differ among themselves: 22. 1. 13. G. *vrata* K. *vraya*; 34. 8. 6. G. *prāṇapriu* K. *prāṇipriu*; 36. 2. 6. G. *priyahu* K. *pṛyahu*; 10. 4. 11. G. *dhruvu* K. *dhuvu*, where only the last case shows a real difference as regards the retention of *r*-groups. Equally close is the agreement of the remaining three Mss. M. B. P. and there is only one case 23. 11. 11. where P. agrees with G. K. as against M. B. P. *prāṇiprāṇa*, M. *pāṇipāṇu* B. *pāṇipāṇa*. Otherwise they uniformly agree in getting rid of these sounds.

For sandhis 38-80, Dr. Vaidya has used three Mss. called K. A. P. which can be grouped into K. which keeps these sounds and A. P. which remove them. Out of 189 cases in all, only in 13 cases this grouping is disturbed: 54. 4. 7. is doubtful as no readings are recorded (*uḍḍiyaprāṇaĩ*) and this will be the only case where P. may be said to preserve the *r*-group which, however, is naturally suspect. In 60. 16. 4. A. K. *nṛvahu* P. *ṇivahu*; 60. 20. 8. K. A. *mṛga* P. *miga*; 61. 19. 8. K. A. *mṛgaloyaṇāi* P. *miga*; 61. 19. 14. K. A. *nṛvai* P. *ṇivai*; 61. 19. 15. K. A. *mṛgaṇayaṇa* P. *miga*; 61. 20. 12. K. *nṛvu*, A. *nṛu* P. *ṇiu*; 62. 4. 14. K. A. *mṛgaṇettahi* P. *miga*; 74. 10. 6. K. A. *nṛvabalaĩ* P. *ṇiva*; 74. 12. 12. K. A. *mṛgeṇa* P. *migeṇa*; 80. 5. 11. K. A. *nṛvai* P. *ṇivai*, A. agrees with K. In 71. 7. 2. K. P. *migi* A. *mṛgi*; 73. 18. 15. K. P. *migamuddaĩ* A. *mṛga*, A. is alone in keeping *ṛ*.

The sandhis 81-92 are based on the Mss. K. A. P. (=Alsdorf B.) B. (=Alsdorf A) and S. (=Alsdorf C). Here also the relation between the first three K. A. P. remains the same. Out of 72 cases K. keeps these sounds for 56 times, P. in none and A. agrees with K. in 10 cases in having them: K. A. *nṛva* P. *ṇiva* 81. 12. 1. 84. 2. 3.; K. A. *praṅgaṇi* P. *paṅgaṇe* 90. 4. 13; 92. 9. 8. K. *priu* A. *pṛya* P. *piya* 81. 12. 2. 82. 1. 11; 91. 13. 11; K. A. *mṛgāyaṇahu* P. *migāyaṇaho* 82. 8. 10; K. A. *vṛndu* P. *vindu* 81. 18. 3. K. A. *samprāiu* P. *sampāiu* 86. 1. 25. In one case 81. 1. 11 K. *ṇiva* A. *nṛva*, it has *ṛ* against K. In 88. 24. 13. the reading of P. remains doubtful, and with the express statement of Alsdorf we may regard it as not having the sound *ṛ* in *mṛga*. B. has 24 cases of retaining these sounds and S. has 72 cases of *ṛ* and *r*-groups, thus 16 times more than K.: S. *priya* K. *tiya* 89. 13. 5. S. *tṛya* K. *tiya* 91. 6. 6. S. *nṛva* K. *ṇiva* 81. 1. 11; 88. 2. 15; 88. 9. 12; 89. 18. 8; 90. 2. 6; 90. 12. 5; 91. 9. 10; 92. 3. 3; 90. 6. 15. S. *priya* K. *piya*; S. *mṛga* K. *miga* 88. 23. 15; 88. 23. 17; 91. 2. 4; 92. 1. 16; S. *vraya* K. *vaya* 92. 14. 14. S. *sṛya* K. *siya* 90. 3. 7. and one case in which K. has the sound as against S. Thus S. agrees almost always with K. in having them and

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shows them in addition in many cases. B.'s agreement with any other Ms. is not obvious.

For the last portion of sandhis 93-102 the Mss. are again K. A. P. as in volume two and their interrelation remains the same. K. has 17 cases and A. has 15 cases and agrees with K. in 101. 3. 18 K. A. P. *prāṇa* which is doubtful. Otherwise P. has no case of such sounds. This is all the more remarkable when we find K. and A. agreeing in volume two in 10 cases and in *Harivaṁśa* in 10 more cases.

Our results about the Mss. may be thus summarised:

K. no date, available for the whole text, has 414 cases with and 34 cases without these sounds.

G. date 1518 A.D. for *ādipurāṇa* has 155 cases with and 2 without the sounds.

M. date 1826 A.D. for *ādipurāṇa*, no case with the sounds.

Ba. date 1602 A.D. for *ādi*. no case.

Pa. no date, for 28 sandhis, no case.

A. date 1558 A.D. for *Uttarapurāṇa*, cases 37 with and 254 without the sounds.

Pu. date 1573 A.D. for *Uttara* cases 3(?) with and 288 without the sounds.

Bu. date 1584 A.D. for *Harivaṁśa*, cases 28 with and 46 without the sounds.

S. younger than Bu. for *Harivaṁśa*, cases 71 with and 1 without the sounds.

From this list the interrelation of the dates of the Mss. and their tendency to keep the sounds of *r* and *r*-groups becomes evident. The case of S. must be judged by the fact that it is itself a recent copy of an older Ms. of the Senagaṇa. Moreover no very strict correspondence can be expected in such matters. But the conclusion should become apparent that these forms go back to the oldest period of the next tradition and cannot be attributed to later importation by the copyists. That the original text must have contained more forms than what we now possess is suggested by the fact that even the best and oldest of our Mss. do not give them in cases where others have preserved them. A direct proof of the tendency to remove such forms from the text is supplied by K. in which we find how a few forms of these sounds are changed into those without them.

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More important for deciding the phonological nature of Apabhraṁśa is the fact that in spite of so large a number of such cases the range of the words in which they occur is much limited. The following are the words with the number of cases occurring in *Mahāpurāṇa* distributed according to the Mss. where they are found. M. Ba. Pa. and Pu. may be left out of consideration, as they show either no cases or one or two of doubtful value.

(1) Words with *r*-groups :

K.	G.	A.	Bu.	S.
aṅghriṇi 1				
āṇāprāṇa 1	1			
indriya		1		
kriya 1	1			
dratti 1				
dravakkiyau 1				
draha 4	2			
druma 1	1			
dhruvu 25	16		1	2
praṅgaṇa 26	6	2	4	6
pravari 1				
prāẽ 1	1			
prāṇa 49	24	1	4	5
prāṇaya 7	1			
prāṇi 10	4			1
prāva-2				
prāsiya 2	1		1	1
priu 15	6	4	3	4
priyadattā 1	1			
vraṇiu 1				
vraṇa 1				1
vraya 38	11		2	8
samprāiya 25	14	1	3	3
samprāviya-9	5			
samprāsaṇu 1	1			

(2) Words with *ṛ* :

K.	G.	A.	Bu.	S.
kṛya 1				
tṛya 19	6		1	3
nṛ 7	2	1		3
nṛva 53	5	10	3	21
nṛvai 5	1	3		
parivṛḍḍhi 1				
pṛu 14	10	1		

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pṛyadattā 5	5			
mṛga 57	25	6	3	9
mṛgaṇāhi 1				
mṛgavai 1				
mṛgāyaṇu 2		1		1
mṛgāvai 5		4		
mṛgi		1		
vṛnda 2	1	1		1
sṛya 12	3		1	3

(3) Words with inorganic *r*:

K.	G.	A.	Bu.	S.
ṇipriha 1				
prāẽ(?) 1	1			
prāyanti 1				
bruha 1	1			
vrahiu 1				
vrāsu 1				

Traces of such forms are rare in other Apabhraṁśa works. But it will be incorrect to say that they are confined to the *Mahāpurāṇa* only. In the *Kathākośa* of Śrīcandra a few forms with *ṛ* (particularly *nṛva*) are noted. This author is placed in the 11th century. The Apabhraṁśa verses in Hemacandra's *Chandonuśāsana* also supply us with a few words of this type: *kṛva* (6. 116), *cakru* (7. 3) *truṭṭī* (6. 32), *drahi* (6. 60), *druo* (7. 37) *dhruvu* (6. 121 ; 6. 129 ; 7. 57) *priya* (6. 18 ; 6. 25 ; 6. 38 ; 6. 46 ; 6. 82 ; 6. 127) *prāṇahara* (6. 118) *vandri* (6. 34). Jacobi has already pointed out that these Apabhraṁśa verses are the compositions of Hemacandra himself and not quotations from earlier works as is the case with his grammar. This is not wholly true. A few of them are quotations and recur in his grammar, as the verse *cūḍullao cuṇṇī hoisai* (Ch. 6. 119 = Gr. 4. 395). Moreover, to ascertain the range of such words they are of importance, as it is scarcely possible that Hemacandra would have kept them even in his own compositions if he had not found them in current literature. In this sense they differ from his stanzas in the *Kumārapālacarita* where they are expressly written for illustrating the rules of his grammar and as such may distort the facts of the natural language by over-emphasis. In this metrical treatise he has no such need to change the phonology of the language, particularly when these groups are metrically harmless, i.e. make no difference by their position.

As said above, though the verses of the *Kumārapālacarita* may not be taken as good evidence for linguistic purposes,

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it is nevertheless important to see how far they may help us in indicating the scope of Hemacandra's rule *vādho ro luk*, for even a poet writing *ad hoc* for the purpose of illustrating his grammar cannot write a non-existent form, especially in words not meant for illustration and when there is no metrical or other necessity for their choice. Thus besides the words expressedly taught in his sūtras, we have, in addition, *kṛva* (8. 66) *kṛvā* (8. 82) *kṛvālū* (8. 82) *drahi* (8. 68) *gṛṇhia* (8. 45) *nṛva* (8. 82; 8. 83) *prāvai* (8. 58) *prāmvei* (8. 69). That these stanzas do show the same phonological features as the quotations in his grammar can be seen from an interesting coincidence, which cannot be reasonably said to be intentional. Thus all the above words do not make long the preceding syllable in spite of the conjunct of *r*. But we find the word *tudhra* used with the metrical scheme-⌣ which is the same as found in the line *tudhra aṇuttara khanti* of his grammar (4. 372).

These facts about the phonology of Apabhraṁśa have raised a number of problems, many of which Dr. Alsdorf has dealt with, with reference to the cases found in the *Harivaṁśa* and has come to some tentative conclusions. With this fuller material, they can be now in part confirmed and in part modified. Of his forms one *pittṛya* must be rejected as being not substantiated by the Mss. evidence and his reading of C(=S of Dr. Vaidya) in 84. 10. 11 *vraheṇa* (*vadhena*) is also doubtful as it is not recorded by the later editor.

As regards the question whether all such forms can be the result of Sanskrit influence on the scribes, Dr. Alsdorf has rightly pointed out that the number of such forms, which has now become quite considerable, the agreement between the illustrative words of the grammarians and the words found in the *Mahāpurāna*, the agreement of the different unrelated Mss. and the absence of any other traces of Sanskritisms on the part of the scribes, all go to show that they are not due to Sanskrit influence. But he has added two more considerations of a different nature to prove the same fact. The writing of *sṛya* for *śrī* and *tṛya* for *strī* cannot be due to the influence of Sanskrit, in which case we should expect writings like *sriya* and *triya*. Secondly there is uniformity in the writing of *nṛva* (with dental *n*) on the one hand and *ṇiva* (with cerebral *ṇ*) on the other. In case of a simple Sanskritism we should have expected a *ṇ* as well in this word. But the choice of *n* with the vowel *ṛ* may be due to the form current in Sanskrit.

If we accept the fact that the written *ṛ* in these words in Apabhraṁśa really stands for the sound *ri*, which Alsdorf

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himself suggests, it is but natural to suppose that the choice of the form with either *ṛ* or conjunct with *r* was mostly decided by the nature of the Sanskrit word, as, on the whole, the distinction between the two modes of writing agrees with Sanskrit orthography. This lack of agreement in case of *tṛya* and *sṛya* may be attributed to the obscurity of their relation with the corresponding Sanskrit words, which was not quite apparent. Moreover we have the express statement of the grammarians that both *ṛ* and groups with *r* remain as in Sanskrit (*prakṛtyā*). The second point, probably, is to be explained differently. The contrast between *nṛva* and *ṇiva* cannot be pressed too far, as even Mss. and books which prefer to write *niva* continue to write *nṛva*. That the *n* of *nṛva* was caused by the *r* sound is more probable, as the two cerebral sounds cannot be easily pronounced together and we find a similar contrast as early as in Aśokan inscriptions. There we see the eastern dialect with cerebralisation and assimilation of *r*-groups contrasted with the western dialect with *r*-groups and absence of cerebralisation.

In spite of the statement of the grammarians and the nearly concordant usage of the Mss. Alsdorf is right in suggesting that all these words with *ṛ* and *r*-conjuncts represent the same real pronunciation. His argument to prove this, however, is not quite intelligible. The wirting of *sṛya* and *tṛya* to represent *śrī* and *strī* can only prove that their relation with the Sanskrit words was not evident for the writer, for otherwise, with the same sound and the Sanskrit mode of writing to guide him as in all other cases, we should really expect *triya* and *sriya*. That *priya* is actually written *pṛya* both as adjective ('dear') and noun (=*priyā* 'wife') and in the proper name *pṛya-dattā* is clear from the above illustrations. These cases, however, were lacking in his portion of the text. Fortunately we have some more evidence to show that both the modes of writings represented the same sound and that it was the sound *ri*. In the first place, we have now the same word, now written with *ṛ* now with *ri*. Thus in 69. 15. 7. there occurs the word *para-makṛya* (*paramakriyā*) while in 34. 1. 6. we find *saṇāhakriya* (*sanāthakriyā*). We have both *priu*, *priyadattā* and *pṛu* and *pṛyadattā* in the various readings. In 36. 2. 5. while G. writes *priyahu* K. prefers *pṛyahu*. All the Mss. which assimilate the *r*-groups always write *i* in case of words with *ṛ* which means that they had before them forms with *ri* in groups. But probably the best evidence for this sound of *ṛ* is to be found in the rhymes of Apabhraṁśa poetry. It is well known that final rhymes in Apabhraṁśa occupy a prominent place and the whole

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of the *Mahāpurāṇa* shows them. The one peculiarity of these rhymes in Apabhraṁśa is that they pertain not only to the final syllable, which must be identical, but also to the vowel preceding it, to make it a good rhyme. Thus if a word of two syllables occurs at the end of a line so as to rhyme with another we can naturally suppose that their vowel elements must be identical. In *Mahāpurāṇa* we find the following cases of end-rhymes :

*69. 15. 7.	*paramakṛya*	*paccakkhasṛya*
34. 1. 6.	*dehi sṛya*	*saṇāha kriya*
31. 8. 8.	*prāṇapṛu*	*kuberapiu*
*45. 12. 4.	*tāsu pṛya*	*ṇāĩ sṛya*
*45. 3. 8.	*gampi thiu*	*prāṇapriu*
82. 1. 11.	*pañcamahu piya*	*paccakkha sṛya*

Three of these cases marked* may not prove anything. But the other cases clearly indicate that both the modes of writing *ṛ* and *ri* represented the same sound, which made good rhymes with the first syllable of *piu* (=*pitā*) and *piya* (=*priyā*), and this sound can only be *ri* in these circumstances.

As regards the forms of inorganic *r* as taught by Hemacandra VIII 4. 399. Alsdorf was not able to get any in his part of the text. Now we have a few cases in the following places : 49. 4. 2. *ṇipriha* (T. explains *niḥspṛha*), 42. 3. 5. *prāyanti* (*pādānte*), 16.11.7. *bruhasaṁgamu* (*budhasangama*), 99.3.5. *vrahiu* (*vadhita*), 98.8.6. *vrāsu* (*vyāsa*) of which last is the illustration given by Hemacandra and Mārkaṇḍeya. A doubtful case is 25.5.7. *prāẽ saṁprāviu prāṇaṇihaṇu vaṇi vāhẽ viddhaũ hariṇamihuṇu* which can give a better meaning by taking *prāẽ* as an adjective of *vāhẽ* in the sense of 'sinful' as the reading of M.B.P. *pāvẽ* suggests, though the explanation of T. *prāyaḥ* is just possible.

These cases amply justify the rule of the grammarians which is cautiously worded and would inspire confidence in their statements, when we see them confirmed even in obscure cases like the present. The real explanation of such forms is, however, difficult to find. Following Mārkaṇḍeya (XVII.3. *vyāsāder yasya rephaḥ syāt*) Alsdorf thinks that this *r* may have developed out of *y*. *Traṁ* may be from *tyad* and not from *tad ; bhantri* may presuppose *bhrantyi*. This explanation cannot hold good in our cases. If *vrahiu* is the result of contamination between *vadhitaḥ* and *vraṇitaḥ* (which actually occurs in 99.3.5) others remain without explanation. Here, I think, Hemacandra is right in calling the *r* extraneous (*abhūta* non-existent) than Mārkaṇḍeya who takes it as developing out

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of *y* in a conjunct. It is quite probable that in such stray cases Apabhraṁśa has kept a genuine popular element, the mode of pronouncing some words with an intruding *r* current among the illiterate people. In Marāṭhī we actually find village folk pronouncing the word *duṣṭa* as *druṣṭa* and a similar habit may be at the basis of Apabhraṁśa.

Finally we come to the most important problem about these forms, their relation to other forms of these words which show either the full vocalisation of *ṛ* or the normal assimilation of *r*-groups. These latter predominate even in *Mahāpurāṇa* and are exclusively found in the majority of Apabhraṁśa works. They are normally so represented in the Prākrits as well. Two explanations are possible and both are put forth by scholars. The forms with *r*-groups may be regarded as indicating a dialectal and regional feature as is done by Dr. Upadhye or they may be thought to represent an older phase of growth, thus suggesting the earlier and archaic form of the language as compared to the other forms current in the younger form of the same language. This is the view of Dr. Jacobi. Dr. Alsdorf has further suggested that these forms with *ṛ* and *r*-groups also indicate a phase of growth which is even earlier than the normal forms of Prākrits and in this respect at least, the latest stage of MIA. is more archaic than the earlier dialects.

With the above evidence before us the following facts become clear and help us in deciding which of these suggestions is most acceptable. Firstly we have now forms which preserve these sounds side by side with others which assimilate the groups in the same literary work. This will certainly go to exclude the possibility of regarding them as dialectal and regional in origin. It is possible to imagine that a grammarian like Hemacandra may have formulated his rule of the language by taking into consideration all available literature, in which finer dialectal differences were neglected, and thus laying down rules applicable to different dialects side by side. But it is quite inconceivable that a poet writing a literary composition remaining in one place, can make use of forms from two different dialects, without apparent reason. That the same dialect can preserve both types of forms side by side should become evident from the Girnar version of Aśokan inscriptions and the literary Pāli.

The second fact about these forms to be noted is that in nearly all cases the conjuncts are of a different nature than those of Sanskrit and even of Middle Indo-Aryan, where they are preserved. This difference becomes plain when we consider

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the metrical value of these words. In the majority of cases, all these groups in Apabhraṁśa do not make the preceding syllable long by position as do Sanskrit and Prākrit conjuncts. The only exceptions to this rule are, in *Mahāpurāṇa* : 20.23.7. G.K. *rattadrahi* M.B.P. *rattaddahi*; 16.21.2. G.K. *ṇiprāṇau* M.B.P. *ṇippāṇau*; 48.19.4. K. *ṇiprāṇiya* A.P. *ṇippāṇiya*. In the last two cases the prefix *nis* is responsible for the length of the first syllable. This metrical nature of the conjuncts with *r* is also apparent from the fact that in all cases one or the other Ms. does not show it and yet their readings are metrically faultless. As against the tendency of the Prākrits, they can remain even after long vowels without affecting them : 10.12.7. *āṇāprāṇa*, 35.11.20. *mahādrahi* 42.2.7. *prangaṇe prāngaṇe* 47.8.15. *cuo prāṇaindo* and so on. This rule is applicable to the forms found in Hemacandra's grammar and *Chandonuśāsana* as well. But the two stanzas written by Rudraṭa do not conform to it. In fact, the conjuncts there are of a different type as far as their metrical value is concerned.

Thirdly we find that all these Apabhraṁśa words preserve the group only initially. This is, in fact, a result of the preceding peculiarity. Here also Rudraṭa's stanzas differ in allowing words like *mitra*, *vibhrama* etc. where the conjunct occurs medially. These two facts would naturally lead one to enquire whether in all such cases we are dealing with real conjuncts or a mere graphical habit of writing them while the actual pronunciation had no groups. Such a supposition can explain their metrical value and their presence initially where alone can such conjuncts be written without violating the metre. But here, I think, there is much more than a difference of orthography. In fact, the Old Indo-Aryan and the Middle Indo-Aryan conjuncts written with *r* after consonants represent a sound in which the plosive is long or double while the conjuncts in Apabhraṁśa are pronounced with a single plosive as the first member, which satisfactorily explains the metrical value of the preceding syllable in the two cases. Thus *mitra* really represents *mit/tra* while the Apabhraṁśa form like *āṇāprāṇa* is *āṇā/prāṇa*.

With these facts ascertained, it is obvious that we cannot put side by side the Apabhraṁśa-Sanskrit stanzas of Rudraṭa and the genuine conjuncts of Apabhraṁśa works and put them together as marking an earlier stage of growth as Jacobi does. In fact, the Apabhraṁśa verses of Rudraṭa are in a way artificial as they combine the Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa conjuncts in spite of their difference in sound, with the help of a defective orthography.

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The other argument of Dr. Jacobi is that Haribhadra in his *Nemināhacariu* writes an Apabhraṁśa which uniformly assimilates the *r*-groups, while his contemporary Hemacandra describes in his grammar a language which preserves them and it is natural to suppose that the grammarian is describing a slightly older phase of the language which has become classical by his time, probably following an older grammatical tradition. As rightly pointed out by Alsdorf this cannot mean that works which do not show such groups are younger than others having them, for the text tradition may have removed such group which was easy in view of the fact that such a change could not disturb the metre. Moreover, we now find a poet using side by side forms with and without these groups. The only reasonable conclusion to which we can arrive is to regard them as simply alternative forms current along with the others or at most, as archaisms continued in the literary language far beyond their natural date.

If this is what can be ascertained about the conjuncts of the normal type of Apabhraṁśa, it will be possible to reconsider the question about the dialectal difference between the nāgara and vrācaḍa dialects. Jacobi rejected the presence or absence of groups with consonants + *r* as marking the difference between the two in favour of regarding vrācaḍa as keeping *r* + consonants, while nāgara as having consonants + *r*, on the authority of Kramadīśvara. But expect for the illustration *sarpi* given by his commentator and two forms in Hemacandra's *Kumārapālacarita, narmada* and *sarmada* (8.80) we have no trace of such forms and thus we are unable to ascertain what value should be attached to Kramadīśvara's statement. On the contrary, all the other grammarians of the eastern school agree in attributing the preservation of the same type of conjuncts, consonant + *r* to both nāgara and vrācaḍa, and the mode of their writing implies a kind of distinction between the two. It may be that they implied the rule as having a limited application in nāgara while it was operative everywhere in vrācaḍa. The exceptions noted by Mārkaṇḍeya to his rule in vrācaḍa with the *gaṇa bhṛtyādi* only pertain to the vowel *ṛ* and not to *r*-groups, as can be seen from his list, *bhṛtya-bhicca, nṛtya ṇicca, kṛtya = kicca* and *kṛtyā = kiccā*. If this is possible, it follows that vrācaḍa, as distinguished from nāgara, must keep these *r*-conjuncts both initially and in the middle as well and in that case, these conjuncts can only be of the type in which the first consonant is geminated. Then the verses of Rudraṭa can continue to represent the vrācaḍa dialect and we may suggest that the two distinct pronunciations of the

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r-groups distinguished vrācaḍa from nāgara with the further consequence that while in the medial position they can continue in the first, only the initial groups can be preserved in the nāgara.

In the light of these distinctions it is not possible to accept without reservation the conclusion of Alsdorf that the Apabhraṁśa forms represent an earlier stage of growth than the Prākrits. In some cases at least it remains doubtful whether the Prākrit forms went through the stage represented by Apabhraṁśa, especially in words like *nṛva, nṛvai*, etc. In others, the Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa forms represent divergent lines of growth. Thus the Apabhramśa form *mahādraha* cannot form an earlier stage of Pkt. *mahaddaha*, obviously because the geminated consonant in Prākrit cannot be a further development of the Apabhraṁśa conjunct *dr* and the same holds good in case of Ap. *āṇāprāṇa* Pkt. *āṇappāṇa*. Because the majority of the Apabhraṁśa words keep these groups initially and in such cases the Prākrit represent only a single consonant at the beginning of a word, the relation of the two is not amenable to exact proof. So the conclusion of our enquiry can only be negative. The light conjuncts of the normal Apabhraṁśa cannot be taken as a dialectal feature and may or may not represent an earlier stage of growth with reference to the assimilated forms of Apabhraṁśa itself and the Prākrits. If their relation to the other Apabhraṁśa forms may be that of archaic survival among the current usage and in this limited sense they may be earlier, their priority to the Prākrit forms remains doubtful. It is however possible that *r*-groups of the heavy type were a dialectal feature of vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa.

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THE PRĀKRIT DHŪRTĀKHYĀNA: A UNIQUE INDIAN SATIRE

By

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In isolated branches of literature, the Indian mind exhibits remarkable elevation, successful finish and consummate polish; but as contrasted with Western literature the lack of variety is apparent everywhere. The fact that ancient India which could boast of the greatest master-pieces in epic poetry and certain kinds of fiction and drama has neither a tragedy after the manner of the Greeks nor a satire in Roman fashion is to be attributed to the peculiar way in which the Indian mind evolved and the Indian author was trained for his job. The Sanskrit or even Indian 'poetic theory of super-individual emotion and its complacent attitude towards life,' as Dr. De[1] remarks, 'precluded any serious cultivation of the satiric type of literature.'

Satire as a form of literature has been conspicuously absent in early Indian literature. Satire is also an indispensable stylistic quality in some forms of literature, and the elements of this quality are found scattered, here and there, in early Indian literature: in stories, in minor poems and in plays. Daṇḍin is unconventional by temperament; and we see him in his *Daśakumāracarita* meting out some satirical lashes against gods, Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, nude monks and Buddhist nuns, just laying his finger on their weak points. Amongst the authors of minor poems Kṣemendra has developed some satiric style. His *Samayamātṛkā*, *Darpadalana* and *Kalāvilāsa* present a good bit of satiric style directed against many forms of prevalent deformity, Purāṇic deities and personalities, and distorted specimens of humanity. But throughout Kṣemendra plays the rôle not of an artist but of a teacher in morality. The moral tone is so overwhelming, that satirical touches may be lost by an ordinary reader. Among the plays it is the Bhāṇas,[2] especially the four Bhāṇas edited as *Caturbhāṇī*, and the Prahasanas that contain a great deal of satirical element. They direct their attack against religious orders and provincial

[1] Some Satiric Poems in Sanskrit, *Indian Culture*,, Vol. VIII, No. 1.

[2] See S. K. De in *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 63-90 and *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VII, Nos. 3-4.

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people. The greatest draw-back of these plays is that their satire is buried deep under open obscenity and coarse vulgarity.

The *Dhūrtākhyāna* of Haribhadra, though casually known for the last few years, is now brought to light[1] by Śrī Jinavijayaji ; and it luckily makes up the gap, namely, the deplorable absence of any satire in our Indian literature. Haribhadra (8th century A.D.) is a genius by birth and a satirist by temperament. He has a passionate aptitude for satirical sketches and dilemmatic folk tales, some of which he quotes in his commentaries. In his *Sambodha-prakaraṇa* he thoroughly ridicules rather objectively, the vices that had perhaps crept into the monastic order of his times. He detests, pities and condemns the vices and irreligious routine of the ascetic life. In his *Dhūrtākhyāna* he satirizes the folly of the degenerating belief of the masses in Purāṇic legends. Monks are morally and religiously degraded, and the public is on the verge of rational bankruptcy ; and here Haribhadra comes like an expert surgeon to ply his satirical instrument before any one can put the bandage of religious and didactic teaching. He is an eminent logician, no doubt ; but in this work, on the whole, we see him more as a witty critic assailing the citadel of Purāṇic mythology.

The narrative structure of the *Dhūrtākhyāna* is not complicated. During a rainy week the five rogues, four males and one female, meet in a park ; and the problem of their meal is facing them all. They stipulate like this. Every one is to recount his personal experience, and he who proves it to be a lie has to give a feast to all. Thus the ball of narration is set rolling. The four rogues narrate their experiences which are fantastical, logically extreme and absurd in details ; but the points of these picaresque tales are confirmed to be true by others after quoting parallel legends from the epics and Purāṇas. In their attempts to prove the unprovable and to confirm the unbelievable by giving Purāṇic parallels, the inevitable result has been that the Purāṇic legends themselves get fully satirised and the credulity of their believers entirely exposed to searching criticism. The female accomplice recounts a number of auto-biographical incidents which are likewise regarded as credible. But then, all this still keeps the main problem unsolved. How are they to get food for themselves and for their retinue ? That female rogue would

[1] This has been recently published in the Singhī Jaina Seires, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay. To this edition I have contributed an Introduction which embodies a critical study of the different aspects of this unique satire.

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give them a feast, only if they acknowledged her supremacy. This they would not easily accept. She then, continuing her narration, leads it to such a point that they have to recognise her suzerainty or give feast. They could not get out of the dilema : they accept her as their chief. She then dupes a rich merchant alleging that he killed her child and extorts a gift from him. Thus they all get a feast. The author concludes thus : the popular scriptures, when one scrutinizingly studies them, are found to contain worthless stuff ; the legends narrated in them do not stand the test of rational scrutiny ; and the pious, therefore, should follow the path of Sarvajña.

In flourishing his satirical sword, Haribhadra is uniformly rational ; and throughout he maintains a remarkable mental poise. The fantastic tales possess an air of reality, because well-known motifs of Indian literature are interwoven in them. They can be easily passed off as amusing and adventurous tales, quite innocent in themselves ; but when the author holds them side by side with the Purāṇic legends, their sarcastic potency becomes at once clear. The characters like Mūladeva are well-known figures in Indian literature. Most of the Purāṇic legends quoted by Haribhadra are traced to their sources like the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas. Undoubtedly the author shows an admirable intellectual integrity in presenting these legends. His appeal is always to the intellect, and he never plays on the emotions.

The *Dhūrtākhyāna* is a satire, and a perfect one, because of its unique construction, a delicious mingling of phantasy and reality, subtle sense of characterisation (though in a limited quantity) and above all the startling situation of devils discussing scriptures, which make it an inimitable piece of raillery and a good humoured amusement for all. It has a literary form, nothing specially religious about it ; it is an out and out satire, an artist's creation ; and as a literary product, it is far ahead of its times. Most of the Roman or the English Satire is cast in the mould of a dream or an allegory. This makes it stilted and artificial. It is only in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Bocacio's *Decameron* that an ingenious framework is used to impart an air of reality to the narration. The Dhūrtākhyāna is thoroughly modern both in thought and spirit and a master piece of construction. The impossible yarns concocted by the Rogues, the replies thereto, and above all the witty and surprising end of the story reveal its architectonic skill and the beauty of design. Its perfectly original structure is one of its highest distinctions, and sufficient by itself to proclaim the author's genius.

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In subsequent centuries, the *Dhūrtākhyāna*, especially its construction and satirical potentiality, has been drawn upon by Jayarāma and others[1] who composed a work called *Dharmaparīkṣā*, the best representative being the Sanskrit text of Amitagati[2] (A.D. 1014). The mode of presentation in the Dharmaparīkṣā is somewhat different. The purpose is the same, and the motifs of some of the fantastical stories are nearly identical. What is implicit, artistic and detached in the *Dhūrtākhyāna* becomes outspoken, religio-didactic and propagandistic in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Haribhadra by his satirical genius of a very high order smashed the structure of Purāṇic mythology, but the authors of *Dharmaparīkṣā* have gone a few steps ahead that they tried to erect instead a superstructure of Jaina religious preaching.

Saṅghatilaka gives us a metrical Sanskrit version of the Dhūrtākhyāna in his commentary on the *Samyaktvasaptati*, and there is also a prose version of it in old Gujarāti. Both of them are edited with the Prākrit text by Śrī Jinavijayaji. They offer good aid to understand the original.

The precocious genius of Haribhadra, obvious in this unique work, provides a delightful field for researches in literary developments ; and it is hoped that the publication of *Dhūrtākhyāna* will be followed by richer treasures which lie buried in the literature of ancient India.

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[1] A. N. Upadhya : Hariṣena's Dharmaparīkṣā in Apabhraṁśa, ABORI Vol. XXIII, pp. 592f.

[2] Mironow : *Die Dharmaparīkṣā des Amitagati*, Leipzig 1903.

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A NOTE ON THE KUTRIKÂPAṆA

By

PROF. BHOGILAL J. SĀNDESARĀ, M.A.

The Chedasūtras of the Jaina Canon are a veritable mine of social information. The Chedasūtras treat of the discipline of the community of the Jain monks and deal with the विधिनिषेधs to be observed by them. The subject of the Chedasūtras is such that they contain very many important facts pertaining to political and social history, descriptions of various parts of ancient India where the monks used to travel, direct or indirect references of contemporary social and religious institutions, ceremonies, festivals, customs and superstitions, accounts of the life of Jaina pontiffs and the kings and ministers who came in touch with the early Jaina church, and semi-historical legends and such other miscellaneous information which is of much use for the antiquarian, historian and sociologist.

To-day I would bring to your notice an interesting fact from the Bṛhat Kalpasūtra,[1] one of the famous triad of the Chedasūtras, viz. Daśā-Kalpa-Vyavahāra. I refer to the long description of the कुत्रिकापण in the Bhāṣya of Saṁghadāsagaṇi (who lived decidedly before the seventh century of Vikrama era) on the Bṛhat Kalpasūtra, and the commentary of Ācārya Khsemakīrti on the same. कुत्रिकापण is the name of ancient Indian general stores where all the necessities and luxuries of life and all the animate and inanimate things of the whole world could be bought at price. The word has been explained as follows : 'कु' इति पृथिव्याः संज्ञा, तस्याः त्रिकं कुत्रिकं—स्वर्ग-मर्त्य-पाताललक्षणं तस्यापणः हट्टः कुत्रिकापणः । किमुक्तं भवति ? इत्याह- 'तत्र' पृथिवीत्रये यत् किमपि चेतनमचेतनं वा द्रव्यं सर्वस्यापि लोकस्य ग्रहणोपभोगक्षमं विद्यते तत् तत्र आपणे न नास्ति, × × × । Almost identical explanations of the word कुत्रिकापण occur also in several other Jain scriptures.[2]

It is also mentioned that the owner of the कुत्रिकापण used to charge the price of marketable goods according to the social status of the buyer. A man who was to become an ascetic could buy his necessary articles (उपाधि) there at the price of five rupees if he was a common man, he had to pay one thousand rupees if he happened to be a millionaire or a सार्थवाह, and ten thousand rupees if he was a king or a chieftain.

[1] The Bṛhat-Kalpasūtra has been critically edited by Muni Śrī Caturavijayajī and his disciple Muni Śrī Punyavijayajī—the latter one being my Guru—and recently published in six volumes by the Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā of Bhāvnagar. Other Chedasūtras also require critical editing and publication.

[2] Vide the Abhidhāna-Rājendra, Vol. III, p. 584-85.

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We are told in what places the कुत्रिकापणs existed. In Rājagṛha during the reign of the famous king Śreṇika there was a कुत्रिकापण, and the city of Ujjayinī possessed nine कुत्रिकापणs when the great king Caṇḍa Pradyota was ruling over the land of Avantī. It is said that the Jain sage Śālibhadra who was proverbially rich during his worldly life,[1] had bought his रजोहरण and begging bowl at the time of renunciation from a कुत्रिकापण of Rājagṛha, paying a price of rupees ten thousand for each of those things.

Several folk tales are also associated with the कुत्रिकापण. It is described how a merchant from Bharukaccha had bought a devil from a कुत्रिकापण at Ujjayinī—devil who could not be satisfied without doing some work for all the time, how he was defeated by the merchant saying him to go up and down a post, and how the devil dug a pond, in north of Bharukaccha, in memory of his defeat, which came to be known as Bhūtataḍāga. Another merchant from the city of Tosali in Orissa had bought a वानमन्तर (व्यन्तर) named Ṛṣīpāla from a कुत्रिकापण at Ujjayinī. By him also the devil was defeated in the same manner, in memory of which the latter made a pond which was known as Ṛṣitaḍāga. The fact of such popular folk tales being associated with the कुत्रिकापण indicates how the people preserved its memory even after it had become a thing of past.

But considering the account of the कुत्रिकापण faithfully preserved by the Jaina tradition in the Bṛhat Kalpasūtra and its mention and explanation of its meaning in several other Jaina scriptures, we are justified in believing that such large scale general stores existed in ancient India in important political and commercial centres like Rājagṛha and Ujjayinī.

APPENDIX.

Relevant Extract from the Bṛhat-Kalpasūtra (*Bhāṣya and Commentary*).

वत्था व पत्ता य घरे वि हुज्जा, दट्ठुं पि कुज्जा णिउणो सयं पि ।
णिज्जुत्तभंडं व रयोहरादी, कोई किणे कुत्तियआवणातो ॥४२१२॥

वस्त्राणि वा पात्राणि वा प्रायो गृहेऽपि भवेयुः । यत्तु 'निर्युक्तभाण्डं' पात्रनिर्योगोपकरणं वाशब्दस्य व्यवहितसम्बन्धतया रजोहरणादिकं वा यदन्यत्र दुर्लभमुपकरणं तत् कश्चिद् 'निपुणः' बुद्धिमान् साधूनां समीपे दृष्ट्या तदनुसारेण स्वयमपि कुर्यात् कश्चित्तु तदेव कुत्रिकापणात् क्रीणीयात् ॥४२१२॥ अनेन सम्बन्धेन कुत्रिकापणवक्तव्यतामभिधित्सुराह—

[1] The Jain merchants of Gujarat even to-day begin their New year account books with the words धन्ना-शालिभद्रनी ऋद्धि हजो (May we attain the prosperity of Dhanyā and Śālibhadra). According to tradition, Śālibhadra was a contemporary of king Śreṇika and an inhabitant of Rājagṛha.

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कुत्तीयपरूवणया, उक्कोस-जहन्न-मज्झिमट्ठाणा।
कुत्तिय भण्डक्किणणा, उक्कोसं हुंति सत्तेव ॥४२१३॥

प्रथमतः कुत्रिकापणस्य प्ररूपणा कर्तव्या। तत उत्कृष्ट-जघन्य-मध्यमानि मूल्यस्थानानि वक्तव्यानि। एतावता मूल्येन कुत्रिकापणे भाण्डस्य उपकरणस्य क्रयणं भवतीति निरूपणीयम्। "उक्कोसं"ति उत्कर्षतः सकलस्यापि श्रमणसङ्घस्य योग्या वस्त्र-पात्रप्रत्यवतारा ग्रहीतव्याः। "होंति सत्तेव"त्ति सप्त निर्योगास्तेन ग्रहीतव्या भवन्ति, जघन्यत इति वाक्यशेषः। एष चूर्ण्यभिप्रायः। विशेषचूर्ण्यभिप्रायेण तु–जघन्यत एक आत्मनो योग्यो निर्योगो ग्रहीतव्यः। उत्कर्षतस्तु सप्त निर्योगाः, तेषां च त्रय आत्मनो योग्याः चत्वार आचार्यप्रभृतीनां पूजनीयानां पूजायोग्याः। एष द्वारगाथासमासार्थः ॥४२१३॥ अर्थनामेव विवृणोति–

कु त्ति पुढवीय सण्णा, जं विज्जति तत्थ चेदणमचेयं।
गहणुवभोगे य खमं, न तं तहिं आवणे णत्थि ॥४२१४॥

'कु' इति पृथिव्याः संज्ञा, तस्याः त्रिकं कुत्रिकं स्वर्ग-मर्त्य-पाताललक्षणं तस्यापणः हट्टः कुत्रिकापणः। किमुक्तं भवति? इत्याह–'तत्र' पृथिवीत्रये यत् किमपि चेतनमचेतनं वा द्रव्यं सर्वस्यापि लोकस्य ग्रहणोपभोगक्षमं विद्यते तत् 'तत्र' आपणे न नास्ति, "द्वौ नञौ प्रकृत्यर्थं गमयतः" इति वचनाद् अस्त्येवेति भावः ॥४२१४॥

अथोत्कृष्ट-मध्यम-जघन्यमूल्यस्थानानि प्रतिपादयति–

पणतो पागतियाणं, साहस्सो होति इब्भमादीणं।
उक्कोस सतसहस्सं, उत्तमपुरिसाण उवधी उ ॥४२१५॥

प्राकृतपुरुषाणां प्रव्रजतामुधिः कुत्रिकापणसत्कः 'पञ्चकः' पञ्चरूपकमूल्यो भवति 'इभ्यादीनां' इभ्य-श्रेष्ठि-सार्थवाहादीनां मध्यमपुरुषाणां 'साहस्रः' सहस्रमूल्यः उपधिः। 'उत्तमपुरुषाणां' चक्रवर्त्ति-माण्डलिकप्रभृतीनामुपधिः शतसहस्रमूल्यो भवति। एतच्च मूल्यमानं जघन्यतो मन्तव्यम्, उत्कर्षतः पुनस्त्रयाणामप्यनियतम्। अत्र च पञ्चकं जघन्यम्, सहस्रं मध्यमम् शतसहस्रमुत्कृष्टम् ॥४२१५॥

कथं पुनरेकस्यापि रजोहरणादिवस्तुन इत्थं विचित्रं मूल्यं भवति? इत्युच्यते–

विक्किंतगं जधा पप्प होइ रयणस्स तव्विहं मुल्लं।
कायगमासज्ज तहा, कुत्तियमुल्लस्स णिक्कं ति ॥४२१६॥

यथा रत्नस्य मरकत-पद्मरागादेर्विक्रेतारं 'प्राप्य' प्रतीत्य तद्विधं मल्यं भवति, यादृशो मुग्धः प्रबुद्धो वा विक्रेता तादृशमेव स्वल्पं बहु वा मूल्यं भवतीति भावः, एवं 'क्रायकं' ग्राहकमासाद्य कुत्रिकापणे भाण्डमल्यस्य 'निष्कं' परिमाणं भवति, न प्रतिनियतं किमपीति भावः। इतिशब्दः स्वरूपोपदर्शने ॥४२१६॥

एवं ता तिविह जणे, मोल्लं इच्छाएँ दिज्ज बहुयं पि।
सिद्धमिदं लोगम्मि वि, समणस्स वि पंचगं भंडं ॥४२१७॥

एवं तावत् 'त्रिविधे' प्राकृत-मध्यमोत्तमभेदभिन्ने जने 'मूल्यं' पञ्चकादिरूपकपरिमाणं जघन्यतो मन्तव्यम्। इच्छया तु 'बह्वपि' यथोक्तपरिमाणादधिकमपि प्राकृतादयो दद्युः, न कोऽप्यत्र प्रतिनियमः। न चैतदत्रैवोच्यते, किन्तु लोकेऽपि 'सिद्धं' प्रतीतमिदम्, यथा–श्रमणस्यापि 'पञ्चकं' पञ्चरूपकमूल्यं भाण्डं भवति। इह च रूपको यस्मिन् देशे यद्नाणकं व्यवह्रियते तेन प्रमाणेन प्रतिपत्तव्यः ॥४२१७॥

अथ कुत्रिकापणः कथमुत्पद्यते? इत्याह–

पुव्वभविगा उ देवा, मणुयाण करिंनि पाडिहेराइं।
लोगच्छेरयभूया, जह चक्कीणं महाणिहयो ॥४२१८॥

'पूर्वभविकाः' भवान्तरसङ्गतिका देवाः पुण्यवतां मनुजानां 'प्रातिहार्याणि' यथाभिलषितार्थोपढौकनलक्षणानि कुर्वन्ति। यथा लोकाश्चर्यभूताः 'महानिधयः' नैसर्पप्रभृतयः 'चक्रिणां'

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भरतादीनां प्रातिहार्याणि कुर्वन्ति । वर्त्तमाननिर्देशस्तत्कालमङ्गीकृत्याविरुद्धः । एवं कुत्रिकापणा उत्पद्यन्ते ।।४२१८।।

ते चैतेषु स्थानेषु पुरा बभूवुः इति दर्शयति–

उज्जेणी रायगिहं, तोसलिनगरे इसी य इसिवालो ।
दिक्खा य सालिभद्दे, उवकरणं सयसहस्सेहिं ।।४२१९।।

उज्जयिनी राजगृहं च नगरं कुत्रिकापणयुक्तमासीत् । तोसलिनगरवास्तव्येन च वणिजा ऋषिपालो नाम वानमन्तर उज्जयिनी कुत्रिकापणात् क्रीत्वा स्वबुद्धिमाहात्म्येन सम्यगाराधितः, ततस्तेन ऋषितडागं नामसरः कृतम् । तथा राजगृहे श्रेणिके राज्यमनुशासति शालिभद्रस्य सुप्रसिद्धचरितस्य दीक्षायां शतसहस्राभ्याम् 'उपकरणं' रजोहरण-प्रतिग्रहलक्षणमानीतम्, अतो ज्ञायते यथा राजगृहे कुत्रिकापण आसीदिति पुरातनगाथासमासार्थः ।।४२१९।।

साम्प्रतमेनामेव विवणोति–

पज्जोए रसीहे, णव उज्जेणीय कुत्तिया आसी ।
भरुयच्छवणियऽसद्दह, भूयऽट्ठम सयसहस्सेणं ।। ४२२० ।।
कम्मम्मि अदिज्जंते, रुट्ठो मारेइ सो य तं घेत्तुं ।
भरुयच्छाऽऽगम, वावारदाण खिप्पं च सो कुणति ।। ४२२१ ।।
भीएण खंभकरणं, एत्थुस्सर जा ण देमि वावारं ।
णिज्जित भूततलागं, आसेण ण पेहसी जाव ।। ४२२२ ।।

चण्डप्रद्योतनाम्नि नरसिंहे अवन्तिजनपदाधिपत्यमनुभवति नव कुत्रिकापणं उज्जयिन्यामासीरन् ।

तदा किल भरुयच्छाओ एगो वाणियओ असद्दहंतो उज्जेणीए आगंतूण कुत्तियावणाओ भूयं मग्गइ । तेण कुत्तियावणवाणिएण चिंतियं–'एस ताव मं पवंचेइ तां एयं मोल्लेण वारेमि' त्ति भणियं—जइ सयसहस्से देसि तो देमि भूयं । तेण तं पि पडिवन्नं ताहे तेण भन्नइ पंचरत्तं उदिक्खाहि तओ दाहामि । तेण अट्ठमं काऊण देवो पुच्छिओ । सो भणइ–देहि, इमं च भणिहिज्ज–जइ कम्मं न देसि तो भूओ तुमं उच्छाएहिइ । 'एवं भवउ' त्ति भणित्ता गहिओ तेण । भूओ भणइ–कम्मं मे दे हि । दिन्नं, तं खिप्पमेव कयं । पुणो मग्गइ, अन्नं दिन्नं । एवं सव्वम्मि कम्मे निट्ठिए पुणो भणइ –देहि कम्मं । तेण भन्नइ एत्थं खंभे चडुत्तरं करेहि जाव अन्नं किंचि कम्मं न देमि । भूओ भणइ अलाहि, पराजितो मि, चिंधं ते करेमि–जाव नावलोएसि तत्थ तलागं भविस्सइ । तेण अस्से विलग्गिऊण बारस जोयणाइं गंतूणपलोइयं जाव तक्खणमेव कयं तेण भरुयच्छस्स उत्तरे पासे भूयतलागं नाम तलागं ।

अमुमेवार्थमभिधित्सुराह—"भरुयच्छ" इत्यादि ।। भरुकच्छवणिजा अश्रद्दधता 'भूतः' पिशाचविशेषः कुत्रिकापणे मार्गितः । ततोऽष्टमं कृत्वा शातसहस्रेण भूतः प्रदत्तः, इदं च भणितम्—कर्मण्यदीयमाने अयं 'रुष्टः, कुपितो मारयतीत्ति । स च भूतं गृहीत्वा भरुकच्छे आगमनं कृत्वा व्यापारदानं तस्य कृतवान् । स भूतस्तं व्यापारं क्षिप्रमेव करोति । ततः सर्वकर्मपरिसमाप्तौ वणिजा भीतेन भूतस्य पाश्चात् स्तम्भः एकः कारयाञ्चक्रे । ततस्तं भूतमभिहितवान्—यावदपरं व्यापारं न ददामि तावद् 'अत्र' स्तम्भे 'उत्सरः आरोहाऽवरोहक्रियां कुरु इति भावः । ततः स भूत उक्तवान्—निर्जितोऽहं भवता, अत आत्मनः पराजयचिह्नं करोमि । अश्वेन गच्छन् यावद् न प्रेक्षसे' न पश्चादवलोकसे तत्र प्रदेशे तडागं करिष्यामि इति भणित्वा तथैव कृते भूततडागं कृतवान् ।।४२२० ।। ४२२१ ।।

एमेव तोसलीए, इसिवालो वाणमंतरो तत्थ ।
णिज्जित इसीतलागे, रायगिहे सालिभद्दस्स ।।४२२३ ।।

'एवमेव' तोसलिनगरवास्तव्येन वणिजा उज्जयिनीमागम्य कुत्रिकापणात् ऋषिपालो नाम वानमन्तरः क्रीतः । तेनापि तथैव निर्जितेन ऋषितडागं नाम सरश्चक्रे । तथा राजगृहे शालिभद्रस्य रजोहरणं प्रतिग्रहश्च कुत्रिकापणात् प्रत्येकं शतसहस्रेण क्रीतः ।। ४२२३ ।।

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A NOTE ON THE VARṆAKAS OR TYPICAL DESCRIPTIONS

By

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One of the curious features of the prose portions of the Śvetāmbara Canonical Literature is the use of Varṇakas, or the set passages giving typical descriptions, of persons and things, i.e. animate as well as inanimate objects. These cliches or set passages are given in extenso in some of the works, and then elsewhere the reader is merely referred to these Stereotyped 'varṇakas', e.g. we get a sentence like तेणं कालेणं तेणं समएणं.... राया होत्था (वण्णओ) । धारिणी नाम देवी होत्था (वण्णओ) or चंपा नामं नयरी होत्था (वण्णओ) etc. Sometimes, the first and the last words in the passage are given, the two words being linked up by जाव (upto) e.g. सूमाला जाव सुरुवा etc. Besides these typical passages, there are also certain words and phrases, which, though usually synonymous and expressing the same sense or sentiments, are indicated merely by numerical figures; e.g. सक्के ३ stands for सक्के, देविंदे, देवराया; असण ४, असण, पाण, खाइम, साइम etc.

Then there are, what have been termed as 'pattern stories' (cf. Barnett *Antagaḍa Dvsao* Intr. p. IX). The Story is thus broken off by a mere reference to the story of some other character in some other text. It is mainly due to this that the European Scholars have remarked that the style of the prose works is 'as dry as dust' (Winternitz); or mechanical and uninteresting. And there is no gainsaying this much that the smooth flow of narration is certainly hampered by such devices. After every few lines, the reader is supposed to either recall or refer to some words, passages, or sometimes the whole of the story. One might then as well wonder and ask: What is the purpose of repeating such stories? Because given a sample story and a stock of proper names and names of places etc., the reader might be as well be left to weave out any number of stories and narratives out of them. And we are told that their feature is shared also by the Buddhist Canonical Literature; where also we get pattern stories and recurring passages called पेय्याल.

It is interesting to note that the Bengali has also retained this curious feature (cf. D. S. Sen: *Bengali Language and Literature*, quoted by Winternitz). "These are formulae which every Kathak has to get by heart,—set passages describing not only Śiva, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, Kriṣṇa and other deities, also

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describing a town, a battlefield, a morning, noon and night and many othejr subects which incidently occur in the course of the narration of a story. These set passages are composed in Sanskritic Bengali with a remarkable jingle of consonances, the effect of which is quite extra ordinary." We get the Varṇakas in the Canonical Literature of the Jainas of the following :—A city, a king, a queen, a sanctuary, bath-house, gymnasium, a palace, a forest, Mahāvira and so on.

Some other time, I also propose to present a critical study from literary and other points of these Varṇakas. For the present I am going to restrict myself only to the Genesis of such a device.

It is impossible to conceive that any single person or author might have been responsible for the composition of these Varnakas, or ready made descriptive set passages for the use of others. Every one conversant with the history of the reduction of the Jaina Canon is aware of the fact that the extant canon in its present form is due to the efforts of the two Councils, and particularly to the last Council held under the Presidentship of Devardhigaṇin Kṣamāśramaṇa (in the sixth century A.D.). It is very likely that at the last Council, the Canon was not only reduced to writing but they must have also set themselves to the work of preparing copies of all the works; so that the Canon should be preserved in a uniform tradition in all the various Bhaṇḍāras. And it is when they undertook this task, that they probably thought of the various devices to economise labour, time, as well as the writing material. And what probably must have happened is something like this :—The Council compared all the works wherein, e.g. a king or a queen or a temple etc. was described, and they brought together in one place all these descriptions, wrote them only in one place, making it a sort of exhaustive description to be used as a stock reference. That seems to me the only reasonable explanation for the heaping up of synonymous phrases and expressions. It was thus, a mere synthesis, without much of judicious choice. They might have, no doubt, in this manner lightened their task, but they left the stamp of tediousness and monotony on these portions of the Canon. Some of these works have, thus, lost their literary merit; and even the story interest is also negligible, as the stories, instead of being narrated in a natural form, are told in a mechanical and stereotyped form. In spite of this, we do get some occasional literary flashes, wherein the descriptive powers of those writers are evinced: cf. e.g. the description of the shipwreck in the *Nāyā*, Ch. IX. But such passages are only like an oasis in a big desert.

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THE MONTH AND THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

By

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While determining the date of the Mahābhārata war, we have to settle its month and year. The first question is comparatively easier and can be answered from the internal evidence of the epic. We shall take it up first.

1. Śrīkrishṇa started on his peace-making mission on the 12th day of the bright half of Kārtika—'कौमुदे मासि रेवत्यां शरदन्ते हिमागमे' (उद्योगपर्व 83, 7.)

2. Up to the fifth day of the dark half of Kārtika Kṛshṇa was in Hastināpura on his mission ; but the negotiations finally broke off. Thereupon he prepared for his return journey ; but before going, he made a last attempt to win over Karṇa to the side of the Pāṇḍavas.

3. Failing in this attempt Kṛshṇa forebodes a terrible war and expressed his opinion that the war may begin seven days after.

सप्तमाच्चाद्य दिवसादमावास्या भविष्यति ।
संग्रामो युज्यतां तस्यां तामाहुः शक्रदेवताम् ।। (उद्योग, 143, 18)

4. Duryodhana ordered his army to march to the battle-field on the 6th day of the dark half of Kārtika, the moon being in पुष्य नक्षत्र,

5. But Kṛshṇa's suggestion did not fructify. The interval was too short for the Pāṇḍavas, who ordered their army to move to the battlefield only after the arrival of Kṛshṇa and final consultation with him some days later.

6. Balarāma as a protest against this decision of waging war left off for pilgrimage. The moon was in Anurādhā on that day, मैत्रनक्षत्रयोग. This was at the end of the month of Kārtika.

7. The Pāṇḍavas not having completed their preparations delayed for some days more and hence Duryodhana sent Ulūka to goad Dharmarāja to begin the war without further delay. This mission of Ulūka and the reference therein to the

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worshipping of weapons on स्कंदषष्टी proves that the war had not begun on the new moonday of Mārgaśīrṣa.

8. The verse 'मघाविषयगः सोमस्तद्दिनं प्रत्यपद्यत' (भीष्म, 17.2) indicates that the war began on the day on which the moon was in an inauspicious नक्षत्र of the category of मघा. This description is applicable to भरणी नक्षत्र and not to रोहिणी or मृग.

9. The tradition current in *Bhāratasāvitrī* shows that the battle began on the 13th day of the bright fortnight, when the Nakṣatra also was Yamadevata, i.e. Bharaṇī. It is impossible to reconcile these statements. So the Nakṣatra being more important, it is better to make the date as the 11th day, Ekādaśī, when the Nakṣatra is Bharaṇī.

10. भारतसावित्री contains further inconsistencies. Abhimanyu was not killed on the very first day after Droṇa had become Commander-in-chief, but was killed on the third day. So also Bhagadatta was not killed after the fall of Abhimanyu but before it. Mace-duel (गदायुद्ध) took place not at midnight but before sun-set. So I have rearranged the time-table accordingly.

11. Ghaṭotkaca was killed on the fourth night which corresponds with मार्गशीर्ष कृ० १०. भारतसावित्री says that घटोत्कच was killed on मार्गशीर्ष कृ० ११. I have arranged my time-table to suit the description of the time of rising of the moon on the night after the death of Ghaṭotkaca. According to भारतसावित्री the war ends on अमावास्या. My theory is that the war ends one day before अमावास्या, because that night on which Aśvatthāmā destroyed the remnant of the army of the Pāṇḍavas is described as रौद्री निशा, which predicate is applicable to चतुर्दशी and not to अमावास्या.

12. According to वेदाङ्गज्योतिष the dark half of मार्गशीर्ष of that year consisted of fourteen days only, one तिथि being क्षयतिथि. भारतसावित्री does not take this क्षयतिथि into consideration. Therefore there appears to be a difference of two days in my calculations, when I place the beginning of the war on मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११; भारतसावित्री takes मार्गशीर्ष शु० १३ as the first day of the war. But there is a difference of one तिथि only about the end of the war. My time-table is more consistent with the description in the Mahābhārata of the fighting by night when the Moon is described as rising two hours after midnight after the fall of Ghaṭotkaca.

13. My calculation is based on simple arithmetic. According to Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa, उत्तरायण begins alternately on five different *Tithis* in the month of Māgha. The beginning

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of the Mahābhārata War is sixty-eight days before the day of the उत्तरायण,. Therefore we have the following alternatives :—

Beginning of उत्तरायण		Beginning of War
माघ शु० १	....	मार्गशीर्ष कृ० ७ Māgha being an intercalary month
माघ शु० १३	....	मार्गशीर्ष शु० ४
माघ कृ० १०	....	मार्गशीर्ष कृ० १
माघ शु० ७	....	कार्तिक कृ० १४
माघ कृ० ४	....	मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११

14. If the interval between the first day of the war and the last day of Bhīṣma's life is to be sixty-eight days, the war must begin on the various days as corresponding to the change of the day of the उत्तरायण.

15. The day of the उत्तरायण must tally with the description

माघोऽयं समनुप्राप्तो मासः सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर ।
त्रिभागशेषः पक्षोऽयं शुक्लो भवितुमर्हति ॥

and at the same time the corresponding day on which the war commenced must correspond to the description

मघाविषयगः सोमस्तद्दिनं प्रत्यपद्यत ॥

and also to the rising of the Moon, when the war was carried on during night. मार्गशीष शु० ११, as the day of the commencement of the war and माघ कृ० ४ as the day of the उत्तरायण satisfy all the above mentioned conditions as the night-fighting and the time of rise of the moon corresponds with the 10th day of dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa. Therefore मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११ is the day on which the Mahābhārata war commenced.

Objections against Dr. Daftari's date.

16. Dr. Daftari's main idea of separating the ill omens into two groups is unauthorised, untenable and unreasonable.

17. There is not the least indication in the verses to show that they point out the time when the work of writing the Bhārata was complete.

18. Why should that time be described as so very inauspicious as is done in the verses which Dr. Daftari assumes belong to the second group ?

19. Dr. Daftari's astronomical calculations mainly depend upon the position of the planet Mercury which, even in ordinary clear weather, is scarcely visible to the naked eye. Is it not

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then absurd to suppose that when the sky was dim with war-dust, somebody would have the leisure to see and the keen sight to find out whether Mercury was visible or non-visible on any particular day?

20. Dr. Daftari changes the readings in some of the verses from "श्वेतो ग्रहः" into श्यामो ग्रहः", "चित्रां" into "चैतां" and interchanges the words 'पुष्येण' and 'श्रवणे', apparently for no other purpose than to suit his own theory. This shows that his theory has no real foundation; he first starts with some presupposed theory and then changes the readings to suit it.

21. The verses "श्वेतो ग्रहः प्रज्वलितः" and "ध्रुवं प्रज्वलितो घोरं" describe the comet called "श्वेत" and 'सोमस्य पुत्रः' Therefore it is wrong to suppose that these verses indicate the position of the Venus or the Mercury.

22. Dr. Daftari regards the description of the rising of the moon in द्रोणपर्व as an interpolation, because it upsets his whole theory! That description of the rising of the moon forms part of the main events of the War and cannot be ignored or regarded as an interpolation. Any date that would be given as the beginning of the war must therefore be shown to be consistent with this description of the rising of the moon. The date I suggest is thoroughly consistent with this description.

23. Even after interchanging the words पुष्येण and श्रवणेन and making the verse to read as—"श्रवणे संप्रयातोऽस्मि पुष्येण पुनरागतः" Dr. Daftari cannot point out the day on which बलराम started on his pilgrimage and how the moon was in the श्रवण constellation on that day.

24. Dr. Daftari completely ignores the भारतसावित्री tradition and also sets at naught the fact that the greater part of the war was fought in the dark half of the month of मार्गशीर्ष, as is shown by the description of darkness at night.

25. My dates differ from those in the भारतसावित्री only by one or two days, and the reason for it is that भारतसावित्री does not attach due importance to the Nakṣatras. I have adjusted the *Tithis* to suit the Nakṣatras that are specially mentioned as foreboding evil things. Thus there being a specific mention of चित्रानक्षत्र as foreboding very great loss to the Kauravas (भी॰अ॰ 3.12) it easily suggests that जयद्रथवध and the loss of the greater part of the army of the Kauravas must have happened when the moon was in चित्रा. So also the fall of Karṇa is given on अनुराधानक्षत्र and the fall of Bhīṣma is taken to have happened on मघानक्षत्र and so on. In Dr. Daftari's time-table all the inauspicious Nakṣatras fall outside the range of his eighteen days.

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Now I proceed to discuss the year of the Mahābhārata War.

26. The traditional year of the Mahābhārata War adopted by the late Mr. C. V. Vaidya is 3101 B.C., when the Kaliyuga is supposed to have commenced. This date is too early to be true and gives rise to many historical inconsistencies.

27. The Vedic period was not yet over. The शतपथब्राह्मण was not yet written. Even the most ancient Upaniṣad was not yet ready. So the Gītā, which is an Upaniṣad, and which appears to be written as an improvement upon the doctrines contained in some of the older Upaniṣads, could not be told to Arjuna by Śrīkṛṣṇa on the battlefield in 3101 B.C.

28. B.C. 3000 to B.C. 2000 is regarded as the probable period when the ब्राह्मण literature such as ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, शतपथ-ब्राह्मण, तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण and the older Upaniṣads such as ईशावास्य, ऐतरेय, तैत्तिरीय, बृहदारण्यक and छांदोग्य were produced and became current.

29. The Rāmāyaṇa is regarded as history and its period is taken as somewhere between 2300 to 2500 B.C. and since the Pāṇḍavas came on the scene nearly 25 generations after, there must intervene at least some four to five centuries between the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhārat a war.

30. The dynasties given in the वायुपुराण, which is the oldest and a reliable पुराण, show that nearly 1500 years elapsed between the birth of परीक्षिति and the beginning of the reign of the Nandas. Since the date of the Nandas is B.C. 420, the birth of परीक्षिति, i.e. the date of Mahābhārata War, comes to about 1920 B.C.

31. "महादेवाभिषेकात्तु जन्म यावत्परीक्षितः ।
एकवर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पंचशतोत्तरम् ॥" (वायुपुराण)

This is the correct reading and is accepted in the Sacred Books of the Hindoos, Vol. XVII Part I, published in Benares. There is the same reading in the वायुपुराण lately found in तंजावर in Madras Presidency. Mr. F. G. Pargiter has noted this reading in many Purāṇas.

32. We arrive at nearly the same date by the different process of adding up the years of the reigns of the various kings that ruled in India since the Mahābhārata War. Thus बार्हद्रथ dynasty ruled for 1000 years. प्रद्योत dynasty ruled for 138 years, शैशुनाग dynasty ruled for 362 years. Then the Nandas ruled for 100 years. Afterwards चन्द्रगुप्त ascended the throne in 322 B.C., which date is the sheet-anchor of all ancient his-

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torical dates. The sum total of these comes to 1000+138+362+100+322=1922 B.C. Rai Bahadur श्रीसरच्चंद्रविद्यार्णव gives this very date.

33. There is no reason to suppose that the Purāṇas give fictitious dates. These traditions are handed down from generation to generation and they are noted down in the Purāṇas at least two thousand years ago ; for some of the oldest Purāṇas were written some centuries before the Christian Era.

34. Dr. Daftari's attempt to divide the given periods by two and thus to bring down the date of the Mahābhārata War to 1197 B.C. is an after-thought. For he starts with some pre-supposed notions and then distorts the texts to suit his own pet theory.

35. Thus historically speaking the year of the Mahābhārata War comes to 1922 approximately.

36. History cannot give more exact data than this. But if we can use astronomical evidence we can arrive at more exact dates.

37. The Mahābhārata contains many references to the position of the planets such as Saturn, Jupiter, Mars. By calculating the exact periods of their rotations we can find out the exact year in which the positions of all the seven planets tally with those mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

38. Astronomical calculation is an intricate subject, so it cannot be explained in the short space in this summary. But it will be explained to those who are interested in it.

39. By such calculations I have found out that the exact year of the Mahābhārata War is *1931 B.C.* i.e. *2009* before शककाल. And the exact तिथि of the commencement of the War is मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११ and the तिथि on which the War ended is मार्गशीर्ष कृ० १४

40. For the sake of accuracy we have to take the periods of different dynasties as below :—

बार्हद्रथ 1006, प्रद्योत 138, शैशुनाग 365 (वायुपुराण), नंद 100 and the date of चन्द्रगुप्त's coronation as 322 B.C. So the sum total take us to *1931* B.C.

40. The date of the commencement of the war which I have arrived at, has apparently one defect. The passing away of Bhīṣma does not correspond to भीष्माष्टमी as is traditionally observed.

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41. My explanation of this inconsistency is very obvious and simple. The epic nowhere specifically mentions that Bhīṣma passed away on माघ शु० ८. It simply says that he passed away on the day after the commencement of the उत्तरायण. But the उत्तरायण begins on different *Tithis* in different years. So after the passing away of भीष्म his श्राद्ध could not be performed on one and the same तिथि every year. So for a long time there was not one single तिथि which could be called भीष्मनिर्याणतिथि. After good many years, there was a change in the पंचांग and the उत्तरायण also began to commence in पौष month instead of माघ month. Then there was no necessity of changing the भीष्मनिर्याणतिथि from year to year. So those atsronomers who introduced the new पंचांग fixed the भीष्माष्टमी as the भीष्मनिर्याणतिथि to suit their more recent calculations. The month of माघ was specifically mentioned, and so the अष्टमी in the शुक्लपक्ष was regarded as the appropriate and convenient date coming after the रथसप्तमी, which day was once the beginning of the उत्तरायण. So भीष्माष्टमी is not to be taken as sacrosanct, because the epic does not mention that date, but only says that भीष्म passed away after 68 days from the beginning of the war or 58 days after his own fall or 50 days from the end of the war, that is on the next day after the commencement of the उत्तरायण. मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११ as the day of the commencement of the war, मार्गशीर्ष कृ० ६ as the day of the fall of भीष्म, मार्गशीर्ष कृ० १४ as the day on which the war ended and माघ कृ० ५ as the day next after the beginning of the उत्तरायण all tally with the description in the Mahābhārata and are consistent with one another. The date mentioned in भारतसावित्री does not tally with these calculations. Dr. Daftari's date is inconsistent with much of the description. So मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११ is to be taken as the date which suits each and every description in the epic.

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THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

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(1) All the four Purāṇas that give dynasties of kings, namely the Bhāgavata, the Viṣṇu, the Vāyu and the Matsya are agreed that 37 kings ruled between the War and the Nandas, that the Nandas ruled for hundred years, and that Candra gupta Maurya then became the ruler. There is no discrepancy between the Purāṇas on these points. The date of Candragupta Maurya has been ascertained to be 322 or 312 B.C. If one generation be held to be equal to twenty years, the approximate date of the War is therefore $3+22+(20\times37)=1162$ B.C. There can be no doubt on this point. See paragraph 59 and the dynasties in paragraph 156.[1]

(2) (*a*) The Purāṇas no doubt say that these 37 kings ruled for 1500 years, but that number of years is unreliable, being almost double of what it ought to be, for the average reign of one generation cannot much exceed twenty years. (See paragraphs 158 and 159). (*b*) Though the years of the twenty-two Bārhadratha kings are said to be 1000 years and are found by actual calculation to be 1092 at the greatest, they are taken to be 536 by the Purānas themselves in calculating the years between Parīkṣit and the Nandas (see paragraph 161-166) i.e., about half of what they are found to be from the lists of kings given by the Purāṇas. (*c*) The number of years of the last three Śaiśunāga kings given in the Purāṇas is exactly double of those given by Mahāvanso. The years of subsequent reigns are the same in both the Purāṇas and the Mahāvanso, (see paragraphs 168-172). These three points show that the number of years given by Purāṇas in the list of kings is double of the real. Why the Purāṇas gave the years after doubling them is explained by the fact that the words '*samā*' and 'varsha' *formerly* meant half a year. (See paragraphs 173-176). Mr. Karandikar's explanation that many unimportant kings are omitted from the lists of kings in the Purāṇas, though the years of their rule are included in the total years, is untenable (see paragraph 160).

(3) The statement in the Rāmāyaṇa that the rainy season began in Śrāvaṇa proves the approximate date of the war to be 1200 B.C. See paragraph 60.

[1] Paragraphs here refer to those in my book, *The Astronomical method and its application to the Chronology of Ancient India* published by the Nagpur University.

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(4) The length of the lunar month taken in the Mahābhārata calendar exceeds the real length of the same (see paragraphs 43-48, especially paragraph 46). The ratio between the length of the day and the *Tithi* was taken to be 64 to 63 (see paragraphs 145-147). In the *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa* the length of the lunar month is very much less than the real one and the ratio between the lengths of the day and the *Tithi* is taken to be 62 to 61 (see paragraphs 36-37). The Mahābhārata calendar is therefore proved to be an improved form of the calendar of the *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa,* whose date is proved by S. B. Dixit to be 1400 B.C. The date of the Mahābhārata calendar is therefore later than B.C. 1400. Even if we do not accept that the Mahābhārata calendar is an improved form of *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa* calendar, we will have to accept that they are very similar (see paragraphs 35-50). Therefore also we cannot accept 1900 B.C. for the Mahābhārata calendar, for had it come into existence in 1900 B.C. it must have been much improved by 1400 B.C. and then the crude *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* could not have come into existence at all in 1400 B.C.

(5) The statements in the Mahābhārata about the positions of the planets conflict with each other. This may be the result of interpolation or mistakes in readings. How to find out the reality is the question. This is my method to do it. Let us take the statement दीप्यमानाश्च संयेदुर्दिवि सप्तमहाग्रहा : (see paragraph 62). This may be either real or false, but it being a statement about all the planets at once, all statements consistent with it must go along with it and must form a group, named the first group ; by themselves they may be either real or false. The other statements that are left are only two verses and being consistent with each other and being near each other form the second group. We, therefore, infer that either of these two groups must be real. We find the years from each of these groups and ascertain if they can give the eclipses mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Only one year from the first group i.e. 1197 B.C. (1695.3 by my way of calculating time ; see paragraphs 82-93) stands the test. (See paras 86-93).

(6) This year gives all the eclipses mentioned in the Mahābhārata (see paragraphs 94 to 100). It also explains the total solar eclipses and the unambiguous positions of the planets mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa.* See paragraphs 101-107. Any one who proposes any other date for the war must show that he can explain all these. No one has yet been able to find out such a date. Therefore 1197 B.C. must be accepted as the real date of the war.

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(7) This date also agrees exactly with that obtained from the Purāṇas (see paragraph 167).

(8) The year of the War being thus fixed, the day i.e. the month and the *Tithi* works out to be the *Amāvāsyā* of Kārtika (See paragraphs 108-114, noting the calculation in paragraph 113).

(9) Planets calculated for this day and for the 18th day therefrom explain all the statements about the planets in the first group. See paragraphs 117-132. Any one who proposes any other day and date must show that he can explain all these statements.

(10) The year 1197 B.C. also explains how the second group came into the Mahābhārata, see paras 133-141. It shows the position of the planets when Vyāsa finished the compilation of the Bhārata and was put in along with 1st group by subsequent editors.

(11) It is a fact that there are inconsistencies in the Mahābhārata and in the Purāṇas too. But what is the remedy? It is not to suppose all statements to be imaginary and false, as the late C. V. Vaidya did, nor it is is to take any one statement and to build castles of imagination upon the same and to neglect all other statements or to misinterpret them as Mr. J. S. Karandikar does (see paragraph 236). We must bear it in mind that these inconsistencies are caused by our incorrect interpretation, by mistakes in readings or by interpolation, and then we must examine all the statements and search out the hidden truth. We must not accept any statement to be an interpolation if correct reading or correct interpolation explains the inconsistencies, and we must not correct a reading if correct interpolation removes inconsistencies, see paragraphs 15-23. We should use for calculating by astronomy only those statements, the interpretation of which is not in doubt, (see para 25); but after calculating the date we can reconcile the date with the statements by supposing a mistake in reading or in interpretation if well supported; see para 25. If these points are kept in mind, it will be seen that the date proved by me is correct and that the corrections in the text and interpretation proposed by me are quite acceptable; see paras 223-227 where the interchange of "श्रवणे" and "पुष्येण" is proposed, and see paragraph 130 where I propose "चैत्तां" for "चित्रां" and see also paragraphs 126-127 and 129. About my suggestion that the description of moon-rise in Droṇaparvan is an interpolation provoked by the interchange of "श्रवणे" and "पुष्येण", see paragraphs 238-242. Thus if the corrupted condition of

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the texts is properly considered and astronomy be relied upon, my date of the War can be accepted as correct.

(12) This date should rather be accepted as a basis upon which to build the conclusions about Kali Yuga etc. and should not be rejected on account of the current ideas about Kali Yuga (see paragraphs 245-248).

Reply to Mr. Karandikar's objections.

(13) In paragraph 5[1], Mr. Karandikar says that Śrī Kṛshṇa's suggestion about the day on which the war was to be commenced, did not fructify. This is not supported by any direct statement in the Mahābhārata. It is an inference of Mr. Karandikar. But that inference is incorrect as shown in paragraph 236 sub-paragraph 2 of my book. Mr. Karandikar says that the interval of seven days between the day of the return of Kriṣṇa and the day on which the war was proposed was too short. Can Mr. Karandikar say that he knows better than Śrī Kṛshṇa or that he can make a more correct estimate of the time required for preparing for the fight, than Śrī Kṛshṇa did? Of course he cannot.

(14) Mr. Karandikar's statement in paragraph 6 that Balarāma went away for pilgrimage, on the day on which the Moon was in the Anurādhā, is quite true. But his statement in the same paragraph that the day was the end of the month of Kārtika is wrong. It was really one day previous to the day proposed by Kṛshṇa, for the *nakṣatra* of the day proposed by Kṛshṇa i.e. of the new moon day was Jyeshṭhā, as shown in paragraphs 54 and 55 of my book.

(15) None of Mr. Karandikar's suppositions in paragraph 7 are supported by any statements in Mahābhārata. That Ulūka was sent because Pāṇḍavas delayed and that *lohābhihāra* referred to by Ulūka means worship of arms on Skandaṣaṣṭī is not supported by any statement in the Mahābhārata. As a matter of fact, *lohābhihāra* means only "arming oneself" (See Apte's dictionary), and does not mean worship at all. It may almost mean worship of arms before a battle. It need not mean annual worship of arms. There is no evidence to show that the day of the annual worship of arms was Skandaṣaṣti in those days or to show that the arms were worshipped every year.

[1] References are to the paragraphs in Mr. Karandikar's paper at the beginning of this section, pp. —480.

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(16) Mr. Karandikar's argument in paragraph 8 is fully refuted in paragraphs 62-64 of my book. The second half of the verse "मघाविषयगः सोमः" says that all the seven planets met together. Mr. Karandikar neglects this statement altogether when construing the first half of the verse. The Sun was in the Jyeshṭha or near Jyeshṭha as the day was near about Kārtika Amāvasyā. The Moon could not be far away from Jyeshṭha, for all the seven planets met together. The Moon can therefore be inferred to have been only in Mūla, Mūla being the ninth *nakṣatra* from Maghā.

(17) Bhāratasavitri is no part of the Mahābhārata. It is only an attempt, like that of Mr. Karandikar, to solve the riddle of the *Tithi* of the day on which the War began and is not authoritative, especially as Mr. Karandikar admits that there are inconsistencies in it and as he himself does not follow it wholly. The description of the last night of the fight as '*raudrī* can simply mean, "terrible", and does not necessarily mean a particular *Tithi*.

(18) In paragraphs 12 to 15 Mr. Karandikar suggests, giving reasons, that the War began on the 11th of the bright half of Mārgashīrsha, and I admit that the suggestion is a very intelligent one. But his suggestion is not supported by the positions of the planets and eclipses given in the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṁśa. The only year that gives *all these* is 1197 B.C. Mr. Karandikar's year does not give all these (see paragraph 236 of my book); nor can any other year give them. We have therefore to accept the year 1197 B.C. If that year is accepted, we have to accept Amāvasyā of Kārtika as the *Tithi* on which the war began; for the Uttarāyaṇa then begins when the Sun is in Dhanishṭhā and that must be within 68 days from the Amāvasyā of Kārtika (see paragraphs 113-4 of my book). If we do not do this, we have to reject almost all the statements about planets and eclipses. It is better to regard the description of the Moon-rise on the night of the 14th day of the fight as an interpolation. Mr. Karandikar also has to regard the verse चत्वारिंशद्दिनान्मद्यद्वे च मे etc. as an interpolation, for the Nakṣatra on the last day of the War according to Mr. Karandikar is Mūla, while according to the above verse, it is Śravaṇa. But the verse is not an interpolation as shown in paragraphs 230 to 235 of my book, in the year of the War the Uttarāyaṇa actually commenced on the 7th day of the bright half of Māgha and not on the 4th day of the dark half of Māgha. In paragraph 242 of my book I have shown why my *Tithi* and year should be accepted and I hope the reasons given there will appeal to all reasonable men.

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Now I will consider Mr. Karandikar's objections against my date of the War.

(19) Mr. Karandikar says in paragraph 16 that I have no authority for separating the astronomical statements into two groups. This is replied to in paragraph 5 above. All statements consistent with दीप्यमानाश्च संपेतुर्दिवि सप्तमहाग्रहाः must of course group with it and the others being consistent with themselves of course form the other group. I have not assumed any of the groups to be true, but I have proved with the help of the eclipses that the first is true.

(20) Mr. Karandikar says there is no indication that the second group points out the date of finishing the Bhārata epic. The dates of the two groups stand apart by three years and Vyāsa took three years to write the work. Is not that a suffic ent indication?

(21) Mr. Karandikar asks (para 18) why the time of finishing is described as inauspicious. As a matter of fact it is not so described (see paragraph 78 of my book). All statements in which planetary positions are said to be ominous fall in the first group (see paragraphs 80, 118-128).

(22) Mr. Karandikar's contention (para 19) that my astronomical calculations depend mainly upon the planet Mercury is wrong. I have not made any use of Venus or Mercury for calculating the years from the first group. I have found the years without them and the eclipses have confirmed only one of them (see paragraphs 86 to 96 of my book). I have found the years from the second group without the help of Mercury and the eclipses have not confirmed any of them. Thus Mercury has not been used at all for getting the year. But when Mercury is calculated for the year already obtained, we get it exactly as described in the Mahābhārata and this confirms the year and also the *Tithi* still further (see paragraphs 119, 122, 123 and 120 of my book). Mercury may not be ordinarily visible; but astronomers see it very often and Sañjaya has given the position of Mercury. It must be therefore held that he tried to see it. Nor was there any impediment of the dust; for as the planet was seen in the East and in the morning before the fight began, there could be no dust.

(23) My year and my *Tithi* is proved without the help of any changes in the readings. I suggest changes in readings only to reconcile other statements in the Mahābhārata with my year and *Tithi*. See paragraph 11 above and No. 25 of my book. I have not suggested श्यामोग्रहः for श्वेतोग्रहः ; I have

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found it in the Madras Edition (see paragraph 124); I have suggested the interchange of "श्रवणे" and पुष्येण but I have given a very good reason for the happening of the interchange i.e. the misunderstanding the meaning of the verse रोहिणीये गते शूरे (see paragraphs 224 and 225 of my book). The word गते which really means "went to the Pāṇḍavas" was misunderstood to mean" "went away from the Pāṇḍavas". It should be noted that Vaiśampāyana, who is the speaker of the verse and who was speaking at Hastināpura to Janamejaya, could not use *āgate* for the "going of Balarāma to the Pāṇḍavas then at Upalaya or Virāṭāpura".

(24) The well-known meaning of *Śvetagraha* is Venus and that of *Somasya putra* is Mercury. Mr. Karandikar has to abandon these well-known meanings and has to resort to obscure meanings perhaps even devised to remove inconsistencies in the Mahābhārata. This is rather a point in my favour and against Mr. Karandikar and not against me as he suggests in para 21.

(25) With reference to para 22 of Mr. Karandikar, I am to observe that I am quite right in holding the description of the Moon-rise in Droṇaparva to be an interpolation. I have suggested only one interpolation, while Mr. Karandikar has to resort to many interpolations; because all the statements that he ignores are interpolations from his standpoint. What is better, one interpolation or many ? I have moreover shown how this interpolation can be provoked after the interchange of *Sravaṇa* and Pushyeṇa (see paragraph 241 of my book). There are inconsistencies in the Mahābhārata; that is an admitted fact; and they ought to be removed by doing the least violence to the text. Mine is the least violence, since the only change I propose is the interchange of "*Śravaṇa*" and Pushyeṇa and the interpolation of the Moon-rise is a result of the same.

(26) In paragraph 23, Mr. Karandikar says that I cannot point out the day of Balarāma's departure from the Pāṇḍavas for pilgrimage. This is absolutely wrong. Paragraph 226 of my book shows that Balarāma went away from the Pāṇḍavas for pilgrimage on the day of Anurādhā Nakṣatra, the day previous to the day on which the War began according to me, and not on the day of Śravaṇa Nakṣatra. The previous Śravaṇa is the constellation on which Balarāma started from Dwārakā to go to the Pāṇḍavas at Upalavya; (see paragraph 223 of my book for the correct meaning of the expression श्रवणे संप्रयातोस्मि,

(27) As to Mr. Karandikar's 24th para, I have to observe that the Bhāratasāvitrī has been rightly ignored by me, it

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being only quite apparently an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the conflicting statements in the Bhārata. It must be noted here that it is illogical and dangerous to rely upon astrological considerations as Mr. Karandikar does.

(28) Mr. Karandikar finds his year of the Mahābhārata War from a reading in the Vāyu Purāṇa (para 31). But he does not explain why there are also different readings in the other manuscript of the same. He does not discuss which reading is acceptable. He ignores the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas that mention in unambiguous words that 1000 years only and not 1500 passed between Parikshita and Nandas in the verse यदा मघाभ्यो यास्यंति &c. (see paragraph 162 and Note 71 on page 85 of my book). If this verse is taken into consideration, it will show that the reading relied upon by Mr. Karandikar is the result of an attempt to reconcile conflicting statements in the Purāṇas and that it cannot be relied upon in view of the very much weightier considerations set forth in paragraphs above, especially in view of the statement in the Mahāvaṃśa referred to therein. It should be noted that Mr. Karandikar's suggestion that every other king is omitted by the Purāṇas but that the years of his reign are included in those of the kings mentioned, is strange and disproved by the statements in the Mahāvaṁśa (see paragraph 160 of my book).

(29) Mr. Karandikar avoids here the discussion of the positions of the planets given in the Mahābhārata. But he has given the result of his calculations in the "Kesari" of the 27th January of 1939. He gets Jupiter in Jyeshṭhā (226/53) which agrees neither with the first group nor with the second. He gets Saturn in Jyeshṭhā (233/11) which agrees with neither group; the longitude of Jyeshṭhā is 230. It should be noted that in the first group Jupiter and Saturn are said to be near Viśākhā whose longitude is 210. He gets Mars in Punarvasu (91/35) which does not agree with any group and therefore he misconstrues the words मघास्वंगारको वक्रः to mean that, or he thinks that the retrograde Mars in Punarvasu or Pushya has its *dṛṣṭi* upon Maghā; whence does Mr. Karandikar get Punarvasu or Pushya and whence does he get the *dṛṣṭi*? He gets Venus in Purvāṣādhā (263/14) which agrees with neither group and it could not have been seen in the East in the morning on the 18th day of the war as stated in भृगुसूनुधरापुत्रौ, etc. (see paragraph 70 of my book), its longitude being greater than that of the sun. He gets Mercury in Jyeshṭhā 238/18, but it could not have been seen being too near the sun that at 237/55; and it could not have been seen in the East in the morning on the

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18th day of the War, as stated in भृगुसूनुधरापुत्रौ, etc. its longitude being greater than of the Sun. This very verse shows that Mars was not in Punarvasu as Mr. Karandikar concludes. Mr. Karandikar has not given the results of his calculation of eclipses. It appears that he has not calculated them. He has not calculated the positions of the planets and the total eclipse of the Sun at the time of the killing of Kaṁsa given in the *Harivaṁśa* in unambiguous language, as I have done, see paragraphs 101-107, of my book. See also paragraph 236 there.

In spite of these serious defects, Mr. Karandikar claims that his date is based and supported by astronomical considerations; who will admit his claim? The weighty consideration given in paragraph 4 above does not even enter his mind. His discussion is quite superficial and one-sided and his proposition must therefore be rejected.

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THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

MR. KARANDIKAR'S REPLY TO DR. DAFTARI.

(1) Paragraph 13 :[1] Kṛshṇa's suggestion was only a tentative one. It cannot be accepted as a proof that the war actually began on Amāvāsyā unless corroborated by some other reference to Amāvāsyā as the day on which war did begin. The Bhārata nowhere mentions it. On the contrary the description of dark nights just after sun-set shows that the fortnight during which the war was fought was the dark one.

(2) Paragraph 14 : Balarāma started on his pilgrimage when the moon was in Anurādhā. It might be that Amāvāsyā actually had begun or that Caturdaśi was culminating in Amāvāsyā. It is after all a minor point.

(3) Paragraph 15 : Ulūka was actually sent by Duryodhana to the Pāṇḍavas with a taunt for their delaying tactics. If the war did really begin on Amāvāsyā as suggested by Śrī Kṛshṇa where was the necessity to send the messenger ? The very fact that such a message was sent is itself a proof that there was some delay. "Lohābhihāra" has actually been explained by the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha to be the ceremony of worship of war weapons and horses. The sixth day of bright-half of Mārgaśīrsha is the Skanda-Shashṭhī and is an annual worship-day of arms for Kshatriyas.

(4) दीप्यमानाश्च संपेतुर्दिवि सप्त महाग्रहाः is only an exaggeration of evil omens, just as on every day of calamity there is the repetition of the stock-ill-omen राहुरग्रसदादित्यमपर्वणि विशांपते । Dr. Daftari tries to fix up an eclipse of the Sun wherever this expression occurs. It is misunderstanding the colloquial phrase.

(5) Paragraph 17 : Bhārata-Sāvitrī shows us what the current tradition was; so it cannot be ignored altogether. Inconsistencies creep up when later generations fail to catch the exact meaning of certain old technical words and unwarily try to explain their own interpretation in new words. But the whole of the tradition of Bhārata-Sāvitrī cannot be unceremoniously brushed aside.

(6) Paragraph 18 : The whole paragraph is meaningless. It is simply an unauthorised asertion that "I am right and Karandikar is wrong."

[1] References are to the paragraphs in Dr. Daftari's paper, ante, pp. 481-9 .

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(7) Paragraphs 19-21: Dr. Daftari has separated the astronomical statements in two groups referring to two different periods. There is absolutely no proof given in support of this queer idea. What Dr. Daftari simply says is this:—"My theory is that this is one of the confusions created by subsequent editors of the Bhārata" (Page 70 of Daftari's book). Can this idea of throwing the blame on the writers carry conviction to the mind of any reader?

This idea of separating the verses into two groups is the very basis of Daftari's whole theory. So his whole theory topples down when the base is shaken.

(8) Paragraph 22: Dr. Daftari's calculation depends much upon the position of the Mercury. Dr. Daftari admits "Mercury may not be ordinarily visible; but astronomers see it very often and Sañjaya has given the position of Mercury. It must therefore be held that he tried to see it." When the mind of everybody was engrossed by the events of the war, Sañjaya was leisurely trying to see the Planet Mercury. And that too during the din of the battle and when the sky was full of dust. Dr. Daftari says that there was no dust because the Mercury was observed in the morning. But this is going against the text. The verse सोमस्य पुत्रोऽभ्युदियाय तिर्यक् occurs while describing the state at the time of the death of Karṇa, which occured in the evening.

(9) Paragraph 23: The changes in "readings" such as श्वेत: into श्याम: and interchanging the places of पुष्येण and श्रवणे is unwarranted. Even after interchanging the words Dr. Daftari cannot explain the fact that Balarāma did not start on his pilgrimage on Śravaṇa. To suppose that Balarāma refers to his starting from Dvārakā and not from the Pāṇḍavas is absurd, for while relating the account of his pilgrimage his starting from the camp of the Pāṇḍavas is relevant and not the starting from Dvārakā. Even supposing that it refers to his starting from Dvārakā, it requires corroboration and the Moon cannot be in Śravaṇa on any such day.

(10) Paragraph 24: सोमस्य पुत्र: does mean Budha; but here this planet being invisible, this expression should be taken to mean the Comet which is supposed to be the son of the Moon.

(11) Paragraphs 25-26: The description of the Moon-rise in Droṇaparva after the death of Ghaṭotkaca cannot be an interpolation, for the battle could not be renewed without Moon-light and the time of the rise of the Moon does fix up the *Tithi* correctly. This goes against the theory of Dr. Daftari;

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so he resorts to the usual and convenient theory of calling it an interpolation.

(12) Paragraph 27: Dr. Daftari ignores the Bhārata-Sāvitrī tradition and gives unconvincing and fanciful reasons for it.

(13) Paragraph 28: Out of all the readings of the verse, एकवर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पंचशतोत्तरम् is the most consistent reading and therefore I have adopted it. Whenever there are different readings, we can choose any one of them which gives the correct and consistent sense. The skill lies in making the appropriate choice and not in ignoring all the different readings.

(14) Paragraph 29: The positions of the planets given by me are consistent with my interpretation of the different verses. To make them applicable to the wrong interpretations of the verses as given by Dr. Daftari and then to say that the planets' positions are inaccurate is surely not a correct method of criticism. For instance, I have never assumed that Mercury was visible. So the position of Mercury given by me can be correct according to my reading of the verse. The same explanation is applicable to the position of all other planets. I am nowhere inconsistent with myself.

(15) One glaring instance as to how Dr. Daftari imposes any imaginary meaning on any verse in the Mahābhārata will expose his way of arguing. In Strīparvan there is the following verse:—

यस्मात्परस्परं घ्नन्तो ज्ञातयः कुरुपांडवाः ।
उपेक्षितास्ते गोविन्द तस्माद्ज्ञातीन्वधिष्यसि ।
त्वमप्युपस्थिते वर्षे षट्त्रिंशे मधुसूदन ॥

In this Gāndhārī pronounces a curse that the Yādavas will destroy one another in the thirty-sixth year. Gāndhārī is saying this at the end of the Bhārata War; so any one may naturally think that this curse is to fructify in the thirty-sixth year from the termination of the war. But this interpretation does not suit Dr. Daftari's pet theory. So he imposes his own interpretation that thirty-six years are to be calculated, not from the day on which the curse was pronounced, but from the date of the Rājasūya sacrifice. Can anyone fairly suppose that at the time of cursing Śrīkṛshṇa, Gāndhārī meant the period to be measured from Rājasūya? Gāndhārī had not even attended that ceremony and it can never have been uppermost in her mind. But Dr. Daftari imposes that meaning on the verse without the least reason or authority for it.

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THE DATE OF THE MAHÂBHÂRATA WAR.

By Prof. P. C. Sengupta, Calcutta.

A criticism of Dr. Daftari's views.

1. Dr. Daftari has found his data from very wrong places of the great epic. The planetary positions in the *utpātalakṣaṇas* of the Mahābhārata and of chapter 3 of the *Bhiṣmaparva* specially, are *hopelessly inconsistent*; and were not true either for the time of the Pāṇḍavas or for any other time,—*a set of lies* stating bad omens portending dire consequences to come,–work of an astrologer whose data cannot be much prior to that of Varāhamihira (550 A.D.). If the word एकाह्ना means the same day of the week, the date cannot be earlier than 400 A.D. Here the mention of so many planets makes the statements most unreliable. This basis was used by Lele and it lead to the fantastic date of 5229 B.C. Bentley worked on the horoscopes of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa and arrived at the dates of the 6th April, 961 B.C. and the 7th August, 600 A.D. both of which are unacceptable.

2. Dr. Daftari, a knocker out of all traditions, pins his faith in a selection from the lies referred to above, and attempts to solve the problem of his own making, viz., to find the time when :

> Sun 245°, Mars 211°, Jupiter 211° and Saturn 211° and finishes with the solution :
>
> Sun 251° Mars 235° Jupiter 218° and Saturn 216° on November 21,—1197 A.D., at Kurukṣetra, Mean time 6 A.M.

His is only a partial solution of his own problem, it cannot have anything to do with the year of the Bhārata Battle.

3. His allegation that the new-moon on Nov. 20, —1197 A.D. was the *Kārtika amāvāsyā* of the year is incorrect. It was really the *Agrahāyaṇa amāvāsyā*, both according to the modern calendar and the Vedāṅga calendar. The new-moon on Nov. 20, —1197 A.D. is similar to the new-moon on December 21, 1938 of our time. In the Vedāṅga five yearly lunisolar cycle, which may be truly started from February 4, 1935 to last till February 8, 1940 A.D., the new-moon on December 21, falls in the *Anuvatsara* and not in the *Idāvatsara* or *Idvatsara*. Hence the new-moon on Nov. 20, —1197 A.D. also fell in the *Anuvatsara* (4th year) of the corresponding lunisolar cycle of the time.

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In both the calendars in the first three years there are 37 lunations, hence in the *Anuvatsara* there are 12 lunations having the same names in both the calendars. Dr. Daftari's position on this point is untenable. (In the modern calendar one intercalary month comes in the mean period of two years and eight and half months of the sidereal measure, and in 2½ years of the Vedaṅga calendar. In the Saṁvatsara and the Anuvatsara the lunar months have the same names in both the calendars).

4. His solution is incorrect as he fails to bring about the *nakṣatra Puṣyā* on the day of the mace-duel. It actually comes out as *Pūrvaphalgunī*. His drastic alteration of one *Mahābhārata* text and his repudiating another *Mahābhārata* reference, viz., the rising of a crescent moon in the last quarter of the night following the 14th day of the battle, are of no avail to him. Dr. Daftari omits to give the moon's *nakṣatra* for the day of the mace-duel, for reasons best known to him.

5. Dr. Daftari's solution is again totally in error when we come to examine another point. He accepts that Bhīṣhma expired on the 68th day from Nov. 21, —1197 A.D. The date in question is readily seen to be the 27th January, —1196 A.D. on which Bhīṣhma expired according to Dr. Daftari's finding. But the Sun turned north about the 1st January, —1196 A.D. i.e. about 26 days before Bhīṣhma's expiry. In this case also Dr. Daftari avoids calculation.

6. Dr. Daftari translates (on page 18 of his book) चंद्र-सूर्यावुभौ ग्रस्तावेकमासीं त्रयोदशीम् "Both the Sun and the Moon were eclipsed on the 13th *Tithi* of the same month."

He has evidently changed the order 'moon and sun' to 'sun and moon' to suit his purpose, forgetting that an eclipse fo the sun followed by an eclipse of the moon cannot be interpreted as having occured in the same lunar month, which is reckoned from the light half (from a first visibility of the crescent to the next. (उद्दृष्टः पूर्वमहर्भवति *Sat. Br.*, quoted by Dīkṣita). As he accepts that in the Mahābhārata calendar the months began with the light half, what he says in support of his finding fo the year of the Bhārata-battle on this ground on page 44 fo his book is self-contradictory. The phenomenon of a lunar eclipse followed by a solar eclipse in the same lunation is the true meaning of the text, but this is not of unusual occurrence; it cannot provide a sure basis for calculation.

7. Dr. Daftari is again incorrect when he translates the word '*Aṅgāraka*' by 'Venus'. Hence what he says in support of his solution by this process is meaningless. We may ask

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Daftari if he has ever seen Mars in opposition. *Venus is the white planet* and *Mars the red planet* in Sanskrit literature.

8. It can be reasonably established that in the period in which the *Ṛgveda* was developed, of which the lower limit must have been the date of the Bhārata-battle, the only planets discovered or noticed were the Sun, Moon, Jupiter and Venus spoken of variously as *Venā, Vena, Sūrya* or *Sūryaṣya duhitā*. The remaining five of the nine planets, are not mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. When about 400-500 A.D., the 'nine planets' came to be regarded as gods, the appropriate *ṛcas* for libations to be made for their propitiation could be found for the Sun and Jupiter only from the *Ṛgveda*. It has therefore been quite illogical for Daftari to base his problem on any part of the *utpātalakṣaṇas* which speak of so many planets. His wrong selection of premises has led to a wrong result.

9. Dr. Daftari expresses —1197 A.D., as 1197 B.C., and in another place —2448 A.D. as 2448 B.C. This is against the international convention. He should have expressed his dates correctly in the Julian calendar. Again in the expression 'the 9th *Tithi* of the *Chaitra Vadya* in Śaka 421', Daftari says that this figure '421' shows the current year; the past years are 420. This is also incorrect and all this has been very confusing. For a book written in English meant for international scholars, such misexpressions should never occur. There are other misexpressions in the book, e.g., when he speaks of 'aphelion' of the sun and the moon.

The whole of Daftari's work thus loses its sole foundations as his finding of the year of the *Bhārata* battle has been vitiated by an incorrect selection of data. He is further inaccurate in the solution of the problem of his own making; he is mistaken in calling the new-moon Nov. 20, —1197 A.D., the *Kārtika-amāvāsyā* of the year. He has failed to bring about the *nakṣatra Puṣyā* on the day of the mace-duel and has failed also in bringing about the winter solstice day one or two days before his date of Bhīṣhmā's expiry. He is also incorrect in translating and using the *Mahābhārata* text on the two eclipses in the same lunation.

Although Dr. Daftari fails to express his dates correctly in Julian calendar, he is good as a calculator of planetary positions. That he is a patient worker is also true, but it seems to us inexplicable how he could overlook such flaws in his findings.

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DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR.

Dr. Daftari's reply to Prof. Sengupta.

(1) The data upon which I base my date of the Mahābhārata War have been described by Mr. Sengupta as "a set of lies stating bad omens, portending dire consequences to come,—work of an astrologer whose date cannot be much prior to that of Varāhamihira (550 A.D.)." This is all imaginary and has no basis; because actually in no verse of the first or the second group (see paragraphs 62-78 of my book *"The astronomical method and its application to the Chronology of Ancient India"* the planetary positions mentioned therein are described as omens or portends. The only verses that describe planetary positions as omens are

चंद्रसूर्यांवुभौ ग्रस्तौ एकाह्ना हि त्रयोदशीम्। अपर्वणि ग्रहेणैतौ प्रजासंक्षयमिच्छतः॥
चंद्रसूर्याविभौ ग्रस्तौ एकमासीं त्रयोदशीं। अपर्वणि ग्रहेणैतौ प्रजाः संक्षपयिष्यतः॥

and these have been misconstrued by all before me. I am the first to point out the real meanings of एकाह्ना and त्रयोदशी (see paragraph 16 of my book). Accepting my meaning of एकाह्ना Mr. Sengupta objects that the days of the week were unknown in the days of the Mahābhārata War. My reply to this is given in paragraph 44 and the note to paragraph 299. It is not impossible to describe two eclipses at an interval of 14 days happening on त्रयोदशी by the calculation of these days, as omens after having actually seen the destruction caused by the War. Hence we cannot reject these verses as interpolations. On the contrary we must regard them as the true indications of the date of the War. Mr. Sengupta supposes that all discrepancies and absurdities are caused by interpolations. This is wrong. They may be the result of our misunderstanding or of misreadings also. If we have to do the least violence to the text, it is best to suppose that they are caused by our misunderstanding, and it is next best to suppose that they are caused by misreadings. But it is worst to suppose that they are caused by interpolations. Therefore the idea of an interpolation is to be entertained only as a last resort and not as a usual occurence as Mr. Sengupta does.

Failures of Lele or Bentley do not help Mr. Sengupta. They never gave their thoughts to the discrepancies and absurdities in the works before them and to the way out of the discrepancies and absurdities.

(2) Yes, I have knocked out all traditions because the traditions did not give any reliable result. Mr. Sengupta says that the solution obtained by me is partial; but he does not

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give any reasons for this statement; therefore it is difficult to understand what he means. Does he mean that the planetary positions in the solution obtained differ by a few degrees from those in the problem, and hence the solution is wrong? From what he spoke in the conference, I understood that he meant this. This is extremely unlike a mathematician; for, the planetary positions in the problem are only approximate and not exact, and though we get the same positions again and again at certain intervals, we get them only approximately the same and not exactly the same, on account of the incommensurability of the Periods of Revolutions of the planets with respect to each other. Therefore we have only to see if the positions in the solution agree with the description in the Bhārata. I have shown in paragraphs 117 to 142 that they do agree.

(3) I have never alleged that the new-moon on November 20,—1197 A.D. was कार्तिक अमावास्या. In fact I have not given my day of the beginning of the war in terms of the Julian calendar. I have stated in paragraph 142 that the date was 16953 years from my starting point mentioned in paragraph 83, and I have stated that that date was कार्तिक अमावास्या according to the calendar of those days, but actually the Pratipadā of the bright half of Pausha. Therefore I mean that the कार्तिक of those days was really the मार्गशीर्ष called the आग्रहायण by Mr. Sengupta. It is absolutely wrong to say, as Mr. Sengupta does, that the 20th November was कार्तिक अमावास्या even according to the calendar of those days. Mr. Sengupta regards a modern cycle from 4th February, 1935 A.D. to 8th February, 1940 A.D. as being the same as the cycle of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa and draws inference therefrom. This is quite incorrect. For, though both consist of 1830 days, the Sun goes 1804° in the former and only 1800° in the latter and the Moon goes only 24113° in the former and 24120° in the latter. How can we regard both these cycles as the same and apply the results in the calculation of the one to the other? In the other i.e. the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa cycle, we get by calculation the ज्येष्ठा constellation on the अमावास्या of the कार्तिक of the 3rd year (इदावत्सर) or on the अमावास्या of मार्गशीर्ष of the 5th year (इद्वत्सर) (See Dixit's book, pages 77-78). I have shown in the parenthesis of paragraph 98 that the latter year i.e. इद्वत्सर does not agree with the beginning of the उत्तरायण described in the Bhārata. Therefore the fight began on the कार्तिक अमावास्या of the 3rd year of the cycle and not of the 4th year as Mr. Sengupta says. Mr. Sengupta does not take into consideration the fact that the Mahābhārata Sun was lagging behind its real position, and thus Mr. Sen-

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gupta does not see that the कार्तिक of Mahābhārata calendar can be really the मार्गशीर्ष. The Sun could lag behind even 30° as shown in paragraphs 35 to 50 of my book.

(4) Mr. Sengupta objects that my solution does not give पुष्यनक्षत्र on the day of the mace-duel but it gives the नक्षत्र पूर्वाफाल्गुनी. He ignores the distinction between the actual नक्षत्र and the नक्षत्र by the calculation of those days. The पुष्य of the mace-duel was the result of the calculation of those days and पर्वाफाल्गुनी is the result of the calculation of these days. The Bhārata gives the नक्षत्र as then calculated and not the real one i.e. the नक्षत्र as now calculated. I have met all such objections in paragraphs 206 to 212. Mr. Sengupta does not appear to have read these.

Mr. Sengupta blames me for drastically changing the text (i.e. supposing that श्रवणे and पुष्येण are interchanged) and for regarding the description of the moon-rise as an interpolation. He does not enter into the logic underlying these suggestions of mine. I have described this logic in paragraphs 15 to 25 of my book. If one properly understands the causes of discrepancies in the Bhārata and of the way out of those discrepancies, he will find that with the smallest change in the text, I have removed all the discrepancies in the Bhārata. I have also shown that the interchange of श्रवणे and पुष्येण led to the interpolation of the description of the moon-rise (see paragraph 241 of my book). Moreover it must be noted that I do not depend upon any of these changes suggested by me. I only suggest these changes to reconcile the text with the date proved independently of the changes. If श्रवणे and पुष्येण are left as they are, the constellation of the day on which the fight began would be मृग . As the constellation of the previous Amāvāsyā was ज्येष्ठा, the day of the beginning of the fight would be the पौर्णिमा of the मार्गशीर्ष. The longitude of the Sun would then be 245° approximately. This is in fact the datum used by me for calculation (see paragraphs 56-57) of the year. But when the year has been found out, it clearly shows that the war must have begun on the Amāvāsyā (see paragraphs 108-114, especially paragraph 113), and of course it further proves the interchange of श्रवणे and पुष्येण and the interpolation of the description of the moon-rise.

(5) Mr. Sengupta also objects that in the year of the war as settled by me, the death of Bhīsma occurs 26 days after the actual beginning of the Uttarāyaṇa. I have stated this objection in paragraph 206 of my book and I have given a reply to the same in paragraphs 210 and 211. The sum and substance of that reply is that by the wrong calculation of those

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days, we get the beginning of Uttarāyaṇa 24 days after the actual beginning. It may be objected that it is impossible that such a mistaken calendar was being then used. The supposition that a wrong calendar was then being used is the only rational way of construing "चन्द्रसूर्याविभौग्रस्तौ एकाह्ना हि त्रयोदशीम् (see paragraphs 45 to 48) and पंचमे पंचमेवर्षे द्वौ मासावुपजायतः " (see paragraph 35). The mention of the मासक्षय and दिनंत्यज shows that though the mistakes in the calendar were known, the remedy applied was not the correction of the periods of revolutions that an astronomer of these days would apply but it was only occasional correction of the accumulated error by मासक्षय or दिनंत्यज (see paragraphs 38-50).

(6) In the year of the War as settled by me, we get first an eclipse of the Sun and then after an interval of 14 days an eclipse of the Moon. This does not satisfy Mr. Sengupta. He objects that in the Bhārata the words used are चंद्रसूर्याविभौ ग्रस्तौ एकाह्ना and that they mean that the eclipse of the Moon preceded the eclipse of the Sun. He further objects that as the solar eclipse occurred on the अमावास्या of the आश्विन and the lunar eclipse on the पौर्णिमा of the कार्तिक, these eclipses cannot be said to have occurred in one month, as described by the Bhārata by the word एकमासीं. My reply is this. It is not necessary to suppose that the author of the Bhārata was so nice in the language he used. It is not necessary to suppose that by placing the word चंद्र first, the author meant that the lunar eclipse preceded the solar eclipse. Further as the interval between the two eclipses was only 14 days and not five or six months, and as the period of 14 days is smaller than the period of one month, the author could also use the word एकमासीं, i.e. in one month. We should not be so nice, especially as we cannot find another date that agrees with all the statements in the Bhārata more closely than mine does.

(7) Mr. Sengupta objects that I have wrongly translated the word "अंगारक" by "Venus". My reply to this objection is given in paragraph 127 of my book. I say we have to translate it like that if we do not throw out the verse कृत्वा चांगारको वक्रम् ज्येष्ठांयाम् etc. as an interpolation. I have not based my calculation upon this verse. The year of the war is proved independently of this verse. But in that year Venus was retrograde in the ज्येष्ठा and Mars cannot be retrograde in the ज्येष्ठा in any year that any astronomer may prove, being too near the Sun. We are therefore compelled to understand "Venus" by the word "अंगारक". In the alternative we may throw off the verse as an interpolation, but that will not disprove the date proved by independent statements. I have only shown how

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this verse can be reconciled with my date, and have not based my calculation upon it. I have shown that अंगारक means a descendant of fire i.e. the "Venus". Mr. Sengupta's remark that I have not seen Mars in opposition is quite unfair and unnecessary. Though fire may be red, it is not necessary that a descendant of fire also must be red.

(8) Mr. Sengupta also objects that the people of the days of the Bhārata War did not know all the planets. He supports his proposition by saying that all the planets are not mentioned in the Ṛgveda. This is very unfair to the Ancient Indians especially as Mr. Sengupta holds that they were so advanced as to find by actual observation the beginning of the Uttarāyaṇa. Non-mention of all planets in the Ṛgveda is of no significance for it is not a work on astronomy.

(9) Mr. Sengupta unnecessarily blames me for not having followed the international convention when expressing my date. I did not calculate and give the month and the day on which the War began; the date 1197 B.C. given by me is therefore clearly approximate. Had I calculated the month and the day, I would have given it as 12th November, 1198 B.C. It is only 49 days distant from 1st January, 1197 B.C. Therefore as an approximate description 1197 B.C. also is not incorrect. Calculators can easily see that I meant approximately 1197 complete years before the beginning of the Christian Era.

The day 21st November as given by Mr. Sengupta is wrong. The sun turns to the North on or about 23rd December every year. Sun's longitude from the equinox is then 270° and from my starting point described in paragraph 56 of my book, it is about 294°. The Sun's longitude on the first day of the War is 252° approximately. The Sun takes 41° days to go from 252° to 294°. Therefore the day of the War must be 41 days before 23rd of December i.e. it must be about the 12th November by the Gregorian Calendar. Even now I say that in the expression "the 9th तिथि of the Chaitra Vadya in Śaka 421", the figure 421 shows the current year, the past year being 420. Mr. Sengupta is absolutely wrong on this point.

I admit I slipped into an error in using the word "aphelion" for the apogee of the Sun or the Moon. The mistake however does not prevent anybody from understanding what I mean. Mr. Sengupta has candidly stated that my calculations are correct. I thank him very much for this. I have shown also that all his objections are futile. Therefore my date of the War stands undisputed.

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WHO FOUNDED THE VIKRAMA ERA

By DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, Benares.

(Summary of the paper)

It is indeed strange that in the 2000th year of Vikrama era, there should be no certainty as to its founder. Unless more evidence becomes available, such will continue to be the case.

Hindu and Jain traditions no doubt attribute this era to a king named Vikrama, who is stated to have flourished in *c.* 57 B.C. at Ujjayinī. But the works which record these traditions are all late. The Kālakāchārya story no doubt mentions that king Vikrama founded this era after expelling the Śakas, but it occurs in a work of the 13th century, when the era of 57 B.C. had been already attributed to Vikrama by tradition. The colophon in the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* would prima facie show that the era was known after Vikrama in 421 A.D., when the work is said to have been composed. But this colophon is of utterly no value from the historical point of view; for if we accept it as true we shall have to suppose that in *saṁvat* 457 or 411 A.D., Valabhi was being ruled by king Śilāditya of the Maitraka dynasty, and not by king Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty. The colophon of this work cannot, therefore, be accepted as proving the prevalence of the name Vikrama era in the 5th century. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* V. 64 refers, according to its commentator Gadādhara, to king Vikramāditya; the commentator, however, may here be referring to current notions about the legendary Vikrama. The practice of giving a lakh of coins to a successful general, attributed to Vikramāditya by the commentator, may have been as well followed by many other kings, who may as well have been present before the mind of the author of the *Saptaśatī*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* refers to a king named Vikramāditya as ruling at Ujjainī and describes his exploits. But the whole account of this work is legendary. History knows of no king of Gauḍa named Saktikumāra, or of Karnāṭaka named Jayadhvaja, or of Lāṭa named Vijayavarman, or of Kāshmira named Sunandana or of Sindh named Gopāla, who could have been defeated by a king of Ujjainī in *cc.* 50 B.C. It is interesting to note that this work does not mention the Śakas among the powers overthrown by this ruler, nor does it state that he founded any era.

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The epigraphical evidence, on the other hand, tends to show that a king named Vikrama was not connected with the foundation of this era. Had such been the case, the era in its earliest stages would have been known after him. As it is, inscriptions show that it was known as Kṛita era in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., and as Mālava era during the 5th to the 8th centuries A.D. It was only in the 9th century A.D. that inscriptions for the first time describe it as Vikrama Era, but this is done only in one of the ten inscriptions of this period. We have 34 inscriptions of the tenth century; out of these only two give it the name of Vikrama. Inscriptions of the 11th and the 12th centuries give it this name more frequently. But in their case also the vast majority refers to it simply as *Saṁvat*.

If the era has been really founded by Vikrama, one fails to understand why it should not have been known after him during its early centuries. There is no doubt that the era was started in 57 B.C. But the available evidence seems to show that it was founded by Kṛta, who was an important personality or ruler of Mālavas, who had at this time a republican constitution. Kṛta may have been the President or the General of the Mālavas, who was successful in expelling the Śakas from Central India. An era was started to commemorate this event and it was known as the Kṛta Era. It is possible to argue that this Kṛta may have also been known as Vikramāditya, but there is so far no evidence to show that such was really the case. Were it so, the era should have been known as Vikrama Era in its early stages, which is not the case.

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HISTORICITY OF VIKRAMĀDITYA.

By

DR. R. B. PANDEY.

This paper proposes to bring out and discuss various types of evidence throwing light on Vikramāditya, and it tries to show that the tradition that he really founded the Vikrama Era in 57 B.C. is based on solid facts of history.

I. *Folk-tales:*

Vikramāditya has been universally remembered and respected throughout India for his ideal justice and devoted service of his people. The folk-tales long known and widely prevalent insist on the following facts :—

(1) Vikramāditya was a ruler of Ujjayinī,

(2) He defeated the Śakas and founded an era, and

(3) He was a patron of Kālidāsa.

II. *Indian Astronomy:*

Indian astronomy invariably associates the Vikrama era with Vikramāditya of Ujjayini in 57 B.C.

III. *Traditions:*

Traditions recorded in Indian literature substantially corroborate the folk-tales. Some of them are given below:

1. We find the earliest recorded tradition of Vikramāditya in the Gāthāsaptaśatī (V. 64): "Through her feet, satisfied at the pleasure of being massaged and spreading lac on your hand, she teaches a lesson on the life of Vikramāditya."[1] Commenting upon it Gadādhara says, "In the context of Vikramāditya संवाहन (massaging) means संबाधन(crushing of enemies) and लक्खम् means a lac of coins. Vikramāditya, being satisfied at the defeat of the enemies by his subordinate, gives a lac of coins in his hand."

It is evident from the above that in the time when the Gāthāsaptaśatī was composed it was a well known fact that

[1] संवाहणसुहरसतोसिएण देन्तेण तहकरे लक्खम् ।
चलणेण विक्कमाइत्तचरिअं अणुसिक्खिअं तिस्सा ॥

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there had been a ruler named Vikramāditya who was very victorious and liberal. It is generally accepted by historians that Hāla, the author of the Gāthā, flourished in the first century A.D. Therefore, the age of Vikramāditya must precede his reign at least by a century in order to spread his fame far and wide. This historical truth was fully vindicated by MM. Pt. Haraprasad Shastri (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 320). Dr. Bhandarkar raised certain objections, based on astronomical data, against this view (*Bhandarkar commemoration Volume*, pp. 185-187), but they were fully met by MM. Pt. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha (*Prāchīna Lipimālā*, p. 168).

2. In the Pattāvali written by the Jain Pandit Merutuṅgāchārya we come across the following tradition. "After Nabhovāhana Gardabhilla ruled over Ujjayinī for thirteen years. One Jain ascetic Kālakācharya, being oppressed by him, invited the Śakas and uprooted Gardabhilla through their help. The Sakas ruled over Ujjayinī for fourteen years. After this Gardabhilla's son Vikramāditya drove the Śakas out and re-occupied Ujjayinī. This event took place in the 470th year after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. Vikramāditya ruled for sixty years. His son Vikramacharita alias Dharmāditya ruled for forty years. Then followed Bhailla, Nailla and Nahada who ruled for 11,14 and 10 years respectively. By this time 605 years had elapsed since the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra and the Śaka Era was started from this year."

Here is a tradition which refers to certain distinct facts. Firstly, it refers to a series of rulers for whose reign periods, odd figures, are given (not round and exaggerated figures, which are not so reliable). Secondly, it refers to the Śaka invasion of Ujjayinī through the instrumentally of a Jain ascetic and the expulsion of the Śakas by Vikramāditya. Dates given for the start of the Vikrama and Śaka eras fit in with astronomical dates. According to the Jain tradition Mahāvīra died in 527 B.C. So the expulsion of the Śakas can be ascribed to 527-470 57 B.C. and the beginning of the Śaka era to 605-527 78 A.D. Thus this tradition favours the historicity of Vikramāditya in the first century B.C.

3. According to another Jain work *Prabandha-Koṣa* Vikramāditya flourished 470 years after the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra. By calculation the same date (527-470 57 B.C.) can be assigned to Vikramāditya as on the basis of the Pattāvali.

4. In the Śatruñjaya-māhātmya written by Dhaneśvarasūri it has been said that Vikramāditya would arise at the expiry of 466 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. Silāditya

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or Bhoja would reign 477 years after Vikramāditya. This work was written in 477 Vikrama era when Śilāditya was ruling in Surāṣṭra and he restored a number of sacred places to Jainism after driving the Buddhists out of the province (cf. Dr. Bhau Daji, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 29-30).

5. In Somadeva's *Kathā-saritsāgara* (xviii. 1.) the story of Vikramāditya has been narrated in detail. According to it Vikramāditya was a ruler of Ujjayinī. His father's name was Mahendrāditya and mother's Saumyadarśanā. Mahendrāditya, desirous of a son, worshipped Śiva for many years. At this time the earth was oppressed by the Mlechchhas (barbarians). For its redemption Lord Śiva called his Gaṇa Mālyavān and said, "To save the earth from the tyrannies of the barbarians incarnate yourself as a man and be born as the son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjayinī." When the son was born, Mahendrāditya, as instructed by Lord Śiva, named him Vikramāditya alias Viṣamaśīla (as he appeared terrible to his enemies). Vikramāditya was a precocious child and in a short period of time became well-versed in different branches of learning. When his prowess was amply proved, he was consecrated to the throne. Being unsparingly devoted to the poeple, he proved an ideal ruler. "He was the father of the orphans, the firend of the helpless, the protector of the destitutes and what not of his people?" Next comes an exaggerated picture of his conquests, exploits and romances.

There is another interesting piece of information in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (vii. 4). It knows another Vikramāditya of Pāṭaliputra. This shows that there was no confusion in the mind of the author who flourished in the 11th century A.D., regarding the separate and independent existences of two Vikramādityas—one of Ujjayinī and the other of Pāṭaliputra. Therefore, those scholars who try to identify the Gupta emperors, bearing the title of 'Vikramāditya' with Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, molest the time-honoured traditions of the country.

6. A number of traditions regarding Vikramāditya are recorded in the Rājāvali and Tod's Rajasthāna which more or less support the traditions cited above.

The curiosity of the general masses and even learned Pandits of India, regarding the historicity of Vikramāditya, is satisfied by the above quoted traditional evidences. But the modern historians of India ask the following relevant historical questions.

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Historical Questions :

(1) When did the era founded by Vikramāditya come in use ?

(2) Was there any ruling dynasty or a great man in Malwa in the 1st Century B.C. when the Vikrama era is supposed to have been founded ?

(3) Did any revolutionary event take place in the 1st century B.C. in Malwa which could mark the starting point of an era ?

Below is given the gist of historical researches, concerning the above questions, carried on by the early batch of the historians of Ancient India.

(1) Though according to Indian astronomy the Vikrama era was founded in 57 B.C., its use has not been attested in the first many centuries of Christian era. The first local era used in Malwa is Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti known from the Mandasor stone Inscription, dated 529 Mālava era (Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions, No. 18). .

(2) No important dynasty or great man has been assigned to the 1st century B.C. in Malwa.

(3) No event of first rate importance took place in the first century B.C. in Malwa from which an era could be inaugurated.

From such researches the natural inference derived by scholars was that there was no Vikramāditya in Malwa in the 1st century B.C. His personality is fictitious and imaginary. Probably Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti (Mālava era) was started in the 1st century B.C. and either some contemporary or later king bearing the title of Vikramāditya imposed his title on the Mālava era and it came to be called as Vikrama era. The result of this process of historical research was that many reputed orientalists started the race of identifying some historically known kings of ancient India with Vikramāditya. But if with due regard to tradition one tries to find out the facts of history, it will be easier for him to search out real Vikramāditya.

A Direct Quest :

To proceed with direct investigation into the historicity of Vikramāditya, one must satisfy the following conditions :—

1. Vikramāditya must be a ruler of Malwa with his capital at Ujjayinī.

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2. He must be Śakāri or the enemy of the Śakas.
3. He must start the Vikrama era in 57 B.C.
4. He must be the patron of Kālidāsa.

(1) Now it has been established by historical researches that the first native era current in Malwa was the era of the Mālava-gana (Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti). The Mālava tribe (the Malloi of the Greek writers) was living in the Punjab when Alexander the Great invaded India in 326 B.C. The confeferacy of the Mālavas and the Kṣudrakas opposed the retreating march of Alexander, but owing to internal dissension, a great bane of the republican people, the Mālavas, fighting alone, were defeated by the Greeks. Thus humiliated, they were further suppressed by the imperialist Mauryas, though their existence was spared, as is evident from the Arthaśāstra. When the Mauryan empire began to decline in the end of the third century B.C., before they were able to reassert themselves, India became subjected to Bactrian invasions. Under the pressure of barbarian inroads, the Mālavas, together with many other republican tribes of the Punjab, left their original territories and migrated towards east-south in search of new homes. We know from the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta that in the first half of the fourth century A.D., beyond the south-west frontiers of his empire, a number of republican tribes were living.[1] But still earlier, by the end of the second century B.C. the Mālava-gaṇa had reached Ākara-Avanti (modern Malwa). Here a type of coins, bearing the legends-Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ and Mālava-gaṇasya-jayaḥ in Brāhmī script have been discovered. On numismatic and palæographic grounds these coins have been assigned to the first century B.C. (Cunningham, Arch. Sur. of Indian Report, Vol. VI, pp. 165-174; Indian Museum Coins, Vol. I, p. 162). Thus the existence of the Mālava-gaṇa in Malwa in the first century B.C. has been proved. So the generalisation of many scholars that there was no Indian ruling family in the first century B.C. has been disproved. Perhaps they were in search of some monarchical state which was really non-existent at that time.

(2) In the middle of the first century B.C. the ruins of the Magadha empire were left in the form of the weak power of the Kāṇvas in the east of India. The north-western frontiers of India were invaded by a new hoard of barbarians, the Śakas. After crossing the Hindukush mountains they occupied the

[1] मालवार्जुनायनयौधेयमाद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुनसनकानीककाकखरपरिकादिभिश्च·· ।
Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions No. 1.

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whole of modern Afghanistan and Balochistan and established a strong base in Seistan. From here they moved towards Sindh and from there to Avanti-Akara. It was but natural that the freedom-loving republican tribes of Central India should oppose them. As usual, they organized a confederacy led by the Mālava-gaṇa in which the President (Gaṇamukhya) of the Mālavas took a prominent part. The combined forces of the republics, perhaps in the beginning, had some set back, but eventually they were able not only to save their existence but also to rout and drive the Sakas out of India. So in their first attempt of invading India the Sakas were defeated.

(3) It was quite in the fitness of things that the President of the Mālava-gaṇa was called Sakāri. The defeat of the Śakas was a revolutionary event and it was commemorated by starting a new era, Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti and by striking coins bearing the legend, Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ (victory of the Mālavas).

(4) Lastly, we have to see whether the President of the Mālava-gana could be the patron of Kālidāsa. In many editions of the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala of Kālidāsa it is found, just after Nāndi, that this drama was staged in the assembly of Vikramāditya (cf. Jivānanda Sharma's edition of the Abhijñāna-Sākuntala), which establishes Kālidāsa's connection with Vikramāditya. But it may be contested that this was not Mālavaganamukhya Vikramāditya. Fortunately one old manuscript of the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala, dated 1699 Vikrama Saṁvat, preserved by Pt. Keshava Prasad Mishra, Head of the Department of Hindi, Benares Hindu University, has conclusively proved that Vikramāditya was really a republican President. The following two extracts from the aforesaid manuscript are worth consideration :—

आर्यें रसभावशेषदीक्षागुरोः श्रीश्रीविक्रमादित्यस्य साहसाङ्कस्याभिरूपभूयिष्ठेयं परिषत् ।
अस्याञ्च कालिदासप्रयुक्तेनाभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल नवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभिः ।।
(नान्द्यन्ते)

भवतु तव विडौजाः प्राज्यवृष्टिः प्रजासु त्वमपि विततयज्ञोवज्रिणं भावयेथाः ।
गणशतपरिवर्तैरेवमन्योन्यकृत्यैर्नियतमुभवलोकानुग्रहश्लाघनीयैः ।। (भरतवाक्य)

From the underlined portions of the first extract it is evident that the personal name of the ruler referred to there was Vikramāditya and his title was Sāhaśānka. No monarchical titles are attached to his name. Had the extract in question been in verse, one could have maintained that they were omitted as a necessity of the metre used. But the omission of titles in prose is really significant. We know from the Arthaśāstra

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of Kauṭilya (XI. 160-161) that there were three types of republics in ancient India :—

(1) Vārtāśastropajīvī, (2) Āyudhajīvī and (3) Rāja-śabdopajīvī. Republican tribes in the western part of India were generally of the first type. So the omission of any regal title in the case of Vikramāditya is quite relevant.

In the second extract the term 'gana-śata-parivartaih', positively associates Vikramāditya with a gana and a gana-sangha. The number 'Śata' is a round and exaggerated one. It simply means 'many'. We have already reviewed the circumstances under which the republican tribes of central India combined together and formed a saṁgha. So the wide fame of Vikramāditya redound in them.

From the above observations it can be safely concluded that Vikramāditya was a Mālava-gaṇa-mukhya. He defeated the Śakas in their first attempt of invading India and in the commemoration of this great event he founded the era, Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti, which was, later on, known as Vikrama Saṁvat. He was himself a great erudite and a famous patron of poets like Kālidāsa and others. Our investigation into the general trend of historical events of India fits in quite well with the Jain and Hindu traditions of the country.

It may be asked how Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti came to be called Vikrama Saṁvat. The name of the era, in the beginning, was naturally after the gaṇa, because in a republic the gaṇa is most important and not the individual. The Mālava-gaṇa continued its existence upto the fouithcentury A.D. Either in the end of the fourth or in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., the Gupta emperor, Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, destroyed the Indian republics finally. From this time the republican form of government disappeared from the political history of India. In the eighth and the nonth centuries A.D., when absolute monarchical states were stablished throughout India, the very memory of a republic faded away from the mental horizon of the Indian people. Consequently, in course of time, the Mālava-gaṇa was merged in the personality of its leader Vikramāditya and the republican era was associated with him. This is not the only instance of the weakness of the political imagination of the people. Who, unacquainted with modern historical researches, knows that Kṛṣṇa was a gaṇa-mukhya and Buddha was the son of a republican chief?

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VIKRAMA SAMVAṬ.

By

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The records of the earliest indigenous rulers of India are dated in regnal reckonings and not according to any era. This proves the absence of any popular era in Ancient India. The so-called Nirvāṇa, Kaliyuga and other reckonings were never used in Ancient India as popular eras in the true sense of the term. The records of the times of Scythian, Parthian and Kushān kings are dated according to. eras. These foreigners therefore introduced and popularised the use of era in India. It must be remembered that they came from regions where the Seleukid era of 312 B.C. and the Parthian era of 248 B.C. were prevalent. Of the two eras, i.e. the Scytho-Parthian and the Kanishka eras, the latter was known as the Śaka era due to its continued use by the Western Śaka Satraps from year 41 to year 310; and in the medieval period it was also associated with a popular traditional hero named Śālivāhana (Sātvāhana). The Scytho-Parthian era likewise was styled *Kṛta;* then it was associated with the Mālavas and ultimately in the eighth century with Vikramāditya, famous in Indian tradition and folklore. The era seems to have been carried to Rajputana and Malwa by the Mālava tribe from their original home on the Ravi in the Punjab which had been under Scytho-Parthian influence.

The fact that the Vikrama Saṁvat was earlier associated with a certain Kṛita and the Mālava Republic, and with Rājā Vikrama only from the eighth century proves the absence of the Vikramāditya tradition in the early centuries of the Christian era. Excepting absolutely untrustworthy and late traditions there is not the slightest evidence regarding the existence of a Vikramāditya or of any king having an *āditya* ending title earlier than the fourth century A.D. The Puranic chronicles of early fourh century A.D. deal with the Śakas, the Gardabhillas and the Ujjain region all associated with the traditional Vikrama, but do not mention that mighty monarch. To brand it as an *argumentum ex silentio* like that of the non-mention of Alexander in the Purāṇas is unconvincing, as the land traversed by the Greek king lay outside the geographical range of the Purāṇas.

Then the mention of *Vikramāditya-carita* in Hāla's *Sattasai* proves nothing, as the work not only contains interpolations

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of the post-Sātavāhana period (cf. the words *horā aṅgārakavāra* borrowed from the Greek astronomical school of Alexandria), but even of the post-Gupta period (cf. Rādhikā and her association with Kṛshṇa). The identification of the founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is impossible. The Sātavāhanas never used any era or an *āditya* title. They ruled from Pratishṭhānā and not Ujjain associated with Vikrama. Above all, Gautamīputra, whose son married the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra, must have ruled in the second century A.D. and can by no means be assigned to 58 B.C. The suggestion that there was one Vikramāditya at Ujjain and another at Pāṭaliputra is improbable, as the descendants of the Gupta Vikramādityas, in Dharwar Dist., call their ancestor Vikramāditya, lord of both Pāṭaliputra and Ujjain.

The earliest historical Vikramāditya is Candragupta II (376-414 A.D.) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. He extirpated the Śakas, conquered western India and made Ujjain a secondary capital of the Gupta empire. Legends clustered round his famous name and the Śakāri Vikramāditya of Ujjain gradually became the most popular hero of Indian folklore. When the tribal characteristics of the Mālavas and their republican form of government were forgotten, and by the term *Mālava* people understood a *janapada*, the Kṛta era was called Mālava-pūrvā, Mālava-kāla and also Mālaveśa-saṁvatsara. It was then natural for people to identify this "lord of Mālava" with the traditional Vikramāditya who was doubtless the "king of Malwa" *par exellence*. This is how the Scytho-Parthian era came to be called the era of Vikramāditya.

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WHO WERE THE BHĀRAŚIVAS ?

(Summary)

By

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The identification of the Bhāraśiva dynasty, which is credited to have performed ten Aśvamedha sacrifices in the records of the Vākāṭakas, has excited considerable speculation in recent years. King Bhavanāga, who belonged to this dynasty, no doubt ruled in the first half of the 4th century A.D. Recently the coins of Bhavanāga have been identified by me, which show that a ruler of that name was ruling at Padmāvatī during the 4th century A.D. He belonged to the Nāga family; for his coins show a striking resemblance to the other coins of this house in size, fabric and weight. They have a bull on their reverse and a *triśūla* on the obverse, as is the case with the coins of the majority of the rulers of the Nāga dynasty.

The Bharaśivas were the devotees of Siva; so were the rulers of Padmāvatī. The Bhāraśivas flourished in the 3rd and the 4th centuries A.D., so did the Nāga kings of Padmāvatī. Bhavanāga of the coins flourished in the first half of the 4th century A.D., which was also the time of the Bhāraśiva Bhavanāga, who was the maternal grandfather of the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I. It therefore seems almost certain that the Bhāraśivas were the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī. It is true that this dynasty is not so far known to have borne the name Bhāraśiva, but we have yet to find its records, which are to give its name. The coins are too small to permit the accomodation of the name Bhāraśiva in their legends. Nor can it be argued that the rulers of this house were not powerful enough to perform ten Aśvamedha sacrifices. For even the rulers of small states are known to have performed several Aśvamedhas in the 3rd and the 4th centuries A.D. Some of the ancestors of Bhavanāga may have succeeded in driving the Kushānas from Gwalior and Central U. P., when their power had been shattered previously by the Yaudheyas; and they may have later reached the Ganges. They may have celebrated this achievement by the performance of ten horse sacrifices.

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WHO OVERTHREW THE KUSHĀNA EMPIRE? THE BHĀRAŚIVAS, THE VĀKĀṬAKAS OR THE YAUDHEAYS?

By

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The time and manner of the disappearance of the Kushāna empire from its eastern provinces (U. P. and the eastern Punjab) is still a matter of great controversy.

Dr. Jayaswal had given the credit of the overthrow of the Kushāna power to the Bhāraśivas of Kāntīpurī, modern Kantit in Mirzapur district. This theory is untenable because:-

1. There is no evidence to show that there was any Nāga family ruling at Kantit, as no Nāga coins or antiquities are found in or near it.

2. There is no evidence to show that Nava and Vīrasena were the early members of this dynasty. Like other Nāga rulers, these kings do not bear the epithet Nāga, nor do their coins bear any resemblance to any Nāga coinage.

3. The view that Hayanāga and Trayanāga, who succeeded Vīrasena and ruled from *c.* 210 to 250 A.D., pressed the Kushānas so hard that they were compelled to seek the protection of the Sassanian emperor has no shred of evidence in its support. The coins of these rulers are never found in the Punjab. It is extremely doubtful whether the coins attributed to them can be ascribed to them at all, their reading being very uncertain.

4. There is no evidence to show that Nava, Vīrasena, Haya, etc. were Bhāraśivas. The last paper has shown that the Bhāraśivas were most probably the Nāgas of Padmāvatī.

The view that the Vākāṭakas completely ousted the Kushānas from the Punjab under the leadership of Pravarasena I is also untenable.

1. The whole theory is mainly based upon the assumption that king Vīrasena, whose coins are found in and near Mathurā, is identical with Pravarasena, and that the coin legend, reads Pravarasena and not Vīrasena. According to Dr. Jayaswal, the coin legend on the coins is thus arranged:

वरसेनस
प्र ७०,६

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Such an arrangement of the coin legend is unknown to Ancient Indian Numismatics. If the legend could not have been completed in a line, it would have been written not as above, but as

प्रवरसेन
स० सं ७०,६

2. Even if we assume that the issuer of these coins was Pravarasena, we cannot identify him with the Vākāṭaka ruler. For these coins have *never* been found in C. P. and Central India, which were the home provinces of the Vākāṭaka kingdom.

3. The Kushānas no doubt became Sassanian feudatories in *c.* 240 A.D., but that was because they were conquered by them, and not because the Kushānas wanted any protection against any third power.

The available evidence suggests that it must have been the Yaudheyas, who dealt the earliest blows to the Kushānas somewhere between the Jumna and the Sutlej, which was their homeland.

1. Before the rise of the Kushāna power, it is definitely known that the Yaudheyas had a strong republic federation in this territory and over a large portion of Rajputana. They had once also risen in rebellion against the Scythians in *c.* 145 A.D., when they were put down by Rudradāman I, probably on behalf of the Kushāna emperor.

2. The coins of the later Kushānas like Kaniṣhka III, Vāsudeva II and their successors are not found to the east of the Sutlej, as is the case with the coins or coin moulds of Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. This shows that they had lost these provinces.

3. On the other hand, we find several hoards of the Yaudheya coins between the Sutlej and the Jumna, e.g. at Saharanpur, Dehra Dun, Delhi, Rohtak and Kangra. As the coins in these hoards belong to the 3rd and the 4th centuries A.D., it is clear that the Yaudheyas were ruling over this territory at that time, and not the later Kushānas.

4. To commemorate their victory over the Kushānas, the Yaudheyas changed the legend on their coins to *Yaudheyā-gaṇasya jayaḥ*. It was a victory well worth commemorating, for it was no small achievement to overthrow an empire, which stretched from Baktria to Bihar and whose rulers enjoyed the prestige of being the Sons of Heaven. The Kushānas must have brought all their reserves from Baktria and North Western

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Frontier, but they proved of no avail against the bravery of the Yaudheyas.

5. In the course of Indian history, decisive battles between the northern invaders and indigenous powers have been usually fought in the Delhi-Ambala tract, which was one of the centres of the Yaudheya settlements. It is therefore but natural that they should have taken a leading part in the overthrow of the Kushānas.

6. The Yaudheya victory over the Imperial Kushānas naturally raised their prestige. Formerly they were known as Kshatriyas *par excellence;* now it began to be believed that they were in possession of a mystic formula ensuring victory against all odds. A Yaudheya seal bearing the legend

Yaudheyānām Jayamantradharāṇām

was found in Ludhiana in the very heart of the old Kushāna empire.

7. The Yaudheyas got valuable co-operation in their rebellion against the Kushānas from the Kuṇindas, who occupied the territory between the Sutlej and the Beas. There is a marked resemblance between the Yaudheya coins and those of the Kuṇinda chief Chhatreśvara. By *c.* 250, the Kuṇindas seem to have federated with the Yaudheyas. The Arjunāyanas, who were to the south east of the Yaudheyas, also eventually coalesced with them. This confederation between the Kuṇindas, the Arjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas was probably brought about by the desire to have a strong state to oppose any foreign invasion. The federating units enjoyed complete autonomy, but the foreign policy and military operations were under the direction of a supreme council of the three presidents of the federating units. A fragmentary inscription mentioning one such president, elected by the Yaudheya republic, and enjoying the titles *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsenāpati*, has been found.

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WHO OVERTHREW THE KUSHĀNA EMPIRE?

DR. D. C. SIRCAR'S REMARKS IN THE SYMPOSIUM ON THE BHĀRAŚIVAS AND THE DOWNFALL OF THE KUSHĀNAS.

The Yaudheyas and Bhāraśivas may have been originally subordinate to the Kushānas and may have partially contributed to the decline of Kushāna power in India. But we have as yet no evidence regarding their hostilities with the Kushānas. The relation of the Bhāraśivas with the Nāga house of Mathurā is also unknown. Some of the Sassanian emperors of the third and fourth centuries A.D. no doubt extended their influence over considerable portions of western and north-western India, and the Indian powers including the Kushānas, the Śakas and possibly also the Yaudheyas had to submit to them. But the Kushāṇa power in India was already on the wane before the establishment of Sassanian monarchy in 226 A.D., probably as a result of internal dissentions. It should be noted that our views regarding Kushāna chronology is based on the identification of the Śaka and Kanishka eras and on the belief that Nahapāṇa's records are dated in the Śaka reckoning.

Epigraphic evidence (cf. the Sanchi inscription of Vāsishka) points to Kushāna occupation of Eastern Malwa. Ptolemy in his Geography appears to represent the Western Śaka Satrap Chastana as lord of Ujjain in Western Malwa. It is therefore not improbable that the earlier Western Śakas owed allegiance to the Kushāna king Kanishka I (*c.* 78-102 A.D.). The fact that Nahapāṇa (*c.* 118-24 A.D.) and Chastana (*c.* 130 A.D.) retain the title of Satrap (Provincial Governor), but do not mention the name of their overlord in their records suggests that they were semi-independent. Rudradāman (*c.* 130-50 A.D.), Chastana's successor, who was *svayamadhigata-mahākshtrapa-nāmā* i.e. one who did not owe his position to his overlord, became practically an independent ruler, although, like the Peshwas, he and his successors still called themselves Satrap and did not assume Imperial titles. The success of the Śakas appears to have been due to the fact that after the death of Kanishka I, the Kushāna Imperial power was divided among Vāsishka (Vajeshka, *c.* 102-06 A.D.) and Kanishka II of the Ara inscription (*c.* 119 A.D.) on the one hand and Huvishka (*c.* 106-138 A.D.) on the other. There is epigraphic and traditional evidence to show that both Vāsishka and Kanishka II ruled at the time covered by het reign of Huvishka. Kanishka III whose Mathurā record

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is dated probably in the year 94 (A.D. 172; not year 14 as read in *Ep. Ind.*, XIX) seems to have ruled conjointly with Vāsudeva (*c.* 152-76 A.D.).

The Magha kings of the Allahabad region who appear to have used the Kanishka era and were probably feudatories of the Kushanās during the vigorous rule of Kanishka I possibly became independent or semi-independent about the same time as the Śakas. Chinese and Tibetan traditions point to Kanishka's political influence over Magadha. It may possibly be suggested that the eastern districts of Kanishka's empire passed to the Licchavis soon after his death.

Quite a number of indigenous ruling families owing allegiance to Kanishka I may have thrown off Kushāna yoke in different parts of U. P. during the weak rule of his successors. The Purāṇas that place seven generations of Nāga kings at Mathurā before the Guptas appear to indicate the extārpation of later Kushāna rule from western U. P. by the Nāgas.

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KUSHĀNA CHRONOLOGY

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit's remarks in the Symposium.

The only excavations which have a bearing on this problem are those at Taxtila. The evidence from the site of Sirkap clearly points out that while the coins of Kadphises alone or Hermaeus and Kadphises (joint issue) are found in the last occupied city at Sirkap, no coins of either Kadphises II or the Kanishka group are to be seen here. The proper excavation of the site of Sirsukh which appears to be founded in the Kushāna period subsequent to the abandonment of Sirkap would have yielded material having direct bearing on the problem of the priority of the Kadphises group to the Kanishka group. The coins of Śaka-Parthian kings like Mues, Azes, Kadphises and his successors or generals (Sasan, Sapedanes, Satavastres) were also found in the last occupation level of Sirkap and thus show that the time of these rulers was not far removed from of Hermaeus and Kadphises. Archæological evidence thus shows that the site of Sirkap continued at least up to the middle of the first century A.D. and that Kanishka cannot be placed before that period.

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KUSHĀNA CHRONOLOGY

Dr. D. C. Sircar's remarks in the Symposium.

Scholars have suggested the following epochs of the Kanishka era—58 B.C., 78 A.D., 120-30 A.D., 248 A.D. and 278 A.D. Of these the first date viz. 58 B.C., was suggested by Fleet who believed that Kanishka ruled earlier than Kadphises I and II, who rueld by the middle of the first century A.D. according to Chinese evidence. Scholars have now given up the theory after Marshall had shown that, during the excavation at Taxila, coins of the Kanishka group of kings were found in upper i.e. later layers of the earth than those of Kadphises I and II. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence moreover stands in the way of attributing the Kadphises group of Kushāna kings in the first and at least parts of the second centuries of the Kanishka era. As to the dates 248 A.D. and 278 A.D., it may be said that the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, according to which An-Shi-Kao (148-70 A.D.) translated the *Mārgabhūmi-sūtra* of Sangharaksha who was Kanishka's chaplain, proves the existence of a Kanishka earlier than the middle of the second century A.D.

Without going into the details of the arguments in favour of the dates, it is possible to suggest that the existence of a king named Kanishka in the first, second or third century A.D., does not necessarily prove his identity with the founder of the Kanishka era. There is evidence to prove the existence of several kings of this name in the Kushāna dynasty. The fact that no era of the epoch 120-30 A.D. was known to Al Bīrūnī in the land associated with the name of Kanishka stands in the way of assigning the founder of the Kanishka era to that epoch. There seems nothing against the identification of the Kanishka era with the Śaka era. In that case we find kings named Kanishka in the first, second and third centuries A.D., to suit the other theories. If Kanishka was the originator of the Śaka era, epigraphic evidence would place Kanishka I in *c.* 78-102 A.D., Kanishka II of the Āra inscription in *c.* 119 A.D. Kanishka III of the Mathurā inscription of 94 (not 14 as in *E. I.*, XIX) in *c.* 172 A.D. Numismatists like Smith and R. D. Banerji definitely assign coins of some Kanishka to a period long after Vāsudeva i.e. to the third century A.D.

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VIKRAMA AND KĀLIDĀSA—THEIR IDENTIFICATION.

By

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Tradition has linked Vikrama and Kālidāsa together and for the popular mind one is unthinkable without the other. But history has so far failed to discover any king of the name of Vikrama in the first century B.C. and therefore all the theories about the founder of the Vikrama era have remained conjectural and none has given universal satisfaction.

Literary evidence, apart from any numismatic or epigraphical evidence, however, points to the definite existence of a King Vikrama prior to 1st century A.D. and probably in the 2nd century B.C. In Hāla's Saptaśati which is credited to be a work of 1st century A.D. a King Vikramāditya is mentioned who was noted for his generosity. Many have pointed out the mention of several Vikramas in the Kathāsaritsāgara which goes to prove that at least one King Vikrama lived in times anterior to Guṇādhya's Bṛhatkāthā on which Kathasaritsagara is based. Vāyupurāṇa, especially the edition published by Asiatic Society of Bengal in Saṁvat 1843, has the following verse—

ततो वै विक्रमित्रस्तु समा राजा ततः पुनः ।
द्वात्रिंशत् भविता चाऽपि समा भागवतो नृपः ॥

(V. P. Ch. 37. v. 335)

In other manuscripts the readings give alternate forms of Vikramitra such as Vajamitra, Vajramitra, Vrajamitra, Vannamitra, Vakśamitra, Vadramitra, Vajramindra and so on. (Vide Pargiter—*Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 32). To me these variants appear to be due to misunderstanding of the significance of the name Vikramitra. Pargiter, in appendix I page 77, seq.) of his above work, has shown that this portion of Vāyu and other *purāṇas* was probably adapted from a common Prākrit original. The Sanskritisation of the Prakrit verses is clumsy and full of unnecessary expletive particles and defective from the standpoint of Sanskrit prosody. So what was probably Vikkāmmitta (विक्कंमित्त) in Prākrit was understood to be विक्कमित्त by the dropping of the अनुस्वार by the copyist and then rendered into Vikramitra by the Sanskrit redacter.

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In *Mālavikāgnimitra* certain incidents are mentioned, which though of a trivial character were such as to possess special significance to those who lived in times contemporary to the Śungas. The contrast in character and disposition of Queens Dhāriṇī and Irāvatī is one such instance. While the former is depicted as the model of a Hindu wife, patient and uncomplaining even in the face of her royal husband's infidelity, the latter is irascible and jealous and even spurns the King when the latter falls at her feet and begs for pardon. She is even brought on the stage in a drunken condition, an incident which not only offends against good taste, but is unnecessary for the development of the plot. In his invitation to Agnimitra, to the capital of the Empire, on the occasion of the Rājasūya sacrifice, Puṣya-mitra asks him to come free from anger (विगत-रोषचेतसा). To posterity living in times long subsequent to the Śungas, all these incidents carry no meaning. But to an audience of the time of Vikramāmitra, who came to the throne only 33 years after the death of Agni-mitra, these incidents were pregnant with suggestions. In the drama Prince Vasumitra, the son of Queen Dhāriṇī, is more or less depicted as the crown-prince, but the Purānic account makes it plain that it was Vasu-jyeṣṭha who ascended the throne after the death of Agnimitra, on accountof his being the eldest,—*jyeṣṭha*, Incidentally is there any suggestion in the following verse of *Raghuvanśa* :—

अथेतरे सप्त रघुप्रवीरा ज्येष्ठं पुरोजन्मतया गुणैश्च ।
चक्रुः कुशं रत्नविशेषभाजं सौभ्रात्रमेषां हि कुलानुसारि ।। ?

(*R.V.* XVI. I).

Five successors on the Śuṅga throne, within 33 years after the death of Angi-mitra, suggest palace revolutions and it is possible that Vikrama-mitra, who was descended from Vasu-mitra, the son of Dhāriṇī, may have acquired the crown after setting aside violently or otherwise, a scion of the race through Vasu-jyaṣṭha, the issue of Queen Irāvatī. This would explain the indecorous manner in which a rival queen is depicted in the drama. The words *vigata-roṣa-cetasā* may mean nothing to us ; it had great significance to those for whom a reconciliation between father and son would certainly mean a respite from the evils of a civil war or a foreign invasion, after the death of the reigning monarch. All these point to the poet living in the times of the Śuṅgas and the tragic note struck by him in the last canto of *R.V.* would appear to be due to his being a pained witness of the despicable character of the last of the Śuṅgas and his sad end.

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Other evidence is not wanting to prove that Kālidāsa could not have lived in the Gupta times. It is generally believed, but the present writer does not agree, that Raghu's Digvijaya in Raghuvanśa is based upon and is indeed a rehash of Samundragupta's conquests. This is not so. The *R. V.* counts the Pāṇḍyas of the far South as among those who came into conflict with Raghu and whose pride he humbled. But Kālidāsa does not mention the Pallavas, who under their king Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchī was in fact the greatest power in the South in the times of Samundragupta. The poet also does not mention the Śakas of the North as being defeated by Raghu, although their expulsion was the chief glory of Śākari Vikramāditya. Both these incidents clearly point to the fact that the poet lived in times long anterior to the Guptas and that he must have been a court poet of some Śuṅga king.

Life and environmental details, as depicted by Kālidāsa, have a great similarity with that idealised in *Manusmṛti*, which is supposed to be, by Jayaswal, a work of Śunga times. The period of about three centuries and a half preceeding the Guptas, was a period of great upheavals and distress. Kālidāsa nowhere hints at such upheavals. Even a cursory perusal of Yuga-Purāṇa chapter of the *Garga-samhitā*, proves that the distress was terrific and the devastation caused by the Śāka incursion was terrible. The poet nowhere mentions his patron as being one who had brought peace and prosperity to his empire after a protracted period of devastation. Indeed *R. V.* pictures the sub-continent as enjoying peace and prosperity for long periods. The occasional picturesque conflicts between local princes, as on the occasion of Indumatī's *svayamvara*, provided occasions for Kśatriya princes to satisfy their itch for fighting and left the country unaffected. Art and craft flourished as never before and in the respect shown by King Agnimitra to Āchārya Guṇadāsa in the drama, we get a glimpse of the honour which the greatest of Indian poets received at the hands of his patron Vikrama-mitra in the second century B.C.

The correct form of the name appears to have been Vikramamitra, which belonging to an otherwise undistinguished king was lost to public memory. He may have, however, been noted for his generosity and patronage to poets as mentioned by Hāla, but whatever glory he may have achieved thereby faded on account of his short reign and eclipsed by that of the other great Vikrama viz. Chandragupta Vikramāditya II of the Gupta dynasty. It is well known that the later king had a poet of the name of Kālidāsa in his court; who

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was sent to the court of Pravarasena, the King of Kuntala, as an ambassador. He is also reputed to have written a work known as *Kuntaleśvara-dautyam*, the original of which has not yet been discovered. He is also said to have written or corrected the work *Setubandha Kāvyam*, which is reputed to have been written by King Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, a grand son of Chandragupta Vikramāditya by his daughter Prahbāvatī-Guptā. Until very recently nobody had heard of the great Kālidāsa having written any Prākrit Nibandha-Kāvya or *Kuntalevśara-dautyam*. It is quite clear that an inferior poet possessing the honorific title of Kālidāsa was confused with the great poet of that name and Vikramamitra (Mitra—Aditya) was confused with Vikramāditya, because of the popular belief that the greatest of Indian poets could not have but lived in the court of one of the greatest of Indian Emperors.

That Kālidāsa had an intimate knowledge of Śuṅga history is apparent from his drama—*Mālavikāgnimitra*. One or two incidents mentioned in the drama point to the fact that he must have been familiar with Śunga affairs and was an eye-witness to certain incidents in the court of Agnimitra. In *Meghadūta* (Ś1. 24) he calls Vidiśā a *Rājadhānī*. At no other time than that of the Śuṅgas was Vidiśā ever a capital of the Indian Empire. The Vidarbha war and the division of this province of the Mauryan Empire between the two brothers Mādhavasena and Yajñasena, whom he calls Maurya-Sachiva, are incidents for which no other evidence except that of Kālidāsa is known. They, however, like the defeat of the Yavanas, on the river Sindhu, by Prince Vasumitra, have all the stamp of historical truth, and any conjectures to the contrary are based on no irrefutable evidence.

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HARṢA AND DHRUVABHAṬA

By

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Earlier scholars like Smith[1] believed that Dhruvabhaṭa or Dhruvasena II Bālāditya (*c.* 629-43 A.D.) king of Valabhī was a vassal of king Harṣa (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj and that the former's kingdom formed an integral part of the latter's empire. Some recent writers on the subject however appear to believe that Dhruvabhaṭa was an equal in political status with his mighty ally and that the kingdom of Valabhī was free from Harṣa's influence.[2] The theory of the second group of scholars appears to me rather unwarranted. I am inclined to believe that Dhruvabhaṭa was either a feudatory or at best a subordinate ally of Harṣa.

In the Nausari grant of Jayabhaṭa III the Gurjara king of Broach, the donor's ancestor Dadda II Praśāntarāga is given the credit for protecting, sheltering, rescuing or saving from ruin (*trāṇa*) the king of Valabhī who had been defeated (*abhibhūta*) by the great king Harṣa.[3] This lord of Valabhī is no doubt Dhruvabhaṭa who was a contemporary of both Dadda II of Broach and Harṣa of Kanauj. It is significant however that Dadda II is not given any credit for having anything to do with a discomfiture of Harṣa. The obvious import of the above passage of the Nausari grant seems to be that Dhruvabhaṭa after having been defeated by Harṣa had to take shelter at the Gurjara court. Later he made friends with the king of Kanauj and, as a result, was reinstated in his kingdom. The alliance was cemented by the marriage of Dhruvabhaṭa with a daughter of Harṣa. A lasting friendship with Valabhī was no doubt of considerable importance to the king of Kanauj, who apprehended a northward move on the part of Pulakeśin II. The main point to note in this connection is however that Dhruvabhaṭa was defeated and probably driven out of his country and that Harśa reinstalled him on his paternal throne.

[1] *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 354.

[2] R. C. Majumdar, *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1923, p. 319 ff; R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 109 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 77 ff. Cf. *parameśvara-śrīharṣadev-ābhibhūta-valabhīpati-trāṇa*, etc.

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Some recent writers believe that Dadda II who was a feaudatory of Pulakeśin II, his overlord Pulakeśin II himself and Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhī combined their strength against Harṣa who was defeated and compelled to make friends with the king of Valabhī.[1] The suggestion does not appear to be convincing. Firstly, if Dadda II who was a petty chief had any share in the humiliation or discomfiture of a mighty emperor like Harṣa, the Gurjara court-poet or officer responsible for the draft of the Nausari grant, world certainly have dwelt on it with considerable exaggeration. He would in that case have hardly remained satisfied with giving Dadda II only the humble credit of sheltering Dhruvabhaṭa. Indian writers of charters and eulogies are never known to have erred on the side of moderation. Secondly, the Aihole inscription, which notices the defeat of Harṣa by Pulakeśin II[2], refers to the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras as feudatories of the Calukya emperor.[3] Had Pulakeśin helped Dhruvabhaṭa in any way to get back his throne, his *praśastikāra* would no doubt have included the name of Valabhī in the above list of feudatories. He could not possibly have passed over such a great achievement (*bhraṣṭarāja-pratiṣṭhāpakatva*)[4] of his patron in silence. The court-poets, as we know, even represented the friendly offering of presents by one independent king to another as the acceptance of feudatory position.[5] Thirdly, Valabhī was a petty state between the mighty empires of Harṣa and Pulakeśin II. It was difficult for its king to preserve his existence without being a friend of one of the two kings who were both bent on *digvijaya*. And the friendship of the wolf with the lion is usually no better than a subordinate alliance, especially when the former is known to have once been driven out of his place by the latter and afterwards reinstated.

Dhruvabhaṭa's subordinate position is further indicated by his stay for a considerable length of time at Harṣa's court in the company of the feudatory kings "of the eighteen countries of the Five Indias" in connection with the unimportant celebrations known as the assembly of Kanuaj and the quinquennial

[1] Majumdar, *loc. cit.*; Tripathi, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ep. Ind*, VI, p. 4 ff; verse 23.

[3] *Ibid*, verse 22.

[4] Cf. the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, line 23 and the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman, line 12; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 172, 258.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 258. Cf. *daivaputra-ṣāhi*, etc.

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assembly of Prayāga[1]. It is most unlikely that an ally of equal standing would attend the court of his friend in person and live there for months, as did Dhruvabhaṭa and Bhāskaravarman at Harṣa's court.[2] If the status of Dhruvabhaṭa and Bhāskaravarman was equal to that of Harṣa, they would have naturally responded to their friend's invitation to those gatherings by sending proxies such as a minister or a prince of the royal blood. Dhruvabhaṭa is himself known to have held such gatherings in his realm[3] and there is no reason to believe that his father-in-law ever attended a single of them.

It may be pointed out that, from an examination of the evidence of Huen Tsang and his biographer, Dhruvabhaṭa's position at Harṣa's court appears to have been inferior to that of Bhāskaravarman, another ally living at the court about 643 A.D. At the assembly of Kanauj, Harṣa assumed the role of Śakra and Bhāskaravarman that of Brahman and both were riding on stately elephants. It is however significant that Harṣa's own son-in-law was not called to assume any role of honour.[4] The subordinate position of both Dhruvabhaṭa and Bhāskaravarman at the court of their mighty ally is, again, not only proved by their long stay there, but also by the remarkable fact noticed by the biographer of Huen Tsang[5] that none of them was allowed the music-pace-drums which always accompanied Harṣa.

Dhruvabhaṭa is called "lord of the Deccan" by the biographer of Huen Tsang and this is supposed by some scholars to indicate his political importance.[6] The epithet however appears to be of little worth. If the petty king of Valabhī was styled "lord of the Deccan" when the Calukyas were ruling, it could only satisfy the vanity of his father-in-law who had been denied entrance into the Decean; but it obviously

[1] Cf. Tripathi, *Op. cit.* pp. 151-61. That Dhruvabhaṭa was not Pulakeśin's friendis known from the Aihole record.

[2] Dr. Tripathi refers to the "installation cermony of Cakrāyudha which was attended by nine independent powers" (*op cit.*, p. 105, n). The *bhūpas* are however referred to in this case as *vyālola-mauli-pranati-pariṇata* and were apparently of no independent rank (*Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 14). *Bhūpa* may indicate here a feudatory prince who stood proxy for the king of his country. But there is obviously a conventional element in the verse of the Khalimpur grant.

[3] Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 152-53.

[5] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 173.

[6] Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

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could not bring for him a single inch of land in that region. The Gurjaras of Broach were a bar to the southerly expansion of Valabhī, even though in the troubled years of the Calukyas (*c.* 642-55) Dhruvabhaṭa might have been tempted to advance southwards.

It may be pointed out in this connection that no great importance can be attached to Huen Tsang's reference to or silence about the king of a country visited by him. There is no basis for the supposition that the countries whose kings are barely mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim without comment were independent states and that his silence about the king of a particular state indicates its dependence on some other kingdom.[1] That the foreign traveller always roamed in high circles and in all cases received definite and correct information regarding the political status of a country seems to be unconfirmed guesses. He came into contact with Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman only about 643 A.D. on the eve of his departure from India.

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[1] Cf. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 114 f.

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THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE ANDHRADEŚA.

Dr. M. Rama Rao M.A., Ph.D. Guntur

The connection between the ancient Sātavāhanas and the Andhra country is still a matter open to doubt and difference of opinion. Was the Andradeśa included in their dominions even from the beginning of their rule ? Or was it conquered by them at a subsequent date and added to their dominions ? This is a question which has yet to be answered satisfactorily. A recent writer has focussed the attention of scholars on this question and tried to answer it. This paper aims at proposing a different answer in the light of this writer's view.

The older theory has been that the Andhra country was the original home of the Sātavāhanas, that they proceeded from there to Mahārāṣṭra, conquered it and ruled over both Andhra and Mahārāṣṭra for some time and that they retreated into their home provinces when pressed hard by the Śakas in western and central Deccan. As against this view the following objections are mentioned---

1. All the inscriptions, monuments and coins of the early Sātavāhanas are found exclusively in Mahārāṣṭra and not one of them is found in Andharadeśa.
2. None of the early records of the family contain any reference to Andhra.

   The earliest inscriptions and coins discovered in Andhradeśa belong to the latter Sātavāhanas from the time of the great Pulomāvi.
4. Khāravela, king of Kaḷinga, refers to Sātakaraṇi as the ruler of the west while Andhra is to the South of Kaḷinga
5. Even in the Nasik inscriptions of Bālaśri which enumerates Gautamīputra's conquests and dominions there is no mention of Andhradesa.

   It is necessary to examine these arguments in detail.

1. *Sātakarṇi and Andhradeśa*-This king had the title Dakṣiṇāpathapati. It is argued that it cannot be taken to mean that the king was the lord of the entire Dekkan and that the Dakṣiṇāpatha included in the title must be taken to mean only Mahārāṣṭra, the Dacinavbades of the Periplus. This interpretation is not convincing.

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Everywhere in Sanskrit literature the word Dakṣiṇāpatha means the entire Deccan and not a part of it.[1] Further, the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Sātakarṇi's queen enumerates the variety of sacrifices performed by him and the rich presents distributed on these occasions. Moreover he is said to have performed two Aśvamedhas and one Rājasūya.[2] These indicate beyond doubt that he had a vast empire and great resources and was not the ruler of Mahārāṣṭra alane. The Hathigumpha inscription states that disregarding Sātakarṇi, Khāravela despatched his armies to the west. It does state that Sātakarṇi was the ruler of the west. The Kaḷinga armies seem to have invaded the interior of the Dekkan twice. On one occasion they besieged Muṣikanagara and reached the Kṛṣnā ; on another they destroyed the city of Pithuṇḍa and went to Dramira[3]. It is obvious that on both the occasions the armies of Khāravela passed through Andhradeśa. The mention of Sātakarṇi in connection with either of these expeditions becomes irrelavant and meaningless unless he was connected with the region through which these expeditions were conducted. Otherwise Khāravela's disregarding Sātakarṇi becomes a mere boast. It is a grievous mistake to suppose that the Andhra country is to the south of Kaḷinga and not to its west. A large part of Andhradeśa, now known as Telingana, lies certainly to the west of Kaḷinga. Further, the people of the Vizagapatam district, which was part of Kaḷinga, are considered by the people of the Godāvary district as their eastern neighbours. Similarly, the people of Vizag and Godavary refer to the people of Krishna and Guntur as western neighbours. In a copper-plate grant of the time of the Reḍḍi king Kumāragiri it is said that the rulers of the west and south were his friends and the rulers of the east alone had to be subjugated. The monarch commissioned his general Kāṭayavema to undertake this task and the latter invaded Kaḷinga. It is clear beyond doubt that the Andhra country lay both to the west and south of Kaḷinga and not to the west alone, as generally supposed. Sātakarṇi is known to have performed two Aśvamedhas, and one Rājasūya. Even if it be supposed that one Aśvamedha was performed in token of his conquest of Mālwā, the performance of the second horse sacrifice and of the Rājasūya in addition becomes inexplicable. I believe, therefore, that soon after the expeditions of Khāra-

[1] In the Purāṇas and in the *Mahābhārata* when the peoples of the time are enumerated the Andhras, Konkaṇas and Kuntalas are described as the inhabitants of the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

[2] Buhler, *ASWI*, vol. V. p. 86.

[3] The Hathigumpha inscription in *E.I.* XX. pp. 71-89.

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vela were over, Sātakarṇi re-established his rule over Andhra and performed the second Aśvamedha as a measure of defiance of Khāravela's disregeard of his authority and the Rājasūya as token of his overlordship over the entire Deccan, not withstanding its temporary challenge from the ruler of Kaliṅga. Another matter of controversy is with regard to two early Sātavāhana coins discovered in Andhra which are assigned to this Sātakarṇi. One of them is admitted to be a coin of this king. The other bears the legend " Rano—vi (bhi) rasa".[1] It is argued that this coin ought to be assigned to Rājā Kubhiraka of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions, the worn out space after "Rano" being filled by the letter "Ku".[2] This suggestion is very unreasonable. Two letters have to be supplied and not one before "Virasa" and the name of Kubhiraka does not therefore fit in here. Further, the name seems to read ..'Vīrasa' and not 'bhirasa'. Sātakarṇi is described in his queen's record as "Vīra" and "Sūra". This reminds us of Bālaśrī's description of her son as Ekavīra.[3] I would, therefore, suggest that the blank space on the Sātakarṇi coin should be filled by the expression "Sada" and the full legend should be read as "Rano Sadavirasa "meaning the king, the great Sātavāhana hero". The discovery of these two coins, Sātakarṇi's title Dakṣiṇāpathapati and his performance of two Aśvamedhas prove beyond doubt that he was lord of Andhra and Mahārāṣṭra also.

2. *Gautamīputra and Andhradeśa*—The absence of any mention of Andhradeśa in connection with the enumeration of this king's conquests and territories in his mother's Nāsik inscription is cited to prove that he did not rule over Andhra. A careful examination of the inscription will indicate the erroneous nature of this view. Among his territories mention is made of Asika, Asmaka and Mūlaka. Mulaka is identified with the neighbourhood of Paiṭhān and Asmaka with the country to its south and south-east.[4] If this be accepted Asmaka corresponds to the north-western part of the Andhra country. Among the hills of which Gautamīputra was the overlord, mention is made of Mahendra, Cakora and Siriṭhana. Mahendra is applied to signify the famous Mahendragiri in Kalinga and the name is not known to have been borne by any other hill. Siriṭhana is identified with the Śriśail amhillsin the Kurnool district. Śrīparvata and Cakora are mentioned

[1] Rapson, *CAC* pp. 2,28; Elloit, *CSI* p. 23 n.
[2] Gopalachari, *EHA*. p. 10.
[3] *E.I.* VIII, Nasik Ins. no. 2.
[4] *I.A.* XLVII. p. 150.

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together in literature. It is likely, therefore, that the Cakora hill also lay in the neighbourhood of Śrī-parvata. The Ikṣvāku records from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa indicate that a local hill was also known Śrīparvata.[1] It will be reasonable to suppose that the Nāsik inscription was referring to the entire eastern ghauts through the expressions Mahendra, Cakora and Śirithana. The ghauts above the Godāvary seem to have been known as the Mahendragiri range and those between the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā as the Cakora range, while those to the soutn of the Kṛṣṇā went under the name of Śrīparvata range. The bulk of Andhradeśa lies on either side of these ranges and the statement that Gautamīputra was the lord of these hills cannot but mean that he was ruler of the Andhra country lying about these hills. Of the inscriptions of Gautamīputra found in Mahārāṣṭra the earliest is dated in the 18th year of his reign,[2] and issued from the victorious camp of the Vaijayanti army. It is well known that he conquered Mahārāṣṭra from the Kṣaharātas. Obviously, he could not have ruled over western India before conquering it from the Kṣaharāṭas and must have therefore ruled outside Mahāraṣṭra for some time. Would it be unreasonable theto suppose that he was the ruler of central and eastern Dekkan i.e. Andhradeśa before he effected the conquest of the Kṣaharatas and Mahārāṣṭra? This supposition is borne out by the recent discovery of two coins of this monarch from two celebrated sites in the coastal region of Andhradeśa.[3] Further, his son Pulomāvi is known to have ruled over both eastern and western Dekkan.[4] There is no evidence to show that either he or Gautamīputra himself conquered Andhradeśa. If, as is argued, Gautamīputra himself did not rule over Andhra and if Pulomāvi did not conquer it, how could the latter be the lord of the coastal region? Moreover, the general trend of Sātavāhana history seems to indicate that ever since the foreigners began to press upon the Dekkan, the Sātavāhanas began to retreat towards the east. The prevalence of the rule of the latter Sātavāhanas over both Andhra and Mahārāṣṭra may be taken to mean that eastern Dekkan was an integral part of the Sātavāhana dominion from

[1] *E. I.* XX. P. 22

[2] *E. I.* VIII. pp. 71-73.

[3] These coins were obtained from Chebrolu in the Guntur district. See my Numismatic notes in the Journal of andhra History and Culture I-Nos. i & 2.

[4] His Inscriptions are found at Nasik and Karle in the west and Amaravati and Dharanikota in the east. See nos. 9–17 of my Ins. Andhra in the *JAHC I*—1.

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the beginning, and that they retired into this part of their kingdom when their conquests in the west were lost.

3. *Provenance of early Sātavāhana inscriptions and coins*—It is really very strange that all the coins, monuments and inscriptions of the early kings of this dynasty are found exclusively in the west. But this need not be taken as an argumentum silentio. The foundation of Sātavāhana power is generally assigned to the years immediately following the death of Aśoka. This event was followed in north India by a division of the Mauryan empire and the inroads of the Greeks. The Sātavāhanas who had just conquered Mahārāṣṭra and founded their independent rule there realised that these were unhappy portents. Prudence and foresight required that they should be present in the west in order to meet any possible invasions by these foreigners. Next there was the Śuṅga usurpation of the Mauryan throne and the nearness of the border of the Śuṅga territory to Mahārāṣṭra necessitated the continued stay of the Sātavāhana rulers in the west in order to be ready to meet this new danger. Then came the Śaka erruption. Thus important developments in north India one after another compelled the Sātavāhanas to prolong their stay in the west and they seem to have ultimately decided upon fixing their capital at Paiṭhān on the Godāvary. No other ruling family is definitely known to have risen to power in the Andhra country before the time of Pulomāvi. This absolute security of the home provinces in the east also helped the rulers to prolong their stay in the west for generations. Since generations of them stayed in Mahārāṣṭra, their benefactions were also confined to that region. This explains the find of their early records and monuments in this region.

4. *General progress of early Andhra Power*—It is very wellknown that the Andhra possessed thirty walled towns and a powerful army and ranked next in importance to the Mauryas in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. There is no evidence to indicate that the Andhras had any thing to do with western India till a later date. Obviously, they were in central or eastern Deccan. According to the Purāṇas, Śiśuka, an Andhra, conquered the west with the aid of his fellow tribesmen.[1] From this it is clear that the Sātavāhana conquest of Mahārāṣṭra was a national enterprise of the Andhra people. It follows from this that what Simuka founded was not the power of his own family but a national monarchy on behalf of the entire Andhra people. It seems as though this is a very

[1] *Cf. Śiśuko-ndhras-sajātīyaḥ prapsyatī-mām vasundharām.*

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good instance of war begetting the king. If this view is not conceded, and if no other family is known to have ruled over Andhra before Pulomāvi, we have to suppose that it was a no-man's land from at least the 3rd century B.C. to the middle of the second century A.D. It was this period that witnessed remarkable artistic activity on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā and the building of the Stūpas of Bhaṭṭiprolu and Amarāvati and the excavation of caves like those at Guṇṭupalli. The peace, security and settled conditions that are necessary for the prevalence of this kind of activity would not have been possible unless there was orderly and good government. No other power held sway in the Dekkan except the Sātavāhanas of the Andhra nation at this time.

In view of what has been stated above, the conclusion is irresistible that the Andhradeśa was included in the national kingdom founded by Śimuka and that while the newly conquered Andhra dominions were subject to vicissitudes of fortune, the original provinces of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas enjoyed uninterrupted peace and progress. Domination over Mahārāṣṭra was a passing phase in the history of the early Andhras. Their first known ruling family proceeded from Andhra, returned to it in the face of misfortune and ended in Andhra.

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INTERREGNUM IN THE HISTORY OF CAḶUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

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The history of the kingdom of Bādāmi between the years A.D. 643 and 655 is very obscure. Although the huge kingdom which Pulakeśin II built up at the expense of his neighbours perished with him, it was not completely wiped out. The southern districts were appropriated by the Pallavas. All those, whom Pulakeśin forced to submit to his authority, took advantage of the circumstances under which his reign closed, to reassert their independence. His sons, however, seem to have managed to keep their control over a few districts in the neighbourhood of the capital. Whether they also managed to maintain their independence cannot be ascertained at present. Considerable mist hangs over the events which had taken place immediately after the death of Pulakeśin. One of the most important problems pertains to the identity of his successor. Who succeeded Pulakeśin II? According to Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, "Pulakeśin was succeeded by his second son, Vikramāditya. In the grants he is called Pulakeśin's *priya-tanaya* or favourite son; so that Pulakeśin had arranged that Vikramāditya should succeed him at the principal seat of government."[1] Dr. Fleet holds a similar view: "The records describe him," he says, as "*priya-tanaya*", or "the dear favourite son of his father; and this especially in connection with the facts that he was not the eldest son, and that the expression is applied to him even in the charters issued by his elder brother, Candrāditya, seem to indicate that he had been selected by his father for succession."[2]

In the opinion of these writers, therefore, Vikramāditya who had been specially selected by his father to succeed him on the throne, became the king after his demise. Vikramāditya, however, did not ascend the throne until A.D. 654, a dozen years after the death of his father. What became of the sons of Pulakeśin during the interval? Was there a period of interregnum in the Chālukyan history? These questions are left unanswered both by Sir R. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet. Unless these questions are answered, the reconstruction of the history of the Bādāmi Cāḷukyas cannot be said to be complete.

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I part 1, pp. 186.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I part 1, (Kanarese Dynasties, pp. 361)

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There is no reason for believing that Vikramāditya was specially selected by his father to succeed him. The expression '*priya-tanaya*' occurs in almost all the Cālukyan inscriptions, and no special significance need be attached to it. Thus, e.g. in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, Pulakeśin I is described as the *priya-tanaya* of Raṇarāga.[1] In the Koppāram plates, Pulakeśin II is said to be the *priya-putra* of Kīrtivarman.[2] Therefore, the expression seems to have been made use of to describe in a conventional manner the relationship of a son to his father. This mode of describing the relationship appears to have been copied by the Cālukyas from the Kadambas whom they superseded.[3] That Vikramāditya was not the only favourite son of Pulakśein II is revealed by the inscription of Ādityavarman. This is how he describes himself: *Satyāśraya-śrī-Pṛthvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvarasya priya-tanayaḥ......Adityavarma-Pṛthvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja*-Parameśvaraḥ.[4]

If we have to follow the *priya-tanaya* theory of Drs. Bhandarkar and Fleet, we should believe that Pulakeśin II had specially selected two of his sons to succeed him. It is said that the expression *priya-tanaya* occurs even in the inscriptions of Candrāditya.[5] This is not strictly accurate, as no inscription of Candrāditya has been discovered so far. However, there are two copper plate grants issued by his wife Vijayamahādevī or Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, in which the abve words occur; Vijayamahādevī was at the time a widow, and a subordinate of Vikramāditya. The writer of the grant, who was probably the same as Vikramāditya's scribe, copied the language of the royal grants. The assumption that Candrāditya was alive at that time is not reasonable. One of Vijayamahādevī's grants is dated in her fifth year. According to Dr. Fleet's calculations, it was issued on September 23, 659 A.D.[6] Vikramāditya ascended the throne in 654-55 A.D. Therefore, the reigns of both Vijayamahādevī and Vikramāditya commenced in the same year. If, as Drs. Bhandarkar and Fleet assert, Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's reign were the same as Candrādityaś, he should have come to power in A.D. 654-55 also. There should have been two sons of Pulakeśin ruling as kings of what was

[1] *I.A.* Vol. XIX p. 7

[2] *E.I.* Vol. XVIII p. 257.

[3] *I.A.* Vol. VII p. 33

[4] *J. B. B. R. A.S.* XVI, p. 223

[5] Fleet : *The Kanarese Dynatics*, p. 361

[6] Fleet : *Kanares Dynasties*, p. 365

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left of the Cālukyan dominions at the same time. In order to get over the difficulty of two co-ordinate rulers, Candrāditya, although he was the eldest son of Pulakeśin, was made a subordinate of his younger brother.[1] No explanation is offered for this unusual arrangement. Candrāditya, who was the eldest of Pulakeśin's sons, ought to have become the king, and Vikramāditya his subordinate. Yet our authorities declare that the reverse was the case. The only reason offered is that Vikrama was specially selected. I have shown above that the special selection theory is not tenable. In the absence of even this justification, why did Candrāditya, whose birth right it was to ascend the throne, not only give up his claim, but consent to become a subordinate of his younger brother who supplanted him? No answer is forthcoming to this question. A study of the titles, which are ascribed in Vijayamahādevī's inscriptions, is interesting in this context. The text of the Kochre grant runs thus: *Śatyāśraya-śrī-Pṛthvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-bhaṭṭarkasya priya-tanayaḥ....Vikramādityaḥ tasya jyeṣṭhabhrātā śrī Candrāditya-Pṛithvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirājah.*[2]

Similarly in the Nerūr plates, the following passage occurs: *Satyāśraya-śrī-Pṛthvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara bhaṭṭārkasya priya-tanayo rājā....Vikramādityaḥ tasya jyeṣṭhabhrātuḥ śrī-Candrāditya-prithvīvallabha-Mahārājasya* &c.[3] Vikramāditya, who according to Drs. Bhandarkar and Fleet was the king is mentioned in one of the grants simply *anivārita* Vikramāditya; and in the other, the title *rāja* which was common to all noblemen is added to the above. Candrāditya, who is said to have been the subordinate of Vikiramādtya, has the royal titles.

It is strange that the king should be mentioned without any title, and his alleged subordinate should have titles that properly belonged to a ruler. The wife of Candrāditya was not an enemy of Vikrama. If she were an enemy, she would not have referred to her husband as the elder brother of Vikramāditya; at least she would not have praised him as she had done. Therefore, her relations with Vikrama should have been amicable. Nevertheless, she does not mention his royal titles; instead she attributes them to her husband. Why?

A complete and satisfactory answer is not yet possible in the present state of our knowledge. Nevertheless, one thing

[1] *B.G.*, Vol. I part 1, pp. 185-6

[2] *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 44

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. VII p. 163

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is certain, that is, Vijayabhaṭṭārikā was a subordinate of Vikramāditya. Was her husband living? No. He who bore the title *Pṛthvīvallabha* and Mahārājādhirāja could not have been a subordinate. He should have been the crowned king of the Cālukyas, whatever might be the extent of his power. These titles were also borne by Vikramāditya from 655 A.D. onwards. It is clear that he should have been ruling as the king from that date. Since one of the grants of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā is dated in A.D. 659, Candrāditya, if he were alive, should also have been reigning as a rival king. It is evident from Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's inscriptions that there was no rivalry between Vikramāditya and Candrāditya. Are we to suppose that Candrāditya and Vikramāditya were ruling at the same time as the supreme kings of the Cālukyas? Such a state of affairs would not have been possible. The truth appears to be that Candrāditya who was crowned king of the Cālukyas in 643 or 644 A.D. ruled until A.D. 654. Then commenced the reign of Vikramāditya who seems to have permitted Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the dowager queen, to rule the district containing the modern Sāvantawàḍi State.

The events connected with Candrāditya's reign have not been recorded. He should have been a vassal of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman for a short time. Whether he made any attempt to throw off the Pallava yoke is more than what can be said at present. Probably the conquest of some of the kings whom Vikramāditya is said to have subdued to resusciate the Cālukyan kingdom took place during Candrāditya's reign.

The death of Candrāditya created a new situation. He left no son to succeed him. His brothers began to quarrel with each other for the throne. Ādityavarman proclaimed himself king, and probably succeeded in seizing the throne and the kingdom. He claims to have acquired supreme sovereignty of the whole earth by the strength of his arm and prowess;[1] but he was not able to maintain his authority for long; for Vikramāditya who appears to have suffered some reverses at the beginning of the struggle came out victoriously at the end. The phrase *Sarvān dāyādān vijitya* of Vikramāditya's inscriptions appears to be an allusion of his final victory over Adityavarman.[2]

It is in this connection that we have to notice a statement which occurs in a Santāra epigraph of the 11th century.[3]

[1] See *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI p. 223

[2] *Ibid* pp. 240

[3] Vol. VIII, Nagar 35

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It is said that the Gaṅga king, Durvinīta defeated on a field of battle a Kāḍuveṭṭi (Pallava king); and established his own daughter's son in the kingdom belonging to the descendents of Jayasiṁhavallabha. Now, the founder of the Chālukyan kingdom was Jayasiṁhavallabha, and no other kingdom of the time could claim a Jayasiṁhavallabha as its founder. Therefore, Durvinīta's victory over the Pallava king had as its direct consequence the establishment of his daughter's son in the kingdom belonging to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. As the epigraph under consideration belongs to the 11th century, the statement regarding the achievements of Durvinīta preserved in it should be regarded only as a 11th century copy of an old tradition; it is, however, probable that it contains an element of truth; for, in an early stone inscription found at Nirgund, it is said that Nirvinīta's younger son assumed the Kongani crown from Kāḍuveṭṭi and the Pallava king.[1] Nirvinīta is the same as Avinīta as the prefixes *Nir* and *A* mean the same thing. Avinīta had at least three sons, the eldest of whom he wanted to make his successor; his second son by a princess of Punnāṭa was Durvinīta and probably he had a younger brother. Therefore, it was Dīrvinīta who wrested from the Kāḍuveṭṭi and the Pallava king the province of Kongu. According to his inscriptions, Durvinīta "wages sanguinary wars for the possession of Andari, Alathur and Pennagaram which are said to be places included in Kongu.[2] Therefore, there is sufficient epigraphic evidence to show that Durvinīta was fighting with the Pallavas in Kongu. We may accept the tradition preserved in the Santāra inscription as genuine. In that case, the connection between the defeat of the Pallavas by Durvinīta and the establishment of his own daughter's son in the kingdom belonging to the dynasty of Jayasiṁhavallabha should be discovered. Since the person established in the kingdom belonging to the dynasty of Jayasiṁhavallabha was a daughter's son of Durvinīta, he could not have been a member of the Gaṅga family. Durvinīta's daughter should have been married into some other royal family; since his daughter's son was established in the territory of Jayasiṁhavallabha's family, it is reasonable to suppose that he was also a descendant of Jayasiṁhavallabha.

Now which of the Cālukyan kings of Bādāmi was a daughter's son of Durvinīta? As the Santara epigraph does not mention any name in this connection, it is not easy to find

[1] Vol. VI cq 50

[2] Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* pp. 36.

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the name of the king. We must get at it in an indirect fashion. A survey of the history of the Bādāmi Cālukyas shows that there were only two occasions during the seventh century A.D., when the heir to the throne stood in need of external help. Once at the close of the reign of Maṅgaḷīśa who attempted to prevent his nephew Pulakeśin II from ascending the throne. Pulakeśin was "either banished by Maṅgaḷīśa; or voluntarily banished himself."[1] A civil war broke out in the Cālukyan kingdom during the course of which as noticed already, Maṅgaḷīśa was killed and Pulakeśin II became king in his place. Was Durvinīta one of the neighbouring princes whom Pulakeśin asked for assistance during the days of his exile? This question must be answered in the affirmative, if we believe that Pulakeśin was the daughter's son of Durvinīta. But was he Durvinīta's daughter's son? Pulakeśin II, it is true, was a contemporary of Durvinīta; but he could not have been the daughter's son of the latter; for Durvinīta ascended the throne in 605 A.D., that is some four years before Pulakeśin's accession, and he died in 650 A.D. that is seven years after Pulakeśin's death. It is probable that Durvinīta was a comparatively young man at the time of his accession, and he could not have had a grown up grandson like Pulakeśin at the time. Moreover, it is said in the Chiplun plates that the Sendraka prince Śrīvallabha Senānanda Mahārāja was the maternal uncle of Pulakeśin II.[2] Therefore, the mother of Pulakeśin could not have been a Gaṅga princess.

The second occasion when a Cālukyan prince stood in need of external help was at the close of the reign of Candrāditya. The Cālukyas did not yet succeed in emancipating themselves from the Pallava yoke. Both Ādityavarman and Vikramāditya, as we have already noticed, attempted to ascend the throne; the former was able to make good his claim probably with the assistance of the Pallavas. It would not have been possible for Vikramāditya to contend successfully against such a powerful combination without external assistance. It was only natural that he should have sought the help of the Gaṅga king, whose position on the western frontier of the territory belonging to the Pallava confederacy should have made his services invaluable. Durvinīta, who wanted to expel the Pallavas from Kongu, appears to have gladly joined Vikramāditya in his struggle against them. That Vikramāditya was assisted by Durvinīta in his war upon the Pallavas is shown

[1] See *E. I.*, Vol. VI pp. 9 note 5
[2] *E.I.*, Vol. VII p. 50

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by an epigraph at Jaingamarapalli in the Pāvagada Taluk of the Tumkur district according to which Vikramāditya and Konguni Arasa (i.e. Durvinīta) fell upon Kāḍuveṭṭi and captured Kāñchīpura.[1]

Was Vikramāditya, then a daughter's son of Durvinīta? I believe that he was; because,

(i) Durvinīta was a contemporary of Pulakeśin II and Vikramāditya I, the descendants of Jayasiṁhavallabha, the founder of the Cālukyan dynasty, and he was old enough to be the grandfather of the latter.

(ii) Durvinīta had a daughter's son whom he established on the throne of the Chālukyas by defeating the Kāḍuveṭṭi.

(iii) He is known, from contemporary epigraphic records, to have waged war on Pallavas for the sake of the province of Kongu.

(iv) Vikramāditya had also to wage war against the Pallavas, to regain the lost territory which they had annexed at the time of the death of his father.

(v) Vikramāditya had a relation, probably his mother, who was known as Gaṅgamahādevī.[2] She was probably a daughter of the Gaṅga king, Durvinīta.

The allies appear to have commenced hostilities by invading the province of Kongu, which was governed by a Kāduveṭṭi. They defeated him in a battle or series of battles, and occupied the Kongu Nāḍu. Who was the Kāḍuveṭṭi whom Durvinīta is said to have defeated. In a paper contributed some years ago to the Triveni,[3] I identified him with Narasiṁhavarman I. It is, however, more likely that he wasa different Pallava chief, one of the members of the Trairājya Pallava, who was governing the Kongu country. He seems to be the same chief as the Kāḍuveṭṭi who according to the Mahāvaṁśa, showered gifts on Mānavammā, the Ceylonese exile who sought refuge with Narasiṁha I. If there is any truth in the sequence of events as narrated by the Santāra inscription, the attack

[1] *MAR.* 1941. pp. 220-21. The inscription under consideration has been attributed to Vikramāditya II in the Report, but it really belongs to Vikramāditya I.

[2] See The Gadwal Plates Ephigraphia Indica Vol.X pp.100. The Honnūr Plates (MAR 1939 no. 30) shows clearly that the Ganga and the Cālukya royal families were bound together by marriage ties.

[3] The Triveni Vol. III pp. 112-120

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upon Kāḍuveṭṭi was the first step which they took against the Pallavas. They wanted, probably, to deprive Ādityavarman of the assistance which the Pallavas were giving him. Having succeeded in achieving their object, they next proceeded against Ādityavarman himself. The events connected with this struggle are not known. The war however terminated favourably to Vikramāditya. This is cryptically alluded to in one of his early copper plate grants. It is stated in the Karnul plates No. IV[1] that Vikramāditya subdued all his *dāyādās* or kinsmen, which can refer only to his victory over Āditya and his partisans.

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[1] *J.B.B.R.A.S.* Vol. XVI pp. 223.

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RELATION BETWEEN BENGAL AND CHINA IN ANCIENT TIME

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The Chinese Annals mention India by the name Thien-chu. Thien-chu was sometime called Shin-tu, Mo-kie-tho (Magadha), P-lo-men (Brahman), or Chen-tou. It consisted of five parts viz., Northern Thien-chu, Middle Thien-chu, Eastern Thien-chu, Southern Thien-chu, and Western Thien-chu. Ma-Twan-Lin relates that "Southern India is bounded by a Great Sea, the northern extends to the snowy mountains." "Eastern India is bounded on the east by a great sea, it is near Fu-nan (Siam) and Lin-i (Tsiampa), it is only separated by a narrow sea." "Western India touches Ki-pien and Po-sse (Persia)." "Central India is situated in the middle of the other four divisions of India."[1]

The general Pan-yong submitted his Report to the Chinese Emperor in 125 A.D. He lays down that "the kingdom of T'ien-teuon is also known as Chen-tou." "If after leaving the kingdom of Kao-fu (Kabul), which belongs to the Yue-tche, one goes south-west, one reaches the western sea; in the east one gets to the kingdom of P'an-k'i; all these lands form part of Chen-tou."[2] Ma-Twan-Lin also states that all the countries from Kao-fu to Pan-khi on the east belong to Shin-tu.[3] Chavannes remarks that P'an-k'i is apparently situated in Annam or in Burma. In my opinion it may be taken as identical with Vaṅga or Vaṅgāla.

Sometime the term T'ien-chu was used in a limited sense in some Chinese literature. *Hsiang-chiao-pi-pien,* a Buddhist cyclopædia of the Ming dynasty, lays down that "Pang-ka-la is in the east of T'ien-chu; Chao-no-p'o in the middle; Magadha in the south; Kapila in the west; and Ka-she-na in the north."[4] Dr. F. Hirth identifies Pang-ka-la with Bengala. It seems

[1] *IA,* IX, 15.

[2] *IHQ,* XIV 502; K. A. Nilkantha Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India,* p. 10.

[3] *IA,* IX, 15.

[4] *JRAS,* 1896, p. 496, fn.

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to be identical with Pan-yong's P'an-k'i, referred to above. Ka-she-na is identified with Kusinara, modern Kasia in the Gorakhpur District, and Kapila with Kampila, modern Kampil, in the Farrukhabad District, U. P.

Hiuen Tsang places Karṇasuvarṇa, Kāmarūpa and Samataṭa in Eastern India.[1] According to I-Tsing Harikela was the eastern limit and Tāmralipta was the southern limit of Eastern India.[2] It apparently follows that Harikela was to the east of Samataṭa. But according to Yādavaprakāśa and Hemcandra Harikela is a synonym for Vaṅga.[3] I-Tsing's Harikela might have been a country in which Samataṭa was situated.

I-Tsing relates that "about forty stages to the east of the temple of Nālandā, descending the Ganges, one arrives at the temple of Mṛgasthāpana." "Not far from this is a ruined establishment, with only its foundation remaining, called the Tchina (or China) Temple. Tradition says that formerly a Mahārāja called Śrīgupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests. He was prompted to do so by the arrival of about twenty priests of that country who had travelled from Sz'chuen to the Mahābodhi Temple to pay their worship. Being impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This occurred some five hundred years ago."[4]

I-Tsing's forty stages are equal to more than two hundred twentyeight miles. If one travels two hundred twentyeight miles east from Nālandā following the bank of the Ganges, one arrives in the Maldah District, which is situated in ancient Varendrī. That Mṛgasthāpana was situated in Varendrī is attested by a miniature label in a Nepal manuscript of the eleventh century.[5] If the extent of the period that elapsed from the date of the foundation of the China Temple to that of the time of I-Tsing, as given by I-Tsing, is taken as literally

[1] Watters, II.
In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta Samaṭaṭa is mentioned as a frontier territory; *CII*.

[2] Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion* etc., XLVI.

[3] Author's "*Yādavaprakāśa on the Ancient Geography of India*", *IHQ*, XIX, 220.

[4] Chavannes, *Voyages des Palerins Bouddhistes*, 82; Beal, *Life of Hieun Tsang*, XXVI.

[5] Author's "*The Early Home of the Imperial Guptas*", IHQ. XIV, 532; *History of Bengal*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, I, 69,48. Foucher, *Icon.*, 62,63 *Bhāratavarsha*. Āsādha, p. 25.

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true, the date of the visit of the twenty Chinese priests in India will have to be placed in the latter part of the second century A.D. Mr. Allan identifies Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta, mentioned above, with the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, and places the date of the foundation of the China Temple in the middle of the third century A.D. Lands granted by Śrī-Gupta for the maintenance of the China Temple were obviously situated in the neighbourhood of that temple, i.e. in Varendrī.

Fa-hien lived in Tāmralipti for two years in the early part of the fifth century A.D. Hiuen Tsang, who visited Bengal in 639 A.D., mentions Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Tāmralipta and Karṇasuvarṇa.[1] Ta-ch'eng-tang (Mahāyānapradīpa), a pupil of Hiuen Tsang, came to Tāmralipta via Ceylon and South India. He lived there for twelve years.[2]

I-Tsing reached by the sea-route to Tāmralipta in 673 A.D. At this time Mahāyānapradīpa was there. I-Tsing learnt Brahma language (Sanskrit), grammar and Śabdavidyā there. He lived in Tāmralipta for less than a year and started for Nālandā in the company of Mahāyānapradīpa. When he was ten days journey from Nālandā he was attacked by the robbers, who stripped him off his garments. Sometime after 685 A.D. he returned to Tāmralipta and sailed for Ka-cha.[3]

In the latter part of the seventh century some more Chinese pilgrims visited Bengal. Tan-kwong, a priest of King-chan, in Hupeh, in China, came to Harikela by the southern sea-route. He found favour with the king of the country, who built a temple and handed books and images over to him.[4] About this time Wou Hing visited Harikela by the same route.[5] Seng-chi visited Samataṭa by the sea and received honour from the king of that country.[6]

In 692 A.D. "the king of the kingdom of Eastern India Mo-lo-pa-ma, the king of the kingdom of Western India, Che-lo-ito (Śīlāditya), the king of the kingdom of the South India Tche-leou-k'i-pa-lo (Cālukya Vallabha), the king of the kingdom

[1] Waters, II,

[2] Beal's, *Life*, XXV.

[3] Takakusu, XXXI, fn.

[4] Beal's, *Life*, XXIX.

[5] *Ibid*, XXXI.

[6] *Ibid*, XXX.

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of Northern India Na-na, the king of the kingdom of Central India Ti-mo-si-na and the king of the kingdom Kieou-tse Yen-yao-pa all came to render homage and make presents" (to the Chinese Emperor).[1] Mo-lo-pa-mo may be restored as Mūlavarman. According to I-Tsing Devavarman, king of Eastern India, who was in possession of lands granted for the maintenance of the China Temple, in Varendrī, built by the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta, flourished in the third quarter of the seventh century.[2] Mūlavarman, the king of Eastern India, was in all probability, the successor of Devavarman.

In 976 A.D. Yang-kie-shue-lo, son of the king of Eastern India, came to pay homage to the Chinese Emperor. Yang-kie-shue-lo may be restored as Yajña(?)śūra. He seems to have been a scion of the Śūra dynasty which was ruling Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā in the first quarter of the eleventh century.[3]

Ma-Twan-lin[4] states that "the king of Eastern India had a son called Man-chu-shi-li (Mañjuśrī), who arrived at the capital in the trains of Chinese monks. Thai-tsong (who mounted the throne in 976) ordered him to be lodged in the Siang-kue-sse convent. He observed rigidly the Buddhist precepts and won the esteem and admiration of the inhabitants of the capital. The emperor having loaded him with riches and favours, all the monks envied and hated him, and as he did not understand the Chinese language, they fabricated a false petition, in which they represented him as asking permission to go back to his own country. The emperor granted him permission." Mañjuśrī was obviously a Buddhist. He seems to have been a prince of the Pāla or the Candra dynasty. About this time Vigrahapāla was ruling north Bengal and Śrīcandra was ruling East Bengal.

Ma-Twan-lin[5] lays down that "in the seventh year of the *Thai-p'ing-hing-kue* period (896 A.D.), Kuang-yuen, a monk of I-cheu, went to India, and on his return brought the Emperor a letter from the king of that country whose name was Mo-si-nang." The following is the text of the letter—"Lately I have learnt that there is in the kingdom of China a king as great as he is enlightened, perfectly holy, perfectly intelligent, and who by his majesty and power reigns supreme. Every day

[1] N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, 116.

[2] Beal's, *Life*, XXVII.

[3] *IA*, IX 22; *EI*, IX.

[4] *IA*, IX, 22.

[5] *Ibid.*

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I think with confusion of my bad fortune, and lament that I cannot go in person to pay homage to you. From afar I look affectionately towards the capital of China and wish your holy person ten thousand felicities."

"On the arrival of Kuang-yuen, I had the honour to receive a holy statuette enriched with diamonds, representing Śākyamuni seated in the attitude of felicity and divine calm. I clothed myself in *ka-sha*, and made offerings to him."

"I humbly desire that the august emperor of China may enjoy long life in order to guide every creature to happiness, and that he may enable all those who are exposed to shipwreck, to sail over the immense sea of life and death. Now I have entrusted Kuang-yuen with some relics of Śākyamuni, that he may present to your majesty on my behalf."

It follows from the above statement that Mo-si-nang, king of India, was a Buddhist. He was not, however, the paramount sovereign of India. In 986 A.D. Bhīmagupta was ruling in Kāshmīr, Jayapāla in the Punjab, Pratihāra Rājyapāla in Kanauj, Pāla Mahīpāla in Gauḍa and Magadha, Śrīcandra in Vaṅga, Tyāgasimha of the Pralambha dynasty in Kāmarūpa, Lonabhāra of the second Kara dynasty in Orissa, Gaṅga Vajrahasta in Kaliṅga, Bāḍapa in Andhra, Rājarāja in Drāviḍa, Taila II in the Deccan, Mūlarāja I in Gujarat, Muñja in Mālwā, Yuvarāja I in Tripuri, Dhaṅga in Bundelkhand, and Vigraharāja IV in Śākambhari.[1] Of these kings Mahīpāla I of Gauḍa and Magadha, and Śrīcandra of Vaṅga were Buddhists. Mahīpāla's kingdom extended at least upto Benares in the east. He was virtually the king of Tien-chu in its limited sense. He may quite reasonably be identified with the king Mo-si-nang, referred to by Ma-Twan-lin.

In 983 A.D. a Chinese monk named Fa-yu came to India in search of Buddhists, but shortly afterwards returned to China. "Being desirous of returning to India he asked imperial letters of recommendation to the foreign princes whose dominions he would have to travel through. He presented them to the king of San-fo-tsi (Sumatra); whence he came after a long voyage to the Prince of A-ku-la, and Kiemang (Kāma ?), steward of cavalry, chief of the kingdom of Ko-lan and Tsan-ta-lo (Chandra) and king of Western India[2]...." Tsan-ta-lo, referred to, may very reasonably be identified with Candra-

[1] *IA.*, XIV, 139.
[2] *Ibid*, IX, 23.

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dvīpa, which was the name of the southern part of the Bakharganj District, Bengal.

Chao-jụ-kua (A.D. 1205-1258) gives a short description of Ch'a-na-chi, the capital of Peng-ka-lo (Bengala). He states that the common people there are combative and devoted solely to robbery. The medium of exchange was the white cowry shells, ground into shape, as money. The principal productions of the country were superior double-edged sword blades, cotton and other cloths.[1]

Mahuan, an interpreter, attached to the suite of Cheng Ho, who was sent to various kingdoms by the Chinese Emperor, Yung-lo, came to Bengal shortly after 1405.[2]

All the evidence, referred to, indicate that a cordial relation was established between Bengal and China in ancient time. The kings of Bengal in different ages built monasteries for the residence of the Chinese pilgrims and took utmost care for their comforts. The Chinese emperors on the other hand did not fail to receive with great honour the princes and chiefs of Bengal, who visited the Chinese court from time to time.

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1 *JRAS,* 1896 p. 495,62

2 *Ibid,* 1895, p. 523.

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FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE LIFE AND CULTURE OF GUJARAT (Summary)

By

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Since early times Gujarat has been attracting foreigners, as it is a maritime province. The Romans came only as traders and could not influence its culture. The Śakas came as conquerers, but they soon became completely merged in the local population and their rulers like Rudradāman became great admirers of Hindu religion and Sanskrit language. The Parsis came as refugees and therefore naturally assimilated themselves with their hosts. They did not much influence the life and culture of Gujarat.

The Muslims came as conquerors and converters, but very soon a tendency to compromise manifested itself. Many of the converts like the Khojas of Kathiawar stuck to their old customs and costume. Hindus began to show respect to Pirs and Muslims began to join the Hindus in their Divali celebrations. The two communities lived side by side and one could not non-co-operate with the other. Muslim art and culture has contributed much to the culture of Gujarat, especially the architecture. The Muslim architecture on the other hand is not purely Saracenic ; it is influenced by the Jain architecture of the province. The Muslims however could not influence the Gujarati literature to any extent : it is unaffected by Persian literature.

The influence exercised by the British rule is much more all pervading than that exercised by the Muslim culture. It need not be however discussed here in detail, as it is manifesting itself in the same degree in all the provinces of India.

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EMPEROR HUMAYUN AND RAO MALDEO

By

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Emperor Humayun ascended the throne at Agra on December 29, 1530 A.D. But when on May 17, 1540 A.D. he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Sher Khan at Kanauj, he roamed about the country for about two years, and on the 7th May 1542 A.D. arrived at Uchch. On the 2nd July, he left for Marwar in the hope of securing the help of Rao Maldeo, who was at that time the mightiest of the Rajput rulers of India. On the 31st July, he encamped at a place situated about 24 miles from Bikaner.

We learn from the Persian chronicles that before the Emperor reached Jodhpur, Sher Shah managed to win over Rao Maldeo, through his emissary, to his side, and therefore the Rao planned to capture the Emperor and hand him over to Sher Shah. But as the Emperor got scent of the intrigue, so he, with a handful of his followers, proceeded towards Umarkot[1] via Phalodi. As the Rao at that time was unwilling to incur the displeasure of Sher Shah, he deputed 1500[2] of his soldiers after him. Near Satalmer, they had a skirmish with the rear guards of the Emperor, consisting of at the most 22 persons, and were defeated.[3]

But the version given in the Rajput chronicles is as under:

When Humayun, after his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah, arrived near Jodhpur to seek the help of Rao Maldeo, the Rao received him with befitting honours and offered Bikaner for his maintenance.[4] Here the Emperor expressed his desire to encamp at Phalodi rather than near Jodhpur, which was gladly accepted. Accordingly, when he left Deijar for Phalodi, the Rao deputed some of his soldiers to follow him to ward off any conflict in the way. But the Imperial party took it as a plan to do away with them on the way and plunder their

[1] Tabkat-i-Akbari (Elliot's *History of India*), Vol. V, pp. 211-212 and *Humayun Nama* by Gulbadan Begham (English translation by Mrs. Beveridge) p. 154.

[2] Tazkare-al-Waqayat, pp. 40-41.

[3] Tabqat-i-Akbari (Elliot's *History of India*), Vol. V, pp. 212-213 and *Humayunama* (English translation by Mr. Beveridge) pp. 154-156 and *Akbar-Nama* English Translation by Beveridge) Vol. I, pp. 373-374.

[4] *Humayunama* (Eng. trans. by Mr. Beveridge) p. 154.

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treasures. When Humayun reached Phalodi, some of his retainers slaughtered a cow there. This provoked the Rajputs, which increased the suspicion already existing in the mind of the Emperor, and therefore he left Phalodi and proceeded towards Umarkot. But the Rajputs took this slaughter as an insult to their religion and to avenge it, they attacked the rear guards of the Imperial cavalcade near Satalmer and then turned back.

Though no mention of this it is found in Persian chronicles, yet we learn from Jauhar, the author of *Tazkare-al-Waqayat*, that when the Emperor entered into the territory of Jaisalmer, his followers committed the same mistake and slaughtered some cows there. This offended the religious susceptibilities of Rao Lunkaran, the then ruler of Jaisalmer and he commanded his son Maldeo to fill up all the wells with sand, which happen to fall in the way of the Imperial cavalcade, to deprive them of water. This resulted in the death of a number of Imperial followers. In this way, facing so many vicisitudes, the Emperor reached Umarkot.

Further Nizamuddin, the author of *Tabqat-i-Akbari* writes :—On his way, two Hindus were captured and brought before the Emperor. With a view to draw true facts out of them the Emperor ordered that one of them should be put to death. But at that moment they freed themselves from their captivity and snatching the daggers from the two persons standing nearby, fell upon their captors, and after killing a number of them they themselves were slain. In this scuffle the Emperor's own charger was also killed.

This statement depicts the true Rajput character and therefore it is also impossible to believe the defeat of 1500[1] Rajput cavalry at the hands of only eight[1] or twenty-two Imperial horsemen as mentioned above.

We learn from *Akbar-Nama* too that Humayun's party, at that time consisted of only 20 nobles, and a few soldiers and followers.

Considering over the facts the version narrated in the Rajput chronicles seems to be more reliable, because if the Rao had any mind to capture the Emperor to gratify Sher Shah, he could have easily done so, with the help of his 80,000 brave Rajput warriors, while the Emperor accompanied by a very small number of followers was encamped only eight miles from Jodhpur.

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[1] *Tazkare-al-Waqayat*, pp. 40-41.

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EARLY ARAB EXPEDITIONS TO INDIA

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The first Arab expedition to India was in the year 15 or 16, A.H. when 'Uthmān, son of Abul 'Aṣī Ghakafī, was appointed as governor of Bahrain and 'Oman. isī was a naval expedition and the Arabs proceeded to Thana in Bombay Presidency where they were successful. 'Utmhān's younger brother Hakam sent Mughīrah to Debul (somewhere near Karachi or Thatta as most of the historians say). Mughīrah defeated Samba, son of Dīwā'ij, the governor of Debul. He did not die there as the Chachnama asserts, rather he escaped and lived for a good long time afterwards. The third naval expedition was for Broach called Baros by Arabs.

At Caliph 'Omar's commands, who had a great dislike for naval expeditions, these expeditions by sea were given up and 'Uthmān along with Hakam turned their adventure seeking activities to Persia.

In the year 22 A.H. Arabs under Hakam, sonof 'Amr' reached the Sindh border by land defeating the joint armies of Makrāns and Sindhis. Had Hakam been permitted to proceed on, he says, he would have conquered on to River Indus. Suhār al-'Abadī,' who was sent with the booty, described Makrān in such words before Caliph 'Omar' that th forbade Hakam from proceeding on.

These words of Suhār al-'Abadī have wrongly been attributed to Hukaim bin Jabalah who is stated to have been sent during the next Caliph's reign to reconnoiter and report about India, because :—

1. Hukaim's character as described by Ṭabarī does not vouchsafe for his having been entrusted with such an important mission.
2. This story has not been corroborated by any other historian.
3. Arab opinion about India had been favourable as expressed by Ibnul Kirrīyyah and not so bad as spoken of by Hukaim.
4. The words uttered by him can be true about conditions in Makrān but in no case can they be applied to India as stated.

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During Caliph 'Uṭhmān's reign 'Abdur Rahman attacked the Indian border on the Sistan side. He is the only companion of the Holy Prophet (Sahābī) under whose banner Muslims set foot on the Indian soil.

In the days of 'Alī' th fourth Caliph, Hārith bin Murrah a 'Abadī volunteered to fight on the Sind border in 38 A.H. Taghār was probably his general who is mentioned by Elliot on the authority of the Chachnamah and Tuhfatul Kirām as having been successful in Kaikānān, Kohpayah and Bahraj. These are the persons about whom Col. Tod says that generals of 'Ali made conquests in Sind.

During Muāwiyah's Caliphate Rāshid and Ibn-i-Sawwār made conquests on the Sind frontier while Muhallab bib Abu Sufra, a lieutenant of 'Ābdur Rahmān the Companion entered India on the North Western side and pushed on his way to Lahore. He returned by the Gomal pass reaching Karmān and Sīstan in 44 A.H.

Rāshid succeeded Ibn-i-Sawwār and stayed in these parts for about two years. He was eventually killed by the Meds who gathered to the strength of 50,000 persons to obstruct his way while returning. Sinān took up the leadership after his death and established his rule in these parts.

Mun*dh*ir was another person who invaded Būdha (Gandava) and Kaikānān, and was successful there but he went on to Kandahar.

Ibn-i-Harrī al-Bāhlī as a general of Sinān or as a independant commander was much successful on this frontier. He it seems is the person about whom Col. Tod says, "It was at this era that Rajasthan was first invaded by the arms of Islam. Manika Rae, then prince of Ajmer, was slain by Asuras (Muslims) and his only child Lot, then an infant of 7 years of age, was killed by an arrow while playing on the battlement....; whatever were the means, however, by which Ajmere was captured and Doola Rae slain, the importance of the event has been deeply imprinted on the Chauhans, who in remembrance of it, deified the youthful heir of Ajmer. 'Lot-putra' is still the most conspicuous of the Chauhan penates." This happened in c. 65 A.H.

On the Kabul side Abbad bin Ziyad was active who had a lively quarrel with Ibn-i-Mufarri*gh*, the poet, in one of his expeditions.

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In 75 A.H. Hajjāj or 'Abdul Malik appointed Sa'īd al-Kilābi to this border. Sa'īd was killed by Mu'àwiyah and Muhammad, sons of Hārith al-'Allāfī- for having killed one of their tribe. Mujjā'ah was then sent in his place with orders to punish the 'Allāfīs. They again murdered 'Abdur Rahmān, a lieutenant of Mujjā'ah. Then fearing Hajjāj, they ran away to Sind where Raja Dāhir gave them protection for having destroyed an army of 80,000 men who were marching against Dāhir, in a night attack.

Muhammad bin Hārūn was the next man to be entrusted with the task of punishing the 'Allāfīs. It was during his governorship that ships, bearing presents from the King of Ruby island along with some orphan daughters of the Arab merchants who had settled theirin, were plundered by Sindi pirates. A Yarboo'ī woman in her distress called upon Hajjāj for help. He, when informed about this incident, wrote to Raja Dāhir for redress. Dāhir declined. Hajjāj sent 'Ubaid-ullah bin Nabhān to Debul, who died on the battle-field. Budail succeeded him and Muhammad bin Hārūn was ordered to help him. Budail did not live long, for after the battle his horse overthrew him and he was taken prisoner and killed.

After Budail's failure 'Omar volunteered but his request was not granted and Muhammad bin Kāsim aws sent in his stead he conquered the whole of Sind upto Multan and a part of Rajputana.

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PIRACY, PRIVATEERING AND REPRISAL IN INDIAN WATERS, *DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*.

By

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Clashes between different groups of Europeans and Asiatics were not infrequent in our seas during the period under review.

The end of the first phase of the conflict between Indians and Europeans curiously coincided with the passage of the sixteenth century. Even though the advantage might have remained on the whole with the European, the Indian had not failed to cover himself with glory.

The heroic tale of the fifteen hundred Indian sailors who assisted the epic landing of the United Nations in France in 1944, undoubtedly has its beginning in our naval annals of these days.

Into the seventeenth century there came the Malabaris with their proud battle-scars of the Portuguese wars; the Gujratis with their victories over several Lourenzos;[1] the Arakanis with their terrible maritime record in the Bay of Bengal; the Bengalis who were about to add fresh laurels in their brilliant expedition against the Maldives, under a chivalrous admiral; the Ceylonese, Kanarese, Marathas, etc. The Marathas had distinguished themselves on the waters in the 16th century under "Timoja,"[2] Malhār Rāo[3] and others. These sea-captains had their successors in those of Shivaji and Sambhaji who fought with the English and the Portuguese, the Mughals the and Abyssinians.

The Portuguese who in the sixteenth century had struggled so hard against the Indians on the seas, often with the help of many Indian sailors, fighters and pilots (on a number of occasions supported by this very "Timoja") now found their hard won maritime position and their dentures on the Indian coast-line challenged by new arrivals—the Dutch, the English, the French, the Danes, etc. In this "bellum omnes contra omnes" for commercial monopoly and plunder (a state of affairs that was certainly "nasty, poor, brutish", but long) no one,

[1] They "engaged certain vessels of the Franks (Persian Farangī, Firingī) capturing the largest of them, and obtaining a complete victory" (Tohfut-ul-Mujahideena transld by Rowlandson, 92 and 93) See Portuguese accounts also.

[2] Whom Dames even in 1918 calls a pirate (The Book of Durte Barbosa, I, p. 176 n.)

[3] Rāoji.

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either Indian or European, desisted from tearing out the throats of his rivals on the sea.

It is however certainly to the credit of our forefathers that inferiority in equipment, and dissensions in their own ranks, did not deter them from picking up the gage of battle that was in very many cases wantonly flung to them by these European races. Indian bows and obsolete guns bade defiance to European artillery, in many a hard fought encounter. On one occasion the English chronicler himself admits that the Malabaris (in one of their fights with the English) were "so resolut that they would not step aside" even from the muzzell" of the English cannon. The English had blown up the upper deck of their ship in defence, and "divers of the Malabaris had been "slayne and maimed." But "this seemed little or nothing to diminish or quell their courage."[1] Secondly, overcoming the various obstacles put in their way by man and nature, Indian trading ships continued to sail to Arabia and Persia, Burma and Malay, Ceylon and the East Indies, almost in unending streams.

But while the land forces of the Mughal Emperor were thundering across the length and breadth of India, Destiny, calmly seated on the deck of the ship from the West, was busy in weaving out the future history of his successors in imperial sway. The Mughal's face was however never turned towards the sea, and one can easily perceive that if that "about a kos" voyage of Jahāngīr from Cambay had been longer and more frequent, the whole course of our history would have flowed in a different direction. The Mughal expelled the Portuguese from Hughli; undertook naval campaigns against the Arakanis; fought the Maratha fleets; but failed to grasp the fact that his successor had already arrived from the West. The founders of the modern British Empire in India were not Clive and Hastings but Middleton and Saris. The latter demonstrated that by holding Indian ships to ransom on the high seas, concessions might be wrung from the Indian authorities on land. In other words, if the overland route "unto the court of the Great King of Mogor and Cambaia"[2] had become the usual one, the English might perhaps have risen to be our agents in big business with Europe, but never to be our rulers. When at least a part of their cargo. Leaving aside the judgement

[1] My paper, "The Malabar Corsair" etc. in Bengal Past and Present, Vol .LX, Parts 1 and II, pp. 86 to 100; Marine Records Vol. LXII, etc.

[2] Tūzuk-i-Jahangīrī (Rogers and Beveridge) Vol. I, p. 417; Mildenhall's letter from Kazvin of 3rd Oct. 1606.

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it was definitely proved in the seventeenth century that English guns could overcome any conceivable opposition which could be put up by us on the high seas, in defence of our trading and maritime rights, an orientation of the Company's policy (perceptible even in the Charter of Charles II) began to creep in. The influence of sea-power on our history has never been so forcibly illustrated as during this century.

Amidst the din of these maritime clashes, Marakkārs and Angrias were called pirates in European documents, and the Malabaris dubbed as a "thieftuous nation." On the other hand, in connection with the English attack on the Taufīqī (for example) it was recorded that "such violence was never done to any Musulman by any Portugall or other English before." The "Farangī ships alone", says another record in the same strain, "did not keep the peace. The Muhammadan ships were the special objects of their fury."[1]

But when President Wylde himself speaks of "pilfering surprizals" by the English against Malabari trading vessels which "doe the nation and your (of the Company) accion much wronge" , no doubt need be felt about the category under which these depredations are to be placed. "Such is the preying disposition of your seamen", adds the President, "that all is fish that commeth to nett.[2]"

Then there was the custom established by the Portuguese of forcing their system of passes, without the possession of which Indian ships would be liable to capture on the high seas. The principles on which this policy rested have been enunciated by Barroes thus :—(1) "There does exist a common right to all to navigate the seas": (2) "But this right does not extend beyond Europe": (3) "Therefore" "the Portuguese as Lords of the Sea are justified in confiscating the goods of all those who navigate the seas without their permission.[3]" In addition to the huge sums that Indian ships had to pay for sailing in their own and neighbouring waters, heavy gratituties had to be paid to the Portuguese captains who happened to intercept them on their way. Even the granting of a safe conduct was no guarantee against subsequent molestation. Thus Albuquerque himself on one occasion secretly instructed one of his captains-Duarte de Sousa—to camouflage himself as a

[1] English Factories 1634-6, p. 197 etc, Panikkar, Malabar & the Portuguese, p. 146 etc; Gray & Bell : Voyages of Pyrard ; Barroes, Barbosa,etc, Tohfut p. 177 etc; Maratha Records, etc; Kerala Pazhama p.164 etc.

[2] O.C. 1306; E.F.1630-33.

[3] Panikkar p. 41 ; Barroes, Vol. I, Bk. I.

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mutineer, cruise off Dabul and capture all ships making for that port, even if they carried Portuguese passes. Dabul was at that time under a friendly power. The pretext, that the governor of that port had entertained" several Portuguese of humble birth magnificently" seems to be a flimsy one. In 1613 the Portuguese plundered the huge Rahïmi—a ship belonging to no less a person than the (Mughal) Queen-Mother "notwithstandinge (according to Withington) their passe which they had of the Portugales." Hundreds of persons from those aboard the vessel are also said to have been transported as prisoners to Goa.

Among the Indian powers, Calicut also issued passes more or less as retaliatory measures, and Cochin complained that various ships were no longer applying for safe-conducts to her, but were procuring them from Calicut. "None may passe", says all English document of the 17th century, "without the Portugals passe, for what, how much, and whither they please to give licence."

Middleton [1]with the sane English conception of sea-power, warned the Mughal of this system, in a letter of 18th May, 1612:—"Your Highness beinge soe greate a monarke to live as it weare in slavery to the Portugalls, in such sorte that your subjects' shipps cannot make any voyage any where butt they must first pay tribute to the Portugalls." He was "much marvellinge that it can be sufferred by your Highness, such open injuryes within your owne land"[2] But the English themselves naturally followed this lucrative practice of granting "cartazes" in the seventeenth century and the ships detained by Middleton himself" desired to have "pasports" from the English, to avoid further levies by any of their compatriots whom the Indians might meet on their voyages later.[3]

This practice had its origin in the contemporary European conception of maritime rights, and has travelled through some of the phases of Napoleon's Continental System to even modern times. But when during this period the Portuguese seized a ship belonging to the Viceroy of Lahor on its way to Arabia, because it had not cared to obtain a pass, the Khān must have called this act as one of piracy.[4] Then Hall—a captain acting on behalf of the Company—seized eight Indian ships

[1] Danvers : The Portuguese in India, Vol. I ; Foster : Early Travels p. 135, p. 203.

[2] English copy in Journal of John Jourdain, p. 218 et seq. (Hakluyt).

[3] Purchas III, p. 400.

[4] According to Father Pierre du Jarric.

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on one occasion and held them captive under his guns off Swally. Van den Broeck says that all these veesels had been granted passes by the English. Taking the 'consultations' held on 13th February and 23rd October, 1622, and other evidence into account, we may safely conclude that Hall had the approval of the agents of the Company in India, behind him.[1]

The English certainly took the law into their own hands. But they had their grievances to redress. They had been turned out of the Surat factory, an embargo had been laid on their goods at Ahmadebad and Cambay, two of their factors—Hughes and Parker—had been imprisoned. The Indians could retort by pointing out that the English had seized money from a ship belonging to Mughal royalty, taken away 23,000 lārés of Safi Khan, and Bickley's sqardon had captured a frigate from Sind. To sum up. We find in these acts the operation of the Law of Reprisal (of those days) mingled with the use of the sword of sea-power by a nation strong on the waters against another which is powerful on land.

Interloping again is sometimes interpreted as piracy. Wade of Courteen's Association accused the "London Company" itself of being "sharers and abettors of piracies," "thieves" and "confederates." By about this time we also find that "the Bristol's men were looked on as pirates, and Mr. Mews a supercargo was arraigned before the General's Tribunal."[2]

Another broad principle must not be forgotten in course of interpretation—the distinction between privateering and piracy. Even the first voyage of the Company has been regarded as more a privateering rather than a trading venture in relation to attacks on Spanish—Portuguese shipping. Thus on one occasion a Portuguese ship was chased, seized and plundered, and 146 buts of wine, 176 jars of oil etc. were seized.[3] By the close of the 16th century not only England but other European nations were freely issuing commissions to privately equipped ships to seize (usually) the enemy's trading vessels in a spirit of reprisal. It was his opinion regarding the distinction between privateers and pirates which cost Oldys his office during the period that followed James II's. Oldys held that even "deposed of the Crown", James, recognised by Louis XIV, could issue valid commissions which justified acts which might

[1] Factory Records Surat etc.

[2] Bruce: Annals ; Fawcett : The first century of British Justice in in India ; Wheeler : Madras in the olden times etc.

[3] Purchas II, p. 394 etc. ; Holdsworth, Vol. XII ; I A. LIII, p. 53 ; Callendar : The Naval side of British History, p. 54, p. 80 etc.

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otherwise be condemned as piracies. Littleton held that James "was now a private person," and "those that adhere to him are not enemies but rogues." Littleton naturally succeeded Oldys in office.

In the 17th century to exact reparations for the raid of Olive of Newhaven "who" violentline did enter upon the coast of Englande thwarte the Portlande," it was ordered that "a commyssion out of the court of Admiraltie" be issued to "staie the goods of any Leaguers either by lande or sea". Similarly, in consideration of the allegation (?) that Sir John Bankes and Alderman Mico "had suffered a loss" of £64,000- from the Dutch....in the East Indies", "Oliver presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent then word that if they did not pay them by such a day, he would graunt letters of mark to those merchants against them." Examples are numerous. But the historian must remember that those Calicut and other armed Indian vessels who seized shipping on the high seas with the express or tacit consent of various Indian States must also on kindred grounds be regarded as legitimate privateers.[1]

To illustrate this point further, Sir Henrey Middleton "took a Portugall ship and frigat, out of which he" "tooke some quantitie of goods." "And from thence," says Hawkins, "we departed the fift of March" 1612, "for the Red Sea, with an intent to revenge us of the wrongs offered us both by the Turkes and Mogols."[2]

The English held the Indian vessels captive, compelled them to barter indigo, cloth, carpets, rice, butter, ginger, sugar etc. for kersies, lead, iron, tin etc.[3]

The Rahīmi hersel was there. "We shot," says Jourdain, three peeces at her before shee would anclour"[4] Saris tells us that Middleton demanded a lakh of "rials of eight" from the Arab authorities in "satisfaction for the losse of his mens lives and for his tyme spent, having lost his monsone to the overthrowe of his voyage." As the Turk could not be coerced directly, pressure was exerted on him by keeping these Indian ships away from his ports and thus making him lose trade and customs dues. Secondly, to compensate himself for the losses, Middleton in his attempt to trade with India, thought himself justified in 'impounding' these Indian ships and taking away

[1] Pepys (Globe) p. 244 etc.

[2] Foster : Early Travels in India, p. 96.

[3] Lists in Purchas III, p. 401 etc.

[4] Journal, p. 209.

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of contemporary Indians, Withington himself refers to "the late facte of Sir Henry Middleton whoe not longe before had robbed divers in these parts." But at the same time it must not escape our attention that the English captain was an agent of a Company chartered by a soveriegn power ; Saris has given two pages of the "accounts" that were kept, "accounts" where even a quarter of a rial has been entered. Some sort of legality was attempted to be given to all these proceedings on the sea. Roe himself once threatened "to set his chop" (chāpa=stamp) on "one of the (Indian) vessels", and "send her for Surat." [1]

But how privateerings degenerated during this period into piracies, partly because of regional considerations, can be illustrated by the commission granted by Charles I, himself, "to make prize of all....treasures, merchandises, goodes and commodities" which the captain (Willian Cobb) "shall be able to take of infidells, or of anie other prince, potentat or state", not bound to him in a friendly alliance, and reigning "beyond the line" of the Equator. In course of the depredations that followed, both the hands "of the nākhudā (captain) of the Indian ship were "bound". The raders "tyed match to his fingers which burnt them unto the bones", to make him confess "where the money lay." Other officers of the ship were similarly treated "until they were neare dead, and then they confest whatsoever they knewe."[2]

With reference to the regional factor it must be remembered on the other hand, that Finch (for example) got the impression that Asiatics did not think that justice required repayment of moneys they owed to Europeans. "Perhaps on like ground," he adds, "as some Europeans think it lawfull to make price of the goods and ships of Ethnikes." Prize is however applied strictly (in English law) only to "a ship or goods" taken from the enemy by a maritime force. Darby Mullins who was executed (along with Kidd) on 23rd May, 1701, had pointed out in his defence that he had not known" but that it was very lawful....to plunder ships and goods etc. belonging to the enemies of Christianity." Even the cultured Coke was of opinion that Christians were justified in regarding pagans as their inveterate enemies at all times.[3]

[1] Journal p. 213 n; Foster : Early Travels, p. 203, Purchas III p. 401 etc ; Foster : Sir Thomas Roe, p. 428.

[2] My paper on "Dutch and English piracies..and their effect on the Company's trade with India, in New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, no. II, February, 1939, p. 649 to p. 665.

[3] Foster : Early Travels, p. 147 ; Laws of England, Vol. XXIII (Halisbury) etc.

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We must not also forget that even when their countries in Europe were not formally at war with each other, it was considered more or less legitimate, by different European establishments in India, to fight among themselves. Depredations on shipping which took place during these periods of quasi-war therefore cannot be categoried as piracies, although jurists perhaps would support a different point of view.[1]

Thus inspite of the truce of 1609, the Portuguese attacked Pulicat and "to Dutchmen on the coast, the Portuguese were still the enemy." Again, though England and Spain remained officially at peace, the Portuguese squardons attacked English ships on the West Coast in 1614, and later. Then inspite of the fact both nations were friendly, the English helped the Persians to take Hormuz from the Portuguese. Lord Digby, the English ambassador, had to explain in Madrid that the Persians had forced the English to do so. But among other things, it is admitted (for example) in the letter of Fursland from Batavia (of 20th February, 1623) that the English obtained 18,000. in money and ten brass guns.

Then there are the acts done in exercise of maritime rights. A writer of this period points out that an enemy was to be "compelled to compliance" by capture and confiscation even of neutral ships. Louis XIV's Marine Ordinance of 1681 has been regarded as "le chef d'oeuvre de la législation établie par cet incomparable monarque."[2]

On the whole, the historian in his judgement which must be the same for foreigner as for native is to take into consideration the facts that piracy ex jure gentium may be different from piracy by municipal law and municipal law only;[3] that the events of the 17th century must be viewed through glasses three centuries old; that states of quasi-war prevailed in Eastern waters; that a nation strong on the sea must be given due latitude when it chose to flourish the sword of sea-power; that the 'judgements' of sveenteenth century authorities made in the heat of the strife must be reviewed properly; that though in some cases it might not be possible to readily distinguish between full-dress and tail-coat piracies and other acts of violence on the sea which are more or less legitimate, the utmost care should be taken against pronouncing an inequitable verdict.

[1] Wheaton: Lawrence; Kenny; Hall; Botsford in Ency. of the Social sciences; Wharton in the Law-Lexicon etc.

[2] Court Min. 1624; E.F. 1622-23: Factory Records. Mis. Vol. VIII; Proceedings of the British Academy Vol. XI; Lawrence: International Law etc.

[3] Stephen: Digest, atricles 104 to 117; Oppenheim, Int. Law etc.

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SHAH ALAM II AND THE DUTCH

By

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The *Public Consultations*, dated the 5th August, 1761[1] contain two significant letters. In one Rajah Ramnarain, *Naib Nazim* of Bihar, wrote to the Dutch : "Your Bravery and Capacity has been represented by my friend Meer Seid Allee Cawn Bahadur to His Majesty (Shah Alam II) after the conclusion of the affairs of the Sircar; whatsoever you shall represent to the King shall be granted by the means of Seid Mahmud Afzul Cawn because the said Seid attends on his Majesty and is my entire friend". In another, Shah Alam II addressed the Dutch as follows : "Your loyal attachment and faithful services and duty and obedience have been set forth in the Royal presence both by our trusty servant Meer Seid Alle Cawn Bahadur in Person and by the addresses of the Noble Seid Mahomed Afzul Cawn; wherefore we have dispatched the said noble Seid from our Court to you. It behoves you whatsoever commands he shall deliver to you from us to look upon it as authentic and act according thereto. Be in every respect satisfied and attend with Diligence and zeal to the care of the Royal Country. By the will of God you will become shortly worthy object of the Royal Favor and protection. This caution is given you for your conduct."

The exact occasion for this exchange of corrospondence is not definitely set forth in these letters. But a study of their contents with reference to certain other contemporary evidences leads to the conclusion that they are connected with Shah Alam II's second invasion of Bihar and raid into Bengal in 1760 and his third invasion of Bihar in 1761.

The battle of Bedara (25th November, 1759) dealt a crushing blow to the ambition of the Dutch " to rival the political power of the English in Bengal". "Thus ended an affair," observed Clive in recognition of its significance, "which had the event been different, threatened us in its consequences with utter destruction ; for, had the Dutch gained the same advan-

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tage over us, we have now the most convincing proof to conclude that the remembrance of Amboyna would have been lost in their treatment of this colony"[1] It "decisively foiled", remarks Mallenso aptly, "the attempt to establishe an Indo-Batavian empire"[2]

The Dutch entered into two separate conventions on the 3rd and the 5th December, 1759, with the English and the Nawab of Bengal respectively.[3] These made them entirely dependent[4] for all practical purposes, on the English and the Nawab. But they must have nursed in their hearts feelings of discontent and resentment, which natuarlly led them at times to try to utilize some political disturbances within the province with a view to improving their own condition. Thus at a critical period for the Nawab's government and the English in Bengal in 1760 and 1761, when the important zamindars like Kamgar Khan Main of Narhat in the Gaya District, the Rajas of Birbhum, Burdwan and Vishnupur (in the Bankura district) and a few others, and Khadim-Husain Khan, Governor of Purnea, were hostile to the Nawab's government, portions of western Bengal were subject to ravages of the Marathas under Sheo Bhat Sathe[5] who "gave out that he came to support the cause of the Emperpr"[6]. Shah Alam II, encouraged by some local disaffected zamindars[7], invaded Bihar and Bengal; the "English force in Bengal was musch divided, and Moorshedabad, the population of which was inclined to disaffection, as was also a portion of the troops stationed there, was left nearly defenceless"[8]. The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar may have tried to act in cooperation with some of the malcontents and the Prince invader. It is definitely known to us that the English and the Nawab took all possible precautions in September, 1760, to "prevent the Dutch from uniting with the Raja of Birbhum"[9]. On the 27th March, 1761, Nawab Mir Qasim requested

[1] *Clive's Narrative* in Malcolm, *Life of Clive, Vol. II, p.* 89.

[2] Malleson, *The Dicisive Battles of India,* p. 124.

[3] Broome, *Bengal Army,* Appendix '*M*'.

[4] Stavorinus, *Voyage to the East Indies,* Vol· I, pp. 499-501.

[5] Long, *Selections from Unpublished Records of the Government, Vol. I,* Nos. 537, 539, 558, and *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* Vol.I, p. 40 and p. 46.

[6] Broome, *Bengal Army,* p. 289.

[7] Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, pp. 537-543 ; *C.P.C., Vol. I,* p. 46.

[8] Broome, *Bengal Army, p.* 228.

[9] *C.P.C.,* Vol. I. p. 30; Long, *op. cit.,* p. 235.

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the Council in Calcutta to write a letter to the Dutch "desiring them to alter their insolent Conduct"[1]

The Dutch were accused by Nawab Mir Jafar of having carried on "a private correspondence" with his "known and public enemies"[2] and "tendered and promised their assistance to the Moghal Prince (Ali Gohur), who was in full march against" him.[3] Most probably the charge was not groundless, as would appear from the expression 'Your loyal attachment and faithful services and duty and obedience" in Shah Alam II's letter to the Dutch quoted above. The fact that the Dutch received a letter about the same time also from Rajah Ramnarain lends additional support to the view that the contents of both are connected with Shah Alam's movements in Bengal and Bihar in 1760 and 1761 A.D.

In his letter Shah Alam II assured the Dutch that they "will become shortly worthy object of the Royal Favour and Protection". Nothing most probably came out of this assurance. In fact, the Delhi Emperor was then a helpless wanderer, "a broken adventurer"[4] subject to vicissitudes of fortune and like a drowning man trying to catch at a straw. Major Carnac aptly observed in his letter to the Select Committee in Calcutta, dated 6th March, 1761, written about three weeks after he had escorted Shah Alam II from Gaya to Patna[5] that "the unhappy prince is reduced so low, as to be much more an object of pity than of fear."[6] It should be, however, noted that the fiction of his sovereignty was sought to be utilized by the respective competitors in the race for political supremacy in India during the greater part of the period of his formal headship of the ruined Delhi Empire.

[1] *C.P.C.*, Vol. I, p. 80.

[2] *Public Proceedings*, 12*th May*, 1760.

[3] *A fresh complaint lately exhibited to the States of Holland and West Friezland by the Dutch East India Company against the servants of the English East India Company in Benagl, 2nd December*, 1761.

[4] Broome, *Bengal Army*, p. 278.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 328.

[6] Vansittart, *Narrative*, *Vol.I*, p. 185.

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A NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF CHAUTHAI

By

DR. A. G. PAWAR, KOLAHAPUR.

Much has been written on the system of *Chauthāi*, which was adopted by the Marathas for collecting tributes and revenue.[1] It is contended that the system of payment of "*Chouth*" is not of Maratha origin but was begun by the Portuguese, the prince receiving this payment from them being known as Chouthia.[2] Before accepting this view one will have to consider the characteristically Maratha aspect of the terms *Chouth* and *Chouthāi* and the existence of the payment of *Chouthai* perhaps even before the Portuguese settlement in India.

(*i*) Firsty, *Chouth* and its derivative *Chouthāi* are Marathi words. They signify one forth of a given thing and, what is more important, they are not used as technical terms with some fixed fiscal meaning but are freely used to convey their sense for all general purposes. This can be made clear even by quoting a few examples of their use in the Maratha period. In an old paper the expression used is *Chouthe Velā* meaning "the fourth time[3]". An order of Shivaji II dated April 1707 says that in a village which is given in *inām* to a temple, the cultivators should pay the full revenue, whereas the headman (of the village) should pay only one-fourth (*Chouthāi*) towards the upkeep of the temple.[4] On one occasion when King Shahu wished to reprimand two of his wayward generals he wrote: "If you will obstinately levy certain contributions, you will have to pay one fourth of the collection (*Chouthāi*) to the government.[5] On another occasion the same king wrote to an officer who had committed ravages in the kindogm of his cousin, the king of Kolhapur, "We have agreed," wrote Shahu, "that you should surrender one fourth (*chouthāi*) of your money collections and one half the number (*nimme*) of the horses and elephants that you may have seized[6]."

[1] Prof. Pissurlenhar has referred to all these writings in his article—*A œrigem do tributo chouto* included in his book *Antigualhas*, p. 62 (f. n.)

[2] See *Idem* and also Dr. Sen : *Military System of the Marathas*, pp. 28-38.

[3] *Shri Rāmadāsāchi Atihāsik Kāgadpatre* Vol. 3. 1.

[4] *Aitihāsik Sankirna Sàhitya.* Vol. I.1.

[5] *Shāhu Rojanisi*, Entry No. 184.

[6] *Shāhu Rojanisi*, Entry No. 180.

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Any number of such instances can be cited to show that even during the historical period the word *Chouthāi* was used in the ordinary sense of one fourth. It is to be particularly noted that the word "*Chou*" meaning four is an ancient Marathi[1] word and other formations than *Chouth* and *Chouthāi* are met with. Thus, for example, the word *Chouhotrā* meaning four per cent was freely in use during the Maratha period.[2] It should further be remembered that the word *Chouthāi* is formed in the same way as the well-known Marathi word *Tijāi*, meaning one third of the given thing. For all these reasons it seems clear that *Chouthāi* is originally a Marathi word. It will be hard to prove, even if it were attempted, that all these words came into vogue in Marathi only after the Portuguese mention of the word *Chouthia*.

2. Secondly, *Chouthāi* even in its fiscal sense menaing one fourth of the revenue of a district, province or state appears to have been known to the kingdoms of the Deccan even before the settlement of the Portuguese along the Western coast of India. On Nov. 11, 1426 the Sultan of Bedar issued a Sanad in which he said: "The petty chief on the bank of the Bhimā river has rebelled and remitted no dues. We proclaim to all our nobles and generals that any one who will put down Rājā Bāterāo (the rebel) and establish peace and order in that country will receive the rights of *Chouthāi* and *Deshmukhi*."[3] This is indeed the earliest reference so far known to not only *Chouthāi* as a fiscal right but also to the use of the word *Chouthāi* itself. From another document[4] of somewhat later period it appears that the custom of collecting *Chouthāi* was not unknown in the Deccan Sultanates. Documents relating to the early period of Deccan history are rather few. But it is likely that further research may bring to light cases showing the nature and origin of *Chouthāi* in a still more unambiguous manner.

[1]For its early use in historical Marathi papers see *Shivacharitra—Sāhitya*, Vol. 1. Nos. 2, 3.

[2]Parasnis : *Sanadāpatrātil Māhiti* P. 182. The words used in this Sanad are *Dohotrā* two per cent ; *Dāhotrā* ten per cent ; and *Chouhotrā* four per cent.

[3]*Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* Vol. 31. 1. The expression in Marathi signifying the contents of the grant is *Chouthai ammal deshamukhi*. This may mean (1) the rights of *Chouthāi* and *Deshmukhi*, or (2) *Deshmukhi* including the rights of *Chouthāi*. Whatever meaning is to be attached to the Marathi expression, it suffices here to note the prevalence of the *Chouthài* custom even in the early years of the fifteenth century.

[4]See Rajawade Vol. 15. 122, which is an order of the Adil Shahi governor of the province of Wài.

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From the details given above, it is permissible to conclude that *Chouthāi* is a Marathi word signifying one fourth. The use of *Chouthāi* as a fiscal or revenue term, again, is older than the Portuguese contact. Under these circumstances it is difficult to accept the theory of the Portuguese origin of *Chouthāi*. On the contrary, one may even hazard the guess that the Portuguese themselves may have adopted a prevailing practice which had a native name and a native significance.

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THE FOLK SONGS OF THE SINHALESE[1]

By

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In Ceylon unlike in India traditional bards or wandering minstrels may not have wandered the country,[2] singing the age old popular melodies drawn from a common reservoir and transmitted orally through generations. Nevertheless, the Sinhalese possess a vast store-house of such popular expression in song, some of which at least may go back to very ancient times. This is a common heritage to which the rich and poor, educated and illiterate, men and women have contributed a share. The body of folk-songs has grown, ever changing but always acquiring fresh sweetness in enriching the delicacy of their flavour, sweetness of their melody and charm of expression. Out of this national store-house the people drew unreservedly according to the occasion and requirement so repeatedly and to such an extent, as for certain melodies and songs to be particularly associated with certain avocations. Hence we have by usage the songs[3] of the ploughman, reaper, watchman, boatman, fisherman, carter, traveller and so on. There are also the lullabies used in inducing children to sleep. The list is not exhaustive but quite representative.

The folk songs of the Sinhalese can still be heard among the remote villages where the pleasures of living, labour and enjoyment are understood. There in the open sun-bathed field, through wild jungles, across rugged paths, up and down the silvery streams, the highways and byways, one can still hear the sweet music of rustic melodies whose appeal strikes at the

[1]The existing collections cannot all be accepted as scientific, since the majority of these have been modernised by untrained collectors. If a real study is to be undertaken the songs will have to be collected on proper scientific lines.

[2]A class of beggars who sing extempore compositions in the praise of a particular householder in the expectation of immediate material gains wander from house to house. The Viridu singers who appear in public for singing praises of patrons may have started during the late Kandyan period, but the idea may be much older.

[3]The songs of the plumbago miners are modern as the activity was started after the British occupation. But it may be possible that the songs of the gem miners may have formed the basis of their origin and development.

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very soul, specially in the silent stillness of tropical moonlit nights. Both men and women, boys and girls, young and old alike indulge in singing in marked contrast to the almost complete absence of the custom today. A reactionary modern tendency among the present day educated section of the population is to attempt to popularise the fading treasures of song through school competitions, national festivals and the radio. But the attempt is foredoomed to failure, since it may be impossible to recapture the balance and rhythm of that peasant society. These songs belong to the past and also to certain spheres of the present, and can not be so revived ; but they can be remembered, studied and preserved.

There is a striking similarity between the early folk songs of the Sinhalese and the Veddas,[1] as regards their strain and melody. The appeal lies in their profound simplicity, rustic beauty and simple charm. To one who is familiar with both types of song the dramatic repetition, terms of address and the long drawn strain strike as a common element. In the 'Mevara Sellama '[2] and the 'Oliñda Keliya'[3] these points emerge clearly. The episode over the loses of a braid of hair is also sung in a similar strain.

> "Blackie, please grind the *kurakkan* grain. Where is the flour under the mortar ? Bake a lump of flour, Blackie, and give it to mother, Blackie."
> "In what lands are found the olinda seeds. Olinda seeds are found in the land of Bengal. To what countries are they brought for decoration ? They are brought to ornament Sinhala."

The cradle songs and nursery rhymes refer to a peasent society in which the woman appears to have been the chief food gatherer. This takes her to the woods, jungles and fields. Her child grows in the arms of a younger sister, an old aunt or an aged grandmother. Nevertheless the songs refer to the mother's activities. This perhaps may explain the blinding loyalty of the Sinhalese to their mother and village.

> "Soon mother will return, bringing olives in her hands, vegetables in her lap and gathering a heavy load of firewood."

[1] Veddas are a primitive jungle tribe living in the wild parts of Ceylon. They have borrowed many things from the neighbouring Sinhalese.

[2] A game played by Sinhalese children in the villages.

[3] A board game played with small olinda seeds. An olonda seed is small, red in colour, oval in shape and has a black eye on a side.

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> "Having gone to the Hena[1] your mother will be returning with a bag full of sweet potatoes and a lap full of āmbilla[2]"

Mother love and the love of mother continue throughout life. In many songs deepest affection is expressed with a power that may appeal to anyone. Such gems of beauty are rare. But those that have been preserved are sufficient proof of such loving sentiment. The general feeling is that love and gratitude should be shown to one's mother, if not for anything else, at least for having brought one into this world. She is loved, honoured and worshipped as a deity. It is the pious hope and cherished desire of all peasants that after death one's mother[3] will be born in a heaven where she will enjoy all happiness.

> "O younger brother, treat not mother in that fashion. She sucked both of us at her own breast. Whatever she has left will also be given to us. Adore mother even as one adores the Buddha"

References to the family circle are fond. The children received many presents from their relatives. Both girls and boys wore ornaments, but the girls alone were heavily laden with them.

> "Daughter, how did you get bangles for the arms ?
> How did you get anklets for the feet ?
> How did you get chains for the waist..........?"

The uncle and aunts and other near relatives are mentioned by name as having given this or that present. There was a spirit of tolerance and a familiarity of bearing between children and their uncles. The songs reveal the exact nature of this mutual affection. Mother and children, brothers and sisters are greatly attached to each other through bonds of family affection. The brothers were associated in work and play. A younger sister is often considered an ornament, more so, if she happens to be the only girl in the family. She is in her turn realises this position of which she becomes proud.

> "There is only one tree whose shadow is pleasant. Sweet and delicious milk was drunk only at the

[1] A primitive form of cultivation where the jungle is burnt and quick crops are sown or planted. Every year or so a fresh plot is cleared.

[2] A small sour fruit that grows wild.

[3] A reference to dead parents or any form of ancestor worship is not found It would be interesting to discover one although it would not be surprising to find any.

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same breast. You have only one sister, my dear elder brother. Have you any other sister except me......?"

Special consideration, love and respect are always shown to the mother. Many songs reiterate the same theme. Also a pathetic case of ungrateful treatment is sung as a lesson and warning to all.

"Stricken with hunger I went to my son's house. And he gave me two measures of paddy in a bag. I was wondering whether to take it or not, thinking to myself, did I give you milk in measured amount?. To the mother who gave as much of sweet milk as mountain, not so much as a handful of paddy was given. Having received two measures of paddy in a bag, what does this old woman say, get out of the house...."

The women, specially the girls enjoyed life as much as anyone else. The peasant girl was as fond of sport as her more enlightened sister. She roamed the woods, swam the streams and paddled the swings. Many a song descriptive of the limbs and ornaments of youthful maidens is sung, as they swing in the air.

"The young maidens are like golden images. Their eardrops wave on either side. They wear the waist-cloth firmly fastened (to the body). Maidens, ride on the swing....

Their beautiful and expansive foreheads are like the crescent moon. Ride on joyfully, clap hard, shouting hurrah and making crackling noises that gladden......"

The gathering together for work and play helped a certain amount of display and love play that later led to permanent romances.

"I shall give betel to beautify your mouth. I shall give golden cloth to drape around your waist. I shall pluck Sapu flowers to be worn around your head.[1] If you come with me, I shall give you royal pleasures...."

Despite such sweet sentiments and unrestricted freedom there rested at the back of their minds a colossal inferiority

[1]A very fragrant large flower known to English readers as Champak.

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complex. This psychological make up made the woman yearn for the state of manhood. For, one woman addressing another says ;

> "My dear cousin, I am very worried now. We suffer bitter sorrows thus as a result of (sin committed in) our previous birth. Let us wish to be born as men in our next birth........"

The family life was not what it is understood to be today. The husband and wife lived together and loved each other, the wife of course ministering to her husband as lord and master. The peasant at times wondered why of all beautiful women his spouse seemed the only one created by Mahābrahmā[1]. In estrangement one pines for the other. Whilst the husband is pining away in a distant and far away land the wife spends restless days and nights awaiting his return.

> "During the thirty hours of the day[2] I keep watch on the road and during the thirty hours of the night I turn away in fear. The hand placed on the head is wet with tears. Why in the name of heaven does my husband not return......"

Even this love that makes them long for each other in affection can change to wrathful hatred in dissension. The songs also allude to the proverbial position of the mother-in-law. She obviously had little authority in the disposal of her daughter although at first she acted as an intermediary. A young man says, "mother-in-law, I will be a loving son to you." Further on he adds, "My mother-in-law, will you give me your daughter in May...." There is a curse added as a bitter warning against a refusal.

> "May painful boils appear in the throat; may a film grow in your pair of eyes that now see all round; may your knot of hair -that is tied to the left catch fire ; may the heart of the mother-in-law who will not give me her daughter, burst...."

It is not only love and romance, the grim realities of life and the painful partings that the peasants expressed through the medium of their songs. They display a fine sense of humour as well and accepted their unprofitable hours and disappointed moments with philosophic resignation. Humour and irony are not wanting. One song says :

[1]The supreme creator according to Hindu religion.

[2]According to the Sinhalese the day is reckoned as having sixty hours.

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> "When my brother and I went sporting about the Ovita,[1] a butting female buffalo confronted us. Looking around I could not see any tree to climb. Tucking up my cloth I climbed a Tuttiri[2] plant.."

A whole class of songs deals with play acting of incidents and functions in the daily life of the peasants. The games are in fact vocational training exercises. The actual activities have been forgotten but the songs have been preserved. Honey gathering and smithery are two of them. Many dramatic elements are found in most of such songs. The Sinhalese peasant lived close to nature in close communion with her. He tamed a few birds and animals as pets. Other animals he loved. Some he despised and some he feared. The beasts of burden, chiefly the oxen, he considered companions of high esteem. The bulls were ornamented with trappings and bells. The best and noblest of these animals were believed to have come from Ruhuna and Kataragama [3]. The animals employed in agriculture, specially threshing, were considered to belong to the gods.

> "Look, whose is the bull ? This belongs to the Sun-god. Look, whose is this one ? This one belongs to the Moongod..........."

Natural beauty has not been omitted. He was too observant to miss it. In fact he must have derived a great deal of joy from nature. Such romantic settings as moonlit lakes, forest glades, sunkissed hills, flooded fields, trees, creepers and flowers - all these contributed to make his simple life interesting and eventful.

Popular music and drama did not exist as rigidly separated forms of art. Whatever human interest was satisfied by them, that same measure found fulfilment at every festival and ritual of an agricultural or other nature. These helped sufficiently to satisfy the emotional yearnings of men and women whose busy life afforded little leisure for the appreciation of art apart from its functional associations. Nature lore was considered an important phase of the peasant make up. Such a knowledge was acquired by experience and intelligent observation of their environment. This body of lore was essential for the life in the jungle and the village. The habits of animals and the movements of birds, their cries and foot-prints were all observed.

[1] An elevated area of land surrounded by fields.

[2] A very small little plant about one and a half feet in height.

[3] Two very popular areas in the extreme south of Ceylon.

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The accumulation of this body of lore led most probably to the art of divination.

Every tree and hill, every stream and lake, every natural phenomenon such as the sun, moon and stars and every direction was believed to be the abode of a permanant deity[1]. These were worshipped in the normal course of life and appealed to for help during crises, some of which were of course accepted as being beyond human control. It is therefore, natural that magic should play an important röle in the life of the peasant. The fulfilment of prayer was duly acknowledged by material offerings to the godheads concerned. They were also worshipped.

> "Whose is the threshing floor ? It belongs to the moon god. The moon god has come here. The moon god will grant plenty.

Such deities are believed to supervise agricultural activities. Therefore magical rites must be performed to purify and ward off any possible element of danger.

> "Having erected posts, put up scare crows. After inspection sprinkle charmed sand. These drive away flies and worms. Thus the peasants protect and look after the fields...."

It is also extremely interesting to find that the threshing floor is considered the property of the kings of Cola and Pāṇḍi[2]. A final appeal to all the gods is made for increasing the grain. Not only in economic pursuits but also in such activities as sports, the favour of gods is sought for obtaining victory. In return for such beneficient intervention all the deities are made to participate in the merit acquired by peasant.

> "May merit accrue to the sungod who shines at dawn ; to the moongod who shines after sunset ; to the gods living in the four oceans. May the four Varam [3] gods participate in our merit'........

[1]Reference to spirits of the dead or other gods and goddesses belonging to an earlier society have not yet been found. There is no reason for them not to exist. It may be that such songs have been deliberately forgotton. These, if discovered would be most valuable.

[2]Two Tamil kingdoms in south India. At times they overran Ceylon and conquered parts of it.

[3]Four regional gods are in charge of the four quarters. They are Dhrataràstra, Virūdha, Virūpāksa and Vaiśarvaṇa.

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KUMĀRĪ VRATA-CHAḌĀS[1] OF BENGAL

By

S. R. DAS, M.A., CALCUTTA.

Chanting of the Chaḍās or Mantras (or spells, formulas, incantations, etc.) connected with each Kumārī-vrata play the most important part in the performance and observance of these Vratas. These Chaḍās have been composed in poems of local dialects. They differ from district to district, but there is an underlying unity in all cases. This difference is due to the fact that they have been handed down to us from generation to generation through the word of mouth. A study of the character of the Bengali words and phrases which have been used in thses folk ballads proves that they are very old. According to some they represent the pre-Pauranic culture of Bengal. Main features of these chaḍās or formulas consist of an appeal or prayer for the fulfilment of worldly desires; the character of magical spells is not also at all absent from these Chaḍās. Primitive minds even today see in these formulas a magical power and their character resembles to a great extent the primitive incantations. Indeed the subjects and other features are so closely connected that we can safely regard them as magical spells or incantations.

Most of the Chaḍās contain the subject matter of the heart's desires of the girls as well as the practices to be followed. Thus in the Gokāl-vrata we have the following Chaḍā :

By fanning you,
    Conch bangles coated with gold shall I wear.
By fanning you,
    Free from co-wife shall I my family rear.
Away shall fly sorrow and disease,
    Away shall go worms and fleas.

[1]Various are the *vratas* or the vowed observances that are observed in different parts of Bengal. Numerous *vrataes* have been mentioned in the Purāṇas and in other connected literature; but the *kumārī vratas* are not found mentioned in the Puranic literature. The practices and the observances of these *vratas* are purely indigenous and they have not yet been fully absorbed by Brahmanism. There are of course traces of Brahmanical influence but these are later introductions. These *chadās* have been collected mainly from the districts of Barisal, Faridpur and Dacca. I have used *chadās* of the following *vratas*-Gokāl-vrata, Sāñdhyamani-vrata, Tārār-vrata, Yamapukur-vrata, Tilkujārī-vrata, Sīvapūjā-vrata, Māghmandal-vrata, Puṇyapukur-vrata, Senjuti-vrata Ḍasputulér-vrata. I have given here only English renderings of the*chaḍās* used.

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For long in Gokul (paradise) to live,
Thus to the mouth of the cow grass do I give,
So that life in Vaikuṇṭha may I receive.

Here the Vrata consists in the act of giving grass to the cow. By this act she expresses her desires of possessing golden bangles, of being free from co-wife, sorrow, disease, and of obtainng a place in Vaikuṇṭha (paradise)[1]. In some Chaḍās again we find the objectives of the Vratas explained and the merit to be obtained by the observances. Thus in the Puṇya-pukurvrata (holy tank) we have

What wealth by this worship shall I get ?
(Epūjilé ki dhan pāva ?)

Then the answer is given by mentioning numerous forms of wealth which are mostly desired by the girls. Thus the Chaḍā in question runs as follows:—

Holy Tank ! whom flowers do adorn,
Who is it that worship thee in morn ?
It is I Lilāvatī, the maiden,
Fortunate sister of brothers seven.
What wealth by this worship shall I get ?
Wealth like Yakṣa doṭh on me wait.
I will be to Sāvitrī a peer,
I will be to my husband dear.
I will get a son free from decay and death,
I will never suffer the pangs of death.
Placing my son on the lap of his sire,
Let me in the Ganges stream expire.

Here are the numerous forms of wealth consisting of a good husband, an immortal son, freedom from windowhood, etc. These are mainly the things, the unmarried girls live and dream for.

Certain Chaḍās again have an intimate relation with the Ālpaṇa or drawings on the ground. Thus she worships painted material things and wants things of real value. She worships Piṭhulir-Chiḍūni (Piṭhuli is a form of liquid paste made by diluting pasted rice with water) but wants to have a golden Chiḍūni (comb). This will be clear from the following Chaḍā of the Senjuti-vrata.

[1]The observance and practices of this Vrata are almost similar to the festival observed by the Hos, Mundas, etc. The Hos observe this festival i.e. *Horo Parale* in the month of Bhadia. See Dr. Majumdar's A Tribe in a Transition. The Mundas also observe this fistival which is Known as "*Sohorai*". See Mundas and their Country by S.C. Ray, page, 481. The main objectives of this festival and the Gokàl vrata are also the same.

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We worship Piṭhuli drawn comb,
That we may have golden comb.
We worship Piṭhuli drawn box,
That we may have golden box.
We worship Piṭhuli drawn palanquin,
That we may have golden palanquin.

Thus instead of a painted comb, box, palanquin, etc, drawn on the ground she wants golden things. Here we find an intimate connection between the Chaḍā and the Ālpaṇa. Again the magical principle of "like affects like", i. e. sympathetic or imitative magic, is fully apparent in these chaḍās. But in some Chaḍās this connection is not very clear as we shall presently see that the tree Māndār (a kind of tree) is worshiped because it produces agricultural wealth, gold, silver, etc,. So far as the external form is concerned the correspondence between the tree Māñdār and paddy or metals is not known to us.

We worship Māndār in picture,
That we may granary of rice and paddy acquire.
We worship Piṭhuli drawn Māñdār,
That our house may be stuffed with gold and silver.

Other Chaḍās are chiefly directed towards the worship of the natural phenomena such as the Sun, the Moon and the Stars. These are very clear from the Chaḍās of Māghmaṇḍal, Tārā and and Sāndhyamani Vratas. In the Tārā (stars) and the Sāñdhyamani (jewel of evening stars) Vrata-chaḍās we have the evidence of the worship of the stars which excercise influences on the destinies of men. In the Māghmaṇḍal Vrata we have the positive evidence of the worship of the Sun which is a characteristic feature of the primitive religion. Indeed it is the most ancient of all worships and most common among all the ancient peoples of the world. The sun was regarded by the Nahua and indeed by all Mexicans and the central American peoples as the supreme deity or rather the principal source of the subsistence of life."[2] The sun is also sustained by daily food and human sacrifice.[3] In India as well, the Sun worship

[1]Tree Māndār is also commonly regarded as a wish-producing tree. Such drawings and paintings for magical purposes are very common among the primitives. See, Orāon Religion and Custons by S.C. Ray, pages, 285-286, 126-27, 46; Khārias by S.C.M. page, 474; Birhors by S.C.R., page, 152, 221, 335 Garos by Playfair, page, 45; E.R.E, Vol-I, page, 831, also see the writer's article on the "Alpanas of the Kumari-vratas of Bengal" published in the Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art", 1944.

[2]Myths of Mexico and Peru by Spencer, page, 96-7.

[3]*Ibid*, page, 98.

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is very common among most of the primitive tribes. It is prevalent among the Bhūyās, Gonds, Orāons Hās, Nogas, Muṇḍās, etc. There is no practice of the material representation of the Sun among these tribes and the worship is performed mostly in open space.[1] Among the Muṇḍā group of peoples the Sun is the supreme deity and he is called the Sing-boṅgā, the God of Gods.[2] Like the Muṇḍā tribes the Khāriās also regard the Sun as the visible symbol of the creator and the ruler of the universe.[3] He is worshiped because he is the life and the light of creation. The observance of this Māghmaṇḍal-vrata shows that the Sun worship was prevalent in Bengal from very early times. Besides this vrata there is another pūjā which is known as the Chhapūjā which is observed on the 6th day of the light fortnight in the month of Kārtika.[4] In Assam (Sylhet) Sūryapūjā is held in spring when plantain tree is set up in the courtyard decorated with flowers, and offerings are made to it, while the women sing songs in honour of the Sun.[5] In Sylhet there is another Vrata which is known as the Māgha-vrata representing the Sun worship.[6] The Sun is often worshiped for agricultural produces.[7] The Indo-Aryans also worship the Sun and regard him as the supreme deity. The verse called Gāyatrī was esteemed by the ancient Hindus to be the holiest verse in the Vedas. It is addressed to the Sun, "Let us meditate on the sacred light of the divine Sun that it may illuminate our minds."[8] The Gāyatrī-Sāvitrī' occurs also in the Ṛgveda (111,62,10).[9] The Sun again has been identified with the Buddhist God Dharma which was very commonly worshiped in Bengal. The Sun has been worshipped as a folk God from prehistoric times but his attributes as a folk god varied in different periods ; main feature however of the popular Sun worship have persisted both in the civilised societies as well as among the primitive tribes.

[1]Journal of the Department of Letters, Vo.l XI, page, 93.

[2]The Mundas and their Country by S. C. Ray, page, 467; A Tribe in a Transition by Majumdar, page, 135.

[3]The Khàries by S.C. Ray, page, 369-70.

[4]Popular Religion and Folklore of northern India by Crook, page 33.

[5]Popular religion and folklore of nothern India by Crook, page, 33.

[6]Vangiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā, 1340, page, 37-41.

[7]Man in India, 1941

[8]Vishṇu Purāna by Wilson, page 250.

[9]"Tat sàvitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhīmatirdhiyomati prachodyāt". Wilson translates it thus "We meditate on that light of divine Sàvitri (Sun) who influences our pious rites."

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In the Māghmandal-vrata Chaḍās we have the remnanats of such a worship of the Sun. Numerous Sūrya-pūjā Chaḍās have been collected from different parts of Bengal by a number of scholars. Mr. S. C. Mitra has translated a numbr of Chaḍās from eastern Bengal relating to the worship of the Sun.[1] A manuscript entitled Sūryapūjā-paddhati throws a flood of light on the cult of the Sun God in Bengal.[2] Mr. C. H. Chakravarty has also collected a number of ballads from eastern Bengal dealing with the worship of the Sun.[3] In the Māghmandal-vrata we find first of all Chaḍās which cause the Sun to rise by dispelling the fog with the help of the Durvā-grass, cane-plants, etc.

> I will disperse the fog, since I will by the cane reed stop.
> All fog has receded to the plum tree's top.
> Give! oh plum tree ! give us rocking.
> Girls :–Rise ! Rise ! Oh Sungod ! blazing forth thy rays.
> The Sun :–I cannot rise on account of the mighty dews.
> Girls :–Rise ! Sungod ! blazing forth thy rays.
> The Sun :–I cannot rise on account of the mighty dews,etc.[4]

Thus here prayer is made for the Sun to rise, and the Sun replies that he cannot do so due to fog. And then activities begin with the chanting of the Chaḍās to disperse the fog and the dews and at last the fog and dews disappear and the Sun rises. The Sun is represented in the Chaḍās as a human being with all sorts of worldly pleasures and requirements. Then again we have the Chaḍā which describes the marriage of the Sun with a "woman in the Moon". In S.C. Mitra's Collection the Sun is given in marriage to Gaurī who according to the Paurānic mythology is the wife of Śiva. This Gaurī again may represent the Moon as she is described in the Chaḍās as "Chandramukhī". Such a conception of the marriage of the Sun with a woman in the Moon or with the Moon is very common among the primitives. Among the Blackfoot Indians it is a very common custom of giving the Sun in marriage to the Moon. Most of the savages look upon the Sun and the Moon as husband

[1] Journal of the Department of Letters, vol, XV, page 149-200.

[2] Vangiya Sàhitya Parshat Partikā, vol, XIII, pagè, 103.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Numerous similar charms are also used by the American Indians to cause the sun to shine. See Fraser's Magic Art, page, 314.

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and wife. The Algonkin Indians of North America also regard the Moon as woman and the Sun as man--husband and wife.[1] We have already described the prominence of the Sun and Moon deities among the Indian primitive tribes. In Khāria invocations or prapyers the Sun is addressed as "*Giring-herāng* or *Bero-herāng*" i. e. Sun-Moon.[2] Again they say that the Sun and the Moon are husband and wife.[3] Such a conception of the Moon as a female deity is also very common among the Angāmi Nāgās.[4] That the Moon is the wife of the Sun is also a very common belief among the Māriās. Thus to the "hill and Bison Māriās the Sun (*parad*) is a *Koitor*, Moon his woman".[5] The Indo-Aryans regard the Moon as a male deity. Sun worship is of less importance in the time of the Ṛgveda and this becomes very common in the age of the Purāṇas. In the Ṛgveda Soma (Moon) is regarded as a male deity and as marrying Sūryā, the daughter of Sūrya. Moreover we learn that the Sun was originally a female deity and it was later on changed into a male deity . And Dr. Hutton thinks that it was the influence of the Ṛgvedic invaders which changed the sex of the Sun from female to male and gave rise to the Sun descended nobility as distinguished from the Moon-descended.[6]

But according to the Brahmanical conception (Pauranic) both these deities belong to the male sex. Hence how can there be a marriage between them ? Therefore a woman was created to give the Sun in marriage but the original conception of the marriage of the Sun and the Moon can be easily traced. Thus the marriage of the Sun and the Moon is purely a primitive custom which is still prevalent among the savages and the vestiges of which are still to be found in the Vṛata observances and the Vṛata-chaḍās. Again in this particular Vrata-this marriage of the Sun and the Moon is revealed to us not in the Chaḍās but also in practice, two earthen images are actually given in marraige along with the chanting of the Chaḍās.

In the Sāndhyamani Vṛata-chaḍā we find an appeal for a boon of being the sister of seven brothers, having enough

[1]Introduction to Folk-lore by M.R.Cox; Magic Art by Frazer, page, 314.

[2]The Khāriās by S.C.Ray, page 369-70.

[3]*Ibid*, 434.

[4]Angāmi Nāgās by Dr. Hutton, page, 259.

[5]Mrāia Gonds of Bāstar by Grigson, page,230·

[6]Census Report of India, vol. 1, part, 1, page, 395.

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wealth, sons and grandsons and to lead a life in the constant company with the husband. The Chaḍā in question runs as follows:—

Jewel of evening, golden star,
Jewel of evening, fountain of water.
The woman who this rite observes,
She is called the sister of seven brothers.
Jewel of evening, maiden asks a boon of thee,
A home in Kailāsa (residence of Śiva) with peace and glee.
And wealth and food and son and grandson,
And life to pass with husband as companion.

In another group of Chaḍās we find the mention of the names of the different idols or images made of earth and by naming each of them the Chaḍā is chanted. In the Daśputuler-vrata(ten images) Chaḍā we find the mention of the names of many Purānic deified personages such as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sāvitrī, etc. This Chaḍā consist of a prayer for a prosperous married life and also for obtaining husband, father-in-law, mother-in-law, etc. of ideal character. Further the most important point revealed by this Chaḍā is that the heart's desire of the girls is to be reborn as a human being and not for any final liberation. Such a conception of having a rebirth in the human race is also clear from the Prithvī-vrata-chaḍā. Here we find the prominence of the belief that a prosperous and glorious rebirth depends upon the merits of the activities of the present life. Therefore by worshiping the mother earth with "*nani* and *makhan*" cream and butter) and by making gifts of "*ghee and honey*" the girl desires to be born as queen. Again by worshiping the mother Earth the girls want to have enough agricultural products and other wealth. Among the primitives as well, the mother Earth is regarded as the embodiment of all things. They similarly worship the Earth Goddess with food and drink for plenty of crops and prosperity. Thus the Orāons pray"Oh Mother Earth ! May we have plenty of rain and bumper crops. Here is a drink offering to thee".[1] In the same way the Khārwārs say, "Oh Mother Earth ! keep in prosperity and protect the ploughman and his oxen, etc."[2] In the Punjab, the Karnul farmar says, "Grant us plentiful yield so that we pay our revenue and satisfy our banker." From these prayers it appears that the Mother Earth is worshiped for plenty of agricultural products and prosperity. In the Pṛthivī vrata-chaḍā we find prayer (with a force-*pāva* and *hava*) for

[1]Orāon Religion and Customs by S.C. Ray, page, 142.
[2]Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India by Crook, page, 47.

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a rebirth as a queen i.e. to have a prosperous and a glorious rebirth. In this case the method and the practices as well as the desires are almost identical with those of the primitives.

Another group of Chaḍās give us a vivid description of the family life and numerous evils of the society. Some of these Chaḍās have brought to light the evils of polygamy and all sorts of attempt are made in these Chaḍās to get rid of the co-wife. Thus in the Chaḍās of the Senjuti-vrata we find the use of numerous abusive expressions against the Satin (co-wife) and prayer is made even for her death.

Kul tree ! (a kind of plum) Kul tree ! thou art full of thorn
Make the woman my co-wife leprosy torn.
Mayena[1] ! Mayena ! Mayena ! I pray thee, Make the woman a squint.
From my co-wife make my life free, Pakhi ! Pakhi ! Pakhi[2] ! I invoke thee,
Hata[3]! Hata! Hata! hear my prayer, Going to the roof that I may see
My co-wife's head do thou devour. The Woman my co-wife ceases to be
Bedi ! Bedi ! Bedi ! take my hint, Banti ! Banti ! Banti[4] ! thy help to give
To cut vegetables at the death feast of my co-wife
By slaying the wicked I make my dwelling here
By killing my co-wife, on my feet *āltā* do I wear.

Similarly in the Gokāl-vrata there is a Chaḍā for getting rid of the co-wife. "Tomāré bātās karé ghar karva satīn méré" (by fanning you free from co-wife shall I my family rear). This kind of Chaḍā most probably sprang out of a desire to see the co-wife a victim of all sorts of miseries and evils. This was simply because it was known even to the girls (or the girls are made to know) that polygamy is a source of all sorts of miseries. Hence the young girl's foremost prayer is not to have any co-wife. Besides the women by nature can not bear the association of the co-wife. She is ready to undergo all sorts of miseries, even death and windowhood, than to have a Satīn (co-wife). In the above Chaḍā this has been very vividly described indicating that the lifelong prayer of a girl is to have the monopoly of the husband's love and affection until the death.

[1]Mayana—a kind of bird.

[2]Pakhi—Common name for birds.

[3]Hata—a kind of spoon used for cooking and serving.

[4]Bonti—a kind of Kutti used for cutting vegitables fishes etc..

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Some Chaḍās again are mainly based on the ancestor worship which is the most characteristic feature of the primitive religion. In the Yamapukur-vṛata different earthern idols are invoked to stand as witness to this particular observance. Thus we have the following Chaḍā—

> King Yama ! Witness, I worship the tank of Yama (God of death)

Queen Yami ! witness I warship the tank of Yama. Further the conception of the existence of the soul after death is also clear from these Chaḍās. According to the Chaḍā of the Yamapukur-vṛata there is the common belifef that the soul exist after death and that all sorts of provisions are to be made for it and that water should be given, so that the soul may not suffer from want of it. The idea of providing the soul with food and water and other necessary requirements is also known to almost all the primitive tribes. Among the Hos of chotonagpur the souls of the dead ancestors are worshipped daily in the Āding (a room in the house where the souls of the ancestors dwell) with food and drink.[1] Similar practices of offering food and drink to the dead ancestors are also prevalent among the Bhils, Baigās, etc.[2] The Khāsis of Assam also worship the death with numerous offerings.[3] In this particular Vṛata we find the offering of water in the name of the dead persons as well as of the living so that they may not suffro from want of water after their death. The worship of the anecsfors by pouring down water along with the chanting of Chaḍās is also a common religious practice among the Māriā Gonds of Bāstār.[4] Thus the worship of the death with offerings of foodand drink. is also a common religious practice among the primitiv- tribes. In this Vrata the girl gives water in the names of father in-law, mother-in-law, father, mother, neighbour including herself and her husband. Thus the Chaḍā runs as followws:—

> A handful of water for father and mother do I offer,
> A jug of water for father-in-law and mother-in-law do I offer.
> A jug of water for all my neighbours do I offer,
> I am the fortunate sister of seven brothers,
> I worship Yama's tank, witness, the lord of Universe

[1] A Tribe in Transition by Dr. Majumdar, page, 126.

[2] Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India by Crook,

[3] Khāsis by Gordon, page 109.

[4] Māriā Gonds of Baster by Grigson, page, 209.

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Thus we find here the offering of water in the names of all not excluding even the neighbour and the story or the *kathā* of the Vrata also reveals the fact that the mother-in-law suffered from want of water and the observance of the Vrata enabled her to have water.

Another characteristic feature of these Chadās is that they resemble to a great extent the dramatic performances. Dr. A. N. Tagore has arranged the Chaḍās of the Maghmandal and the Semjuti-vrata-chaḍās in a dramatic way, scene after scene and act and after act.[1] He has described them as "indigenous dramatic performances" and opines that the modern theatrical and other performances are nothing but a development of these indigenous dramatic Vrata-chaḍās. The truth of this remark of Dr. Tagore is revealed to us even by the stud of the primitive performances of the dramas which clearly resemble the dramatic character of these Chaḍās to a great extent.[2]

Lastly we should note some of the important Brahmnical influences in these chadàs. In some of the Chadàs we can trace definite evidences of the Puarānic influences. In the first place we find the Tulsi plant (ccymum sanctum) identified with Nārāyaṇa. Thus we read in the chadà of the Punyapukur-vrata—

Tulsi ! Tulsi! thou art Nārāyaṇa,
Tulsi ! Tulsi ! though art Vṛndàvana.
On thy head do I pour water,
Support me in the last hour.

Again the sacredness of the river Ganges is also recognised in some of the Chadās. Thus we read—

Putra rekhe svāmir kole
Marijena Gangā jale
(placing my son in the lap of his sire,
Let me in the Ganges stream expire.)

Besides we have the mention of the names of some of the Purānic deities like Yama, Nārāyaṇa, etc. We also hear the names of the deified Purānic personages such as Rāma, Daśaratha, Laksmaṇa, Sāvitiri, etc. Nor the conception of Svarga or heaven is absent from these chadàs. We have the references to Gokul, Vaikuṇṭha, Kailāsa, etc. Again the conception of rebirth after death in the race of man is also present. The

[1] Vānglār Vrata by Dr. A.N.Tagore, page, 33.

[2] See S.C. Ray's Mundas and their Country, the Khāriās and the Berhors

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identify of the cow with Nārāyaṇa and Vishṇu is not also unknown to these chadas. Thus in the Gokālr vrata we are told that the time devoted to the cow is in Gokul to live". These are some of the Brahmanical ideas which can be traced in these Vrata-chādas.

This short dissertation on the Kumāri-vrata-chadās reveals one important fact that they are not in their original form. These Chadās have been handed down orally from generation to generation Even now in the villages neither the grown up women nor the young girls are acquianted with the art of writing but their memory is so sharp that they can easily remember all these Chaḍās and Kathās, and whenever required, they can reproduce them from memory. In such a case interpolations and different interpretations are not at all unlikely. When these observances came under the Brahmanical influences every attempt was made to mould them in a Brahmanical fashion and to give them a Brahmnical stamp. This is clear from the introduction of numerous Purāṇic characters and some other Brhamanical features in these Chaḍās. But inspite of these Brahamnical infleunces it is very clear that these Chaḍās were originally nothing but magical spells or incantations. In some of these Chaḍās we find the element of force or compulsion which is the characteristic of magic.. We have the use of the terms "*pāva*, have , etc" which signifies that we must get this i.e. there is the element of force in it. The principle is "if we do this we shall get this" like effects like. Thus in the Pṛthivī-pūjā-vrata-chaḍā by offering "butter and cream," to the Mother Earth and by making gifts of honey and ghee" the girls want to be born in the next life as a queen, and that the process of this varta is sure to have her desires fulfiled. Thus the chaḍā follows—*ār kāle hava rājrānī*" (in the next birth I will be born as a queen). Here the term "hava" is worthy of notice, because the force of the word indicates certainity and there is no doubt about the efficacy of the practices. In other Chaḍās also we find such forceful assertions as in the Dasputuler-vrata-chaḍās. Further it is believed that the correct observances of certain rites is sure to lead to the fulfilment of the desire for which the rites are performed. Again the non-performance of the rites and the chanting of the Chaḍās will be followed by misery. Here is the plain question of magic. In some Chaḍās, of course, there is the tone of an appeal or prayer as is indicated by the use of terms such as "*pāijena, haijena*, etc." The idea is that we are doing this so that we may get this. There is no element of force or assertion in it. Thus in the Senjuti-vrata-chaḍā Pithuli-drawn "chiduni" (comb) is worshiped to have a golden

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"chiduni" Here the expresion is "āmāgo hay jena sonār chiduni". Here the chaḍā is not at all assertive. This is mainly a prayer or an appeal for granting the desires. Both of these features of these Vrata-chaḍās again can be compared with the primitive magical spells or incantations and such a comparison will certainly prove the magical significance of these Chaḍās, though at present the original ideas or conceptions have been totally lost still at present the chanting of the Chaḍās is believed to effect or at least to contribute to the production of the desired results. Thus even today the girls of Bengal sing,

Raṇe rané eyo hava, jane jane sūyo java.
Akāle Laksmī hava, Samaye putravatī hava.
War after war will come and go,
But I shall remain blessed with husband.
Man after man will come and go,
But I shall remain blessed with husband.
In times of famine Laksmi shall I be,
In times of plenty mother shall I be.

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